













**COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR**  
**OF THE**  
**PRĀKRIT LANGUAGES**

**BY**  
**R. PISCHEL**

**TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN**

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## TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

The following changes have been made in the system of Romanisation of Indian words :—

( a ) *ṃ* has been replaced by *m̃*,

( b ) Small letters have been substituted for capital letters in proper nouns printed in Italics.

It is regretted that certain letters in Italics with dialectical marks have been printed with two different types joined together and that, as in the original, diacritical marks went off in course of printing in a number of places.

I must express my deep sense of gratitude to the Late Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh, whose English translation of the first chapter of the Introduction, under the title "Pischel on the Characteristics of the Prakrit Languages", has been of great help to me.

*Āsvina*, 5, *Śakābda* 1879.

**Subhadra Jhā**



## I. INTRODUCTION.

### A. The Prākṛit Languages.

§ 1. By the term Prākṛit, the Indian grammarians and rhetoricians comprehend a multitude of literary languages, as the common characteristic whereof they consider Sanskrit their origin. Therefore, they generally derive the word *prākṛta* from *prakṛti*, "element", "basis", and according to them this basis is Sanskrit. So says Hemacandra, 1, 1, *prakṛtiḥ saṃskṛtam | tatra bhavaṃ tata āgataṃ vā prākṛtam*, "Sanskrit is the basis, what originated from it or what is derived from it, is called Prākṛit". Likewise Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 1: *prakṛtiḥ saṃskṛtam | tatrabhavaṃ prākṛtamucyate*; so Dhanika on Daśarūpa 2, 60: *prakṛter āgataṃ prākṛtam | prakṛtiḥ saṃskṛtam*; Śimbhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālamkāra, 2, 2 : *prakṛteḥ saṃskṛtā-dāgataṃ prākṛtam*; Prākṛtacandrikā in PETERSON, Third Report 343, 7 : *prakṛtiḥ saṃskṛtam | tatabhavaṃ vā prākṛtam smṛtam*. Cf. Narasiṃha, Prākṛtaśabdapradīpikā, p. 1 : *prakṛteḥ saṃskṛtāyāstu vikṛtiḥ prakṛti matā*, and Prākṛtasañjivani in Vāsudeva on Karpūramañjarī, ed. Bomb. 9, 11 : *prākṛtasya tu sarvameva saṃskṛtam yoniḥ*. For other etymologies see § 16.

§ 2. The Rasikasarvasva in Nārāyaṇa on Gītagovinda, 5, 2, teaches — *saṃskṛtāt prākṛtam iṣṭam tato 'pabhraṃśabhāṣaṇam*, "one takes for granted that from Sanskrit originated Prākṛit, whence the Apabhraṃśa language". A quotation, in Śaṅkara on Śakuntalā, 9, 10<sup>4</sup>; limits in this view, *saṃskṛtāt prākṛtaṃ śreṣṭhaṃ tato 'pabhraṃśabhāṣaṇam*, "from Sanskrit originated the best Prākṛit, and from which the Apabhraṃśa language". According to Daṇḍin, Kāvya-darśa, I, 34, Māhārāṣṭrī (§ 12) is the best Prākṛit : *māhārāṣṭrāśrayāṃ bhāṣāṃ prakṛtāṃ prākṛtaṃ viduḥ*. It is further explained that Māhārāṣṭrī, being nearest to Sanskrit, is the best Prākṛit. When the Indians speak about Prākṛit generally, they almost always mean Māhārāṣṭrī<sup>2</sup>. According to them Māhārāṣṭrī has the credit of being the basis of the other Prākṛit languages<sup>3</sup>, and in the manuals by the native grammarians Māhārāṣṭrī occupies the first place. The oldest grammarian Vararuci devotes nine chapters, having 424 rules, to Māhārāṣṭrī, and only one chapter to each of the other three languages treated by him, and that only with 14, 17 and 32 rules respectively, and at the end (12, 32) he announces that, whatever, with regard to the lastly dealt with three Prākṛits, remains unsaid, with respect to that these dialects have common characteristics with Māhārāṣṭrī : *śeṣaṃ māhārāṣṭrīvat*. So do the other grammarians.

1. FISCHER, De Gr. Pr. p. 1.—2. LASSEN, Inst. p. 7, 11 f.; MUIR, OST. 2<sup>d</sup>, 43 ff. — 3. Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 4. Somewhat differently Vararuci 10, 2; 11, 2; but compare MUIR l. c.

§ 3. With regard to what we are to understand broadly by the term Prākṛit, the Indian grammarians differ from one another. Vr. considers Māhārāṣṭrī, Paisācī, Māgadhī and Śaurasenī as Prākṛit. Hc. would include in it also Ārṣa (§ 16), Cūlikāpaisācī, and Apabhraṃśa. He is followed by Trivikrama, Śimharāja, Narasiṃha and Lakṣmīdhara, with this difference that Trivikrama excludes Ārṣa, while Śimharāja, Narasiṃha and Lakṣmīdhara take no notice of it. Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 2ff., divides Prākṛit into four classes, *bhāṣā, vibhāṣā, apabhraṃśa, paisāca*. He includes Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Prācyā, Avantī and Māgadhī under *bhāṣā*, whilst in a controversy against some unnamed author, he rejects Ardhamāgadhī, which, according to him,



is nothing but a form of Māgadhī, that is not very much different from Śaurasenī, Dākṣiṇāṭyā, which ha° no special characteristic, and Bālhikī which belongs to Māgadhī. Under the *vibhāṣāh* he includes the following five dialects: Śākārī, Cāṇḍālī, Śābarī, Ābhūriki, Śākkī, and denies the status of being considered as a *vibhāṣā* to Oḍṛī and Drāviḍī. He then traces back the 27 kinds of Apabhraṃśa to three only, namely to Nāgara Viāṛaḍa, and Upanāgara, the 11 Paisācī dialects to the three Nāgaras, Kaikeya, Śaurasena, and Pāñcāla<sup>2</sup>. Rāmatakavāgīśa<sup>3</sup>, as well, teaches in the same manner. All the grammarians consider Māhārāṣṭrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī, and Paisācī as the different Prakrit dialects.

1. He is not Bharata, as may be concluded from the fact that the stanza dealing with the Vibhāṣāh is almost identical with the one given in Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra, 17,49. All the other stanzas show deviations from those of Bharata. The stanza is quoted also in Prākṛtacandrikā of Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita, in PETERSON, Third Report, p 346 ff. Cf. also Rāmatakavāgīśa in LASSEN, Inst. p. 21.—2. The text was partly published in AUFRECHT, Cat. Oxon, p. 181.—3. LASSEN, Inst. p. 19-23; cf. Kramadīśvara 5, 99, and Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17,48 ff.

§ 4. Vr. does not mention Apabhraṃśa at all (§ 3). It would, however, be wrong to conclude therefrom, as was done by LASSEN<sup>1</sup>, that this dialect is younger than Vr.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, with Bloch<sup>3</sup>, Vararuci should not needlessly be accused of inaccuracy and superfluity. The reason is that Vr., along with others, does not consider Apabhraṃśa to be Prakrit. As Nāmīśādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśāstra 2, 11 remarks, some others postulate three languages: Prakrit, Sanskrit and Apabhraṃśa: *yaduktam kaiścid yathā prakṛtam saṃskṛtam caītadapabhraṃśa itī tridhā*. To this group belongs Daṇḍin, who in his Kāvyaḍarśa 1, 32, distinguishes between four kinds of literary works, (1) those that are in Sanskrit, (2) those that are in Prakrit, (3) those that are in Apabhraṃśa, and finally (4) those that are written in more than one language (*miśra*)<sup>4</sup>. Under Apabhraṃśa Daṇḍin includes the language of the Ābhīras etc., when used in literary works (*kāvyeṣu*): in treatises (*śāstreṣu*) they call everything, whatever is different from Sanskrit, Apabhraṃśa. Mārkaṇḍeya, fol. 2 in a citation includes the language of the Ābhīras under the *vibhāṣāh* (§ 3), rather than among the dialects of Apabhraṃśa, of which he names 26, such as Pāñcāla, Mālava, Gauḍa, Oḍṛa, Kāliṅga, Kārnāṭaka, Drāviḍa, Gurjara, and so on. Consequently, he uses the term Apabhraṃśa for the popular-languages of Aryan and non-Aryan origins. Against this Rāmatakavāgīśa holds that Apabhraṃśa should not be included under the *vibhāṣāh*, in view of the fact that they are used in dramas etc.: only the actually spoken languages of the people are to be called Apabhraṃśa. According to him, Māgadhī, as a literary language, is a *bhāṣā*, and an Apabhraṃśa as a popular language<sup>5</sup>. Ravikara, in BOLLENSON on Vkr. p. 509, distinguishes between two kinds of Apabhraṃśa. The one is based on Prakrit and differs slightly from it in flexion, composition and word-formation, and the other is a popular dialect, (*deśabhāṣā*)<sup>6</sup>. While Sanskrit and Prakrit follow the rules that are framed about their form, Apabhraṃśa is dominated by the speech of the common people. The older Vāgbhaṭa holds a similar opinion about Apabhraṃśa. In Vāgbhaṭālaṅkāra 2, 1 he names four languages: Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa and Bhūtabhāṣita i. e. Paisācī (§ 27) and under 2, 3 he remarks that Apabhraṃśa is the pure language of the different states: *apabhraṃśastu tacchuddham tattadeśesu bhāṣitam*. The younger Vāgbhaṭa in Alaṅkāratilaka 15, 3 differentiates between Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhraṃśa and Grāmyabhāṣā. In an inscription from Valabhī, Guhasena is praised on account of the high degree of skilfulness shown by

him in his works written in three languages, namely Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apabhraṁśa? I. A. 10,284 ( Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lāmākāra 2,12, names six languages; Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Māgadhabhāṣā, Piśācabhāṣā, Śūrasenī and Apabhraṁśa, which has several divisions according to the difference in locality: *ṣaṣṭho'tra bhūribhedo deśaviśeṣād apabhraṁśaḥ*. The same six different classes of languages are mentioned also by Amaracandra, Kāvya-kalpalatā-vṛtti p. 8.

1. I. Alt. 2<sup>2</sup>, 1169.—2. WEBER, IStr. 2, 57; PISCHEL, KB. 8, 145.—3. Varaurci und Hemaçandra (Gütersloh 1893), p. 14 f.=KZ. 33,332 f.—4. He is followed by Kavicaandra in Kāvyaçandrikā, in LASSEN, Inst., p. 32. The number is not clear in Bhojadeva, Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇa 2,7 ff., p. 56.—5. LASSEN, Inst., p. 21 f.; cf. Muir, OST. 2<sup>2</sup>, 46.—6. Somadeva in his Kathāsaritsāgara, 6,148 mentions *saṁskṛtam, prākṛtam* and *deśabhāṣā* as the different languages; *bhāṣātrayaṁ yaṁ anuṣṣeṣu saṁbhavet*. Cf. Kṣemendra, Bṛhat-kathāmañjarī, 6, 47. 52. 7.

§ 5. Accordingly we have to consider as Apabhraṁśa the popular languages of India. Undoubtedly there were written in it literary works of every kind already in time much earlier than that of the literary monuments, that are still preserved for us. The Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17,46 declares that the place of Apabhraṁśa in a drama is as important as that of Śaurasenī, inasmuch as beside Śaurasenī, a provincial language could be used in it, and that optionally: *śaurasenāṁ samāṣṭya bhāṣā kāryā tu nāṭake ṣaṭhavā chandataḥ kāryā deśabhāṣā prayokṛbhīḥ*. We need not take into consideration the artificially written dramas of the classical period, rather of the popular theatres of the type of *yātrā* of Bengal<sup>1</sup> or that of the musical plays of Hindusthān<sup>2</sup> and the popular theatres of Almora<sup>3</sup> and Nepal<sup>4</sup>, a sample whereof occurs in the Hariścandraṅgīyam<sup>5</sup>. This Apabhraṁśa, has never been called Prākṛit, but probably Apabhraṁśa, which, according to Daṇḍin, can be used in literary poetry, and according to Ravikara, deviates just slightly from Prākṛit (§ 4), to which it can be traced back ultimately (§ 2). It is presented before us in some of the Prākṛit grammarians, who treat Apabhraṁśa as well, and in Piṅgala and some other works (§ 29). The Indians always understand by the term Prākṛit, the literary languages. Pṛthivīdhara, in the introduction to his commentary on Mṛcchakaṭikā, p. v., edited by STENZLER = p. 493 of GODBOLE'S<sup>6</sup> edition, says expressedly: *māhārāṣṭryādayaḥ kāvyā eva prayujyante*. Hc. 2,174, p. 68. says that the words that are not used by the earlier poets (*pūrvatīḥ kavibhīḥ*) in Prākṛit are to be avoided. Daṇḍin, Kāvya-darśa 1,35 remarks that Śaurasenī, Gauḍī, Lāṭī and others of the kind are used in conversation under the name Prākṛit, and Rāmatar-kavāgīśa forbids inclusion of Apabhraṁśa in the *vibhāṣāḥ*, when they are used in dramas etc. (§ 4). We have, therefore, to differentiate between the Śaurasenī-Apabhraṁśa, the old popular language of Śūrasena, from which evolved the modern Gujarātī and Mārwarī<sup>7</sup> and Śaurasenī Prākṛit, the artificial language, that is the language of prose of theatres, and whose all the characteristics are like those of Sanskrit. But the Śaurasenī-Apabhraṁśa would also be used in lyrical poems, now and then, and that on the model of Māhārāṣṭrī, the Prākṛit of lyrics and of artificial epics, remodelled for the purpose of song and recitation, with its chief dialectical peculiarities left untouched. Hc. 4, 446 gives an example: Ap. *kaṇṭhi pālambu kidu radie*, thus in Śaurasenī Pkt. would be *kaṇṭhe pālambam kidam radie*, but in Māhārāṣṭrī, with the elision of *d* it would be *kaṇṭhe pālambam kam radie*. Erroneously Hc. lays down that Apabhraṁśa generally follows Śaurasenī Prākṛit (§ 28). Similarly be

it noted that there was one Māhārāṣṭra Apabhraṁśa, whence has developed the modern Marāṭhī<sup>8</sup>, in addition to Mahārāṣṭra-Prākṛit, i. e. Māhārāṣṭrī of the grammarians, as well as Māgadhā-Apabhraṁśa (§ 4), which through the Lāṭā-dialect has essentially continued to this day as the dialects of Bihar and of West Bengal<sup>9</sup> and a Māgadh Prākṛit, i. e. Māgadhī of the grammarians<sup>10</sup>. For Paisāci see § 27, and for Arśa see § 16.

1. WILSON, Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus 2<sup>8</sup>, 412 ff.; NISIKĀNTA CHATTOPĀDHYĀYA, Indische Essays (Zürich 1883) p. 1 ff.—2. F. ROSEN, Die Indarsabhā des Amānat (Leipzig 1892), Einleitung.—3. S. v. OLDENBURG, Zapiski Vostočnāgo Otdelnija Imperatorskago Russkago Archeologičeskago Obsščestva 5, 290 ff.—4. KLATT, De trecentis Cānakyaē poetae Indici sententiis (Halle 1873) p. 1 ff.; FISCHEL, Katalog der Bibliothek der DMG, (Leipzig 1881) 2, 5 ff.—5. Das Hariçcandranṛtyam, An old Nepalese Dance, published by A. Conardy (Leipzig 1891).—6. From this springs the quotation from Lalitadikṣita in GODBOLE, p. 1.—7. FISCHEL, Academy 1873, p. 398; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. xxv.—8. GARREZ, JA. VI, 20, p. 203 ff. (Paris 1872); WRONGLY HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. xxii.—9. HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. xxiv. In Academy l. c. I have wrongly designated Pāli as Māgadhā-Apabhraṁśa, against which E. KUHN, Beiträge zur Pāli Grammatik (Berlin correctly 1875) p. 8. I corrected the mistake in Jenaer Literaturzeitung, 1875, p. 316.—10. The theory enunciated by me in the Academy, 1873, p. 379 f. has been here improved upon on various points. HOERNLE, Comp. gr. p. xvii ff. is substantially in agreement with me. On so many details I differ from him, as is shown in the following paragraphs. SHANKER PAṆḌURANG PAṆḌIT has confused Apabhraṁśa with Prākṛit in Gaṇḍavaho p. 4 LV. ff.

§ 6. So the Prākṛit languages are artificial dialects in so far as they are considerably altered from literary view-points by poets. But they are not artificial dialects, if thereby it is meant that they are the result of the efforts of the poets<sup>1</sup>. What is true with these dialects is equally true with Sanskrit, which has never been the commonly spoken language of the cultured Indians. This Sanskrit was not the basis of the Prākṛit dialects<sup>2</sup>, which indeed go back to a certain popular spoken dialect, which, on political or religious grounds, was raised to the status of a literary medium<sup>3</sup>. But the difficulty is that it does not seem probable that all the Prākṛit dialects sprang out from one and the same source. At least they could not have developed out of Sanskrit, as is generally held by Indian scholars and HOEFER<sup>4</sup>, LASSEN<sup>5</sup>, BHĀṆḌĀRKAR<sup>6</sup> and JACOBI<sup>7</sup>. All the Prākṛit languages have a series of common grammatical and lexical characteristics with the Vedic language, and such are significantly missing from Sanskrit. Such correspondences are: the comparatively greater freedom in sandhi rules, the change of the intervocalic *ḍ*, *dh* to *ḷ*, *ḷh*; the suffix *-ttana*=Ved. *-tvana*<sup>8</sup>, the svarabhakti, the gen. sing. of the fem. bases in *-āe*=Ved. *-āyai*; the ins. plur. in *-ehim*=Ved. *-ebhiḥ*; the imperative *hohi*=Ved. *bodhi*; *tā. jā, ētīha*=Ved. *tāt, yāt, itthā; te, me* as accusative; *amhe*=Ved. *asme*; Prākṛit *pāso* "eye"=Ved. *paś*<sup>9</sup>; AMg. *vaggūhim*=*vagnubhiḥ saddhim*=*sadhrim*; A. *dive* *divē*=Ved. *divē dive*; J. Ś. A. *kiḍha*, AMg. A. *kiḥa*=Ved. *kathā*; *māim*, Ved. *mākim*, *nāim*=Ved. *nākim*; AMg. *viū*=*viduḥ*<sup>10</sup>; Mg. *-āho*, *-āhu*, A. *-āhō*=Ved. *āśaḥ*; M. JM. A. *kuṇāḥ*, JŚ. *kuṇādī*=*krṇoti*; AMg. JM. *sakkā*=Ved. *śakyāt*; A. *sāhu*=Ved. *śasvat*; AMg. *ghimsu*=Ved. *ghraṁsa*; M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *khambha*=Ved. *skambha*; M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rukka* "tree"=Ved. *rukṣa*; future *śōccham* from Ved. *śruṣ*; the (AMg) infinitive in *-ae*, *-ttae*=Ved. *-tavai*; the absolutive (A.) in *-ppi*, *-pi*, *-vi*=Ved. *-tvī*, in *-ppiṇu*=Ved. *tvinam*, etc. what have been described in relevant places in this grammar. These alone make the hypothesis that Sanskrit was the source of the different Prākṛits impossible<sup>11</sup>.

1. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1, 201, 223; SØRESEN, Om Sanskrits Stilling i den almindelige Sprogudvikling i Indien (København 1894), p. 220 ff. FISCHEL De gr. Pr. p. 30 ff. should be corrected accordingly.—2. FRANKE, BB, 17, 71. I doubt if ever there was a

living language for the cultured people of the whole of Āryāvarta. Cf. also WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gr.* p. XLII, note 7.—3. In GGA. 1884, p. 512, I had suggested that classical Sanskrit was based on the dialect of Brahmāvarta. Cf. WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gram.* p. XXVI, note 11, for further literature on this topic.—4. De Prākṛita dialecto § 8.—5. *Inst.* p. 25 ff.; *IAlt.* 2<sup>2</sup>, 1163, note 5.—6. *JBOAS.*, 16, 315.—7. *KZ.* 24, 614, wherein he says that Pāli and Prākṛit are essentially a later form of Sanskrit.—8. v. BRADKE, *ZDMG.* 40, 673.—9. FISCHER and GELDNER, *Ved. Stud.* 1, p. XXXI, note 2.—10. *Ved.* 2, 235 f.—11. WEBER goes too far when he (*IS.* 2, 111) does not see in Prākṛit anything, but a degenerated old Vedic dialect. Cf. § 9.

§ 7. The affinity of the Prākṛit languages with the middle and new Indo-Aryan popular dialects is not weaker than that with the Vedic language. The inscriptions of Aśoka provide us with specimens of at least four middle Indian dialects. The inscriptions, dating between the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D., that are found in caves, stūpas, plates, etc., prove that there was a popular language, that was equally intelligible in a considerably greater part of India. SENART has designated the language of these inscriptions the “monumental Prākṛit<sup>1</sup>”. This is misleading, since it suggests that Pkt. developed purely as an artificial language. We have little ground to accept this view or to agree with KERN<sup>2</sup>, that Pāli is an artificial language, though both Pāli and Prākṛit, like Ārṣa (§ 16); underwent various forms of changes as literary languages. I propose to name the Prākṛit dialect of most of these inscriptions, as they are found in caves, as *Leṇa dialect*, after *leṇa*=Skt. *layana* “hole”, which occurs so often in these inscriptions. A parallel is met with in the name of *Lāṭa dialect*, from *lāṭ*=Pkt. *laṭṭhi*=Skt. *yaṣṭi* “pillar”. All these dialects are continuations not of Sanskrit, but of sister dialects thereof, and their characteristics, in a great measure, correspond to those of different Prākṛits. Some examples from the concluding portion of Aśoka’s first edict may here be enough. We find in the first edict the participle of the causative of *likh*, in Gīrnār as *lekhāpitā*, in Shāhbāzgarhī as *likhapitu*, in Jaugḍa as *likhāpitā*, and in Mansēhra as [*l*] *likhapita*, a form that occurs in the pillar edicts as well, (SENART 2, 597). The *Leṇa*-dialect has similar formations from roots ending in a consonant: *ba[m]dhāpayati*, *kīdāpayati*, *pidāpayati*, *va[m]dāpayati*, (*Hāthigumphā* Inscription p. 155. 158. 160. 163)<sup>3</sup>, likewise Pāli: *likhāpeti* that is very often found also in Prākṛit (§ 552); Aśoka’s *likhāpita* corresponds to JM. *lihāvīya* (Erz. 63, 31), Aśoka’s *likhāpāyisam* (Gīrnār. 14, 3), Mg. *lihāvāissam* (Mṛch. 136, 21).—Gīrnār *prajūhitayvam*, from *hu* (to offer a sacrifice) with *pra*<sup>4</sup>, shows an extension of the present stem, as is usual in Pāli and Prākṛit.—In Gīrnār, *samājamhi* and *mahānasamhi*, the two forms of the nominal loc. sing. have the ending of the pronominal declension; Shāhbāzgarhī and Khālsī have *mahanasasi*, *mahānasasi*, that is *mahānasamsi*, a form that occurs very often in the pillar and stray edicts. In the *Leṇa*-dialect are found *ja[m]budipamhi* (Karle Inscription, No. 1)<sup>5</sup> *thuvamhi*=*stūpe*<sup>6</sup>, *anugāmimhi* (Nāsik No. 6<sup>a</sup>)<sup>7</sup>, *tiraṇhumhi* (Nāsik No. 11<sup>b</sup>. 19)<sup>8</sup>, also *tiraṇhumī*, that is to say *tiraṇhummi*<sup>9</sup>. To these correspond in Prākṛit M. JM. JŚ. AMg. the locative forms in *-mmi*, AMg. *-msi*. One notices further the use of *asti* in the plural, as in Prākṛit *atthi* (§ 498), and that of *se*, that is exactly so found in AMg. I shall, from the *Leṇa*-dialect, refer only to the declension of stems in *i*- and *u*-, whereof the gen. sing. ends in *-no* and *-sa*, *i. e.* *-ssa*; it is so in Prākṛit, where the gen. sing. even of the *n*-stem ends in *-sa*. On all these points, as well as on very many others, whereof no correspondence is to be found in Sanskrit, Prākṛit agrees with the middle Indian popular-dialects.

1. Les inscriptions de Piyadasi, 2, 488. He is followed by SCHRENSEN, l. c. p. 187.—

2. Over de Jaartelling der zuidelijke Buddhisten (Amsterdam 1873) p. 14 f.—3. Actes

du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes (Leide 1885), 3, 2.—4. FISCHEL, GGA. 1881, 132 f. — 5. Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India. By JAS. BURGESS and BHAGWANLAL INDRAJI (Bombay 1881) p. 28.—6. SENART, l. c. 2. 472. — 7. Arch. Survey of Western India 4, 101. — 8. Arch. S. of W. I., 4, 106. 114.—9. Arch. S. of W. I. 4, 99.

§ 8. On account of the analytical character of the new Indian dialects naturally it is more possible to demonstrate the affinity of Pkt. in the matter of flexion, with them. But this relationship is more striking in phonology and morphology, as also in the case of the Middle Indian. Patañjali, Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya 1, p. 5, 21 f. remarks: of each correct word there are many of incorrect formations ( *apabhraṁśāḥ* ); thus for example, of the word *gauḥ* (cow), the *apabhraṁśāḥ* are *gāvi*, *goṇī*, *gotā*, *gopotālikā*<sup>1</sup>. Of these, in Prākṛit, the most usual form is *gāvi*, that in JM. is *goṇī*, which has as its masculine, the form *goṇo* (§ 393). Under Pāṇini 1, 3, 1 (p. 259) Kātyāyana mentions *āṇapayati*, to which Patañjali adds *vaṭṭati* and *vaḍḍhati*; Patañjali, under Pāṇini 3, 1, 91 (2, 74) records a form *supati*, and Kaiyaṭa expressedly considers all such verbal forms as Apabhraṁśa<sup>2</sup>. The inscriptions of Aśoka (SENART 2, 559) and the Leṇadialekt (Arch. S. of W. I. 4, 104. 110) have *āṇapayati*; to it corresponds Ś. Mg. *āṇavedi* (§ 551), whereas Pāli has *āṇāpeti*. KIELHORN has already noted that Pāli has similarly sounding equivalent forms for *vaṭṭati*, *vaḍḍhati* and *supati*. The Prākṛit equivalents to these are: M. AMg. JM. *vaṭṭai*, JŚ. Ś. *vaṭṭadi*, M. AMg. JM. *vaḍḍhai*, Ś. *vaḍḍhadi* (§ 289. 291), M. *suvaī*, *suai* JM. *suyai* (§ 497). The Indian grammarians and rhetoricians divide the Prākṛit words into three classes: 1) *samskṛtasama*, "Sanskrit-like" (C. 1, 1; Sr. in FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 40), commonly designated as *tatsama*, "that-like (that is to say like Sanskrit)", (Triv. in FISCHEL, l. c. p. 29; Mk. tol 2; Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍarśa 1, 32; Dhānika on Daśarūpa 2, 60), and also referred to as *tattulya* (Vāgbhaṭālamkāra 2, 2; and *samānaśabda* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 3); 2), *samskṛtabhava*, "originated from Sanskrit" (Sr.), commonly designated as *tadbhava* (Triv.; Mk.; Daṇḍin.; Dhānika), also as *samskṛtayoni* (Hc. 1, 1; C.), *tajja* (Vāgbhaṭa), and *vibhraṣṭa* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 3); and 3) *deśya* (Hc.; Triv.; Sr.; Mk.; Vāgbhaṭa) or *deśi* (Deśin. p. 1, 2; Daṇḍin.; Dhānika), also *deśiprasiddha* (C.) and *deśimatā* (Bhāratīyan. 17, 37)<sup>3</sup>. The words that have the same form both in Prākṛit and in Sanskrit are *tatsama* words. Thus for example, *kara*, *komala*, *jala soma*, etc. The *tadbhava* words are classed as *sādhyamānasamskṛtabhavāḥ*, and *siddhasamskṛtabhavāḥ*. To the former class belong the Prākṛit words, that presuppose Sanskrit words, from which they are derived in their unfinished form without an affix or suffix. This especially refers to the flexion, by which a word is, first of all, made fit, according to the rules of grammar, for use (*sādhyamāna*). BEAMES has appropriately called them "early *tadbhavas*"<sup>4</sup>. They are the independent basic elements of Prākṛit. The latter class includes the Prākṛit words, that are derived from grammatically complete (*siddha*) Sanskrit words, like AMg. *vandittā* = Skt. *vanditvā*. Although a large number of *tatsama* and *tadbhava* words are found in all the new Indian languages, it is not correct to presume that all such kinds of words are of Sanskritic origin only. The fact that all the new Indian languages do not go back to Sanskrit today needs no more proof.

1. WEBER, IS. 13, 365. — 2. KIELHORN, ZDMG. 39, 327. SØRENSEN l. c. p. 180 f. — 3. Cf. also BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1, 11 ff; FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 30 f.; BB. 3, 235; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. xxxviii ff. Designated as the fourth class by Bhuvanapāla in WEBER, IS. 16, 59 are the words that depend upon the *sāmānyabhāṣā*. — 4. Comp. Gr. 1, 17. 5. FISCHEL on Hc. 1, 1.

§ 9. The Indians include under the *deśya* or *deśī* class very heterogenous elements. They consider all such words to belong to this class as they cannot trace back to Sanskrit either in form or in meaning. It depends upon their knowledge of Sanskrit and ability in etymologising that some of them call a word to be *deśya*, while others include it either among the tatsamas or among the tadbhavas. Besides, we have many words that are classed as *deśī*, even though they go back to genuine Sanskrit roots, simply because they do not have closely corresponding Sanskrit words; thus for example *pāso* (eye; Triv. in BB. 6,104) or *pāsam* (Deśin. 6,75), is connected to AMg *pāsai*=Skt. *paśyati*; or *sivī* (needle; Deśin. 8, 29; Triv. in BB. 3,260), Skt. *śivayati*. Further, there are the compound words whose component parts are basically true Sanskrit, nevertheless the special meaning ascribed to them in Prākṛit is not to be found in that language: thus *acchivādanam* (closing of the eyes; Deśin. I, 39, with commentary; Triv. in BB. 13, 5)=*akṣi*+*patana*; or *sattāvīsamjoṣo* (the moon; Deśin. 8,22; C. 1, 1 p. 39)=Śiṃhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭā-lāmākāra 2, 2)=*saptāvīmśati*+*dyotana*<sup>1</sup>. Then there are words for which there is no Sanskrit root. Thus *joḍam* (constellation; Deśin. 3. 49), *joḍo* (Triv. in BB. 13, 17 f.); or *tuppo* (anointed Pāyāl. 233; Deśin. 5,22; Hāla 22 v.l. 289. 520), that is connected to Marāṭhī *tūpa* (clarified butter; ghee)<sup>2</sup>. Lastly there are the words that exhibit some rare phonetic law; thus *gaharo* (vulture; Pāyāl. 126; Deśin. 2, 84; Triv. in BB. 6. 93), what is rightly equated as=*grdhra* by Trivikrama; or *vihunḍuo* (Rāhu; Deśin. 7, 65; Triv. in B B. 3, 252)=*vidhūntudah*<sup>3</sup>. Among the *deśya* words are included the largely numerous verb-forms, that are designated as *dhātuvādeśa* "root substitutes" by grammarians, and they cover much space in Indian grammars ( Vr. 8,1 ff.; Hc. 4,1 ff.; Kī. 4, 46 ff.; Mk. fol. 53 ff.). Here Sanskrit fails miserably in rendering any help, though agreement among the new Indian languages is most rigorous<sup>4</sup>. As the name indicates, by *deśya* people have come to understand also "provincialisms". In Hemacandra's Rāyaṇāvalī (§ 36), the largest collection of these provincialisms, the *dhātuvādeśa* have not been mentioned (Deśin. I, 3), and Hc. (I, 4) in clear terms, excludes all such provincialisms, as are not current in Prākṛit. Many such *deśī* words, either from Apabhraṃśa or from Prākṛit, have been taken into Sanskrit dictionaries and Dhātupāṭhas also<sup>5</sup>. It is possible that stray non-Aryan words may have been got included in the *deśī* words, but the bulk of such elements is Proto-Aryan, though we search for them in Sanskrit in vain. Nāmisārdhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷāmākāra 2,12, gives an etymology of the word Prākṛit, according to which the basis (*prakṛti*) of Prākṛit and Sanskrit is the natural current language of the people, that cannot be fashioned according to the rules of grammar, or this Prākṛit itself is this current language (§ 16). As already shown, such an assumption is unjustified. Sanskrit forms the chief constituent of individual Prākṛit dialects, especially of Māhārāṣṭrī of artificial poetry, such as Gaūḍavaho and Rāvaṇavaho, that are composed according the model of Sanskrit. In them, therefore, the number of *deśī* words is diminishing, while<sup>7</sup> they are very significant in JM. I agree entirely with SENART<sup>8</sup>, that all the Prākṛits go back to popular dialects as their source and their all the essential elements originally developed from the living speeches, but such of these dialects, as were raised to the status of literary languages, all like Sanskrit, underwent significant alterations.

1. Not=*yajana* The 24 *nakṣatras* are meant.—2. WEBER, ZDMG. 28,335.—3. Cf. DESIN. I, 3; BÜHLER, Päiyalacchī p. 11 ff.; SØRENSEN l. c. 225 ff.—4. Many examples are to be found in the translation of Hc. and in WEBER's, observations on Hāla.—5. ZACHARIAE, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie (Berlin 1883), p.53 ff. Cf. also WACKERNAGEL. Altind. Gr. p. LI ff.—6. BENFEY, Vollständige Grammatik § 140, 2; FISCHEL, BB. 3, 236. 264 ; 6, 84 ; BÜHLER, WZKM. 8,17 ff. ; 122 ff. ; FRANKE, ibid. 321 ff.—7. FISCHEL, GGA. 1880, p. 326, wherein it has been remarked that in the notes on Rāvanavaho, there is much valuable material. SHANKAR P. PANDIT, Gaṇḍavaho p. LVI.—8. L'épigraphie et l'histoire linguistique de l'Inde. Extracts from the reviews of the Sèance de l' Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Letters ( Paris 1886), p. 17 ff.; Les inscriptions de Piyadasi 2. 530 ff. SENART has not, however, as already mentioned under section 7 above, taken Prākṛit in its strictly correct sense.

§ 10. The inscriptions that are preserved for us in Prākṛit are the documents of gift of the Pallava king, Śivaskandavarman, those of the queens of the Pallava Yuvarāja Vijayabuddhavarman<sup>1</sup>, the Ghaṭayāla inscription of Kakkuka, and the fragments of Somadeva's Lalitavigrahbarājanāṭaka. The first one was published by BÜHLER, EI. 1,2ff; a few improvements thereupon were made by LEUMANN, ibid 2,483ff. and by FISCHEL, GN. 1895,210 ff. I indicate them by PG.=Pallava Grant. BÜHLER has pressed that in these inscriptions there were certain characteristics that appeared only in literary Prākṛit. Thus the change of *ya* into *ja* in *kāravējjā*, *vaṭṭeja*, *hoja*, *jo*, *saṃjutto*; the more frequent change of dental *n* into a cerebral *ṇ*: the occurrence of sonants in place of surds, thus *kassava*, *aṇuvaṭṭhāveti*, *vi*, *bhaḍa*, *kada*; the writing of doubled consonants, such as in *aggiṭṭhoma*, *assamedha*, *dhamma*, *savatttha*, *ruṭṭhika* etc<sup>2</sup>. All these peculiarities are found in a scattered manner also in one or the other inscription in the Leṇadialect<sup>3</sup>. But there is no other inscription in which these characteristics, all taken together, and in such large quantities, occur in so far as the language should be regarded as Prākṛit. But it no way is absolutely pure Prākṛit. *ya* stands beside *ja*: *na* is often retained; surds mostly remain unmodified; even the doubled consonants are written in a simple manner: *svakhamādavamo*, *gumike*, *vadhanike* etc<sup>4</sup>. The following are gross irregularities against Prākṛit: *kāmcīpurā*; (5, 1) for *kāmcīpurā*; *ātteya*<sup>o</sup> (6, 13) for *atteya*<sup>o</sup> *vatsa*<sup>o</sup> (6, 22) for *vaccsa*<sup>o</sup>; *cāttāri*(6,39) for *cattāri*; unusual are *vitanāma*(5,7) for *vitarāmo*; *dūḍha* (6, 31) for *duddha*, *°dattam* (6, 12) for *°dinṇam*; *dattā* (7, 48), i. e. *dattā* for *dinṇā*. It can clearly be seen that the language is an artificial<sup>5</sup> one. For a history of Prākṛit, the inscription is not without interest and worth, and it has been, therefore, used regularly, in this grammar, whereas the Leṇa-dialect and the so called-Gāthā dialect<sup>6</sup> are beyond its sphere. The inscription of Kakkuka, indicated by KI., was published by Munsiff DEBI PRASĀD, JRAS. 1195, p. 513 ff. It is written in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī (§ 20).

1. Published by FLEET, IA. 9, 100 ff. Almost unusable. Cf. BÜHLER. EI.1,2, note.—2. BÜHLER, l. c. 2. ff.—3. SENART, Piyadasi 2, 489 ff 518 ff—4 BÜHLER l. c. p. 2 ff.—5. To it applies even more accurately what SENART l. c. 2,494, says on the Leṇa-dialect: this language is, then, neither wholly popular, nor entirely regulated.—6. That this name is not appropriate has been remarked correctly by SENART, l. c. 2,469 ff. His suggestion to call the language "mixed Sanskrit" would, however, meet with little approval. Further references have been given in WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. p. XXXIX f.

§ 11. The fragments of Somadeva's Lalitavigrahbharājanāṭaka are found also in two basalt-plates, discovered in Ajmīr. They have been published by, KIELHORN, IA, 20, 201 ff. and again GN. 1893,552 ff. In them, occur three Prākṛit dialects. Māhārāṣṭrī, Saurasenī, and Māgadhī. KONOW has shown, exactly, as I had remarked in my first study

of Prakrit<sup>2</sup>, that the Prakrit forms closely agree with the rules of Hemacandra. But Hemacandra was hardly the authority, whose views were honoured by Somadeva. Hc. 4, 271 prescribes the absolutive in-*dūna* in Śauraseni; Somadeva has the Māhārāṣṭri form in-*ūṇa*; Hc. 4,280 requires *yveva*, whereas Somadeva has *jjeva*; in consonant-groups in Māgadhī, Somadeva has *ś*, whereas Hc. 4,289, prescribes *s*; the former lays down *śta* for *rth*, against *st* of Hc. 4,291 and *śka* for *hka* against *ska* of Hc. 4, 296. 297<sup>3</sup>. Hence it follows that the absolutive in-*ūṇa* may be an error committed by Somadeva himself; even-*dūna* may be wrong (§584); *śta* for *rta* as well may be an error committed in course of transmission inasmuch as in 566,9 we find *yahastam*=*yathārtham*. But as regards *śka* for *hka*, *śka* could hardly, with KONOW<sup>4</sup>, be considered to be a slip on the part of a mason, when there are numerous examples. However, we cannot assess a higher value for this inscription than for any unique manuscript. The inscription is full of gross errors of the dialects concerned, just like any manuscript of a drama. To the list of errors picked up by KONOW l.c. p. 479, I add the following: Ś. *tujjha* (554, 4; s. §421); *jjeva* (554,4; 555,18) for *jeva* after anusvāra; *ṇimmāya* (554,13; s § 591); the passive *viloijjanti*, *pekkhijjanti* (554, 21. 22), *kijjadu* (562, 24), *jampijjadi* (568,6), the forms that are admitted by Hc. for *viloianti*, *pekkhiantī*, *kariadu*, *jampiadi* (§535); *kitti* (555,4) for *kim ti*; *rayaṇām* (555,15), *raaṇa* (560,19) for *rada-ṇām* and *radaṇa*; *gihida* (560,20) for *gahida*; *ēarisam* (563,3) for *edārisam*. The dialectical inaccuracies in Māgadhī are:—*peṣkiyyandi* (565,13) *peṣkianti*, *peṣkiyyasi* (565,15) for *peṣkiasti*, *yāṇiyyadi* (566,1) for *yāniadi*, *pacakkhikadam* (566,1) for *paccakki*<sup>5</sup>; *yahastam* (566,9) for *yadhastam*; *nijjhala*, *yujjha* (566, 9.11) for *niyyhala*, *yuyyha* (cf. § 280. 284); *eva* (567,1) for *yeva*. These are the types of errors that always occur in manuscripts, just as *tama-pasara* (555,11), *pacakkhāim* (555,14), *śśalūvam* (565,9). Moreover, most of these, if not all, would certainly disappear, if we had a few more manuscripts of the drama at our disposal. The presence of the absolutive in-*ūṇa*, and the passive in Ś.-*ijja*, and Mg.-*iyya*, may be mistakes committed by the author himself, as even Rājaśekhara, (§ 22) and later poets often mix up the dialects with one another. The writing of *n* in place of *ṇ*, and interpolation of *y*<sup>6</sup> suggest Jaina influence. A second fragment found in Ajmīr, of Harakelināṭaka, is ascribed to Vighararājadeva himself, and is dated November 22, 1153<sup>6</sup>. The grammar of Hemacandra, at the earliest, would have been completed towards the end of the Vikrama year 1197<sup>7</sup>, i.e. 1140 A.D. Consequently Somadeva and Hemacandra were contemporaries. In spite of all the errors, these fragments are of the greatest importance for Māgadhī, that, here only has been handed down to us in a form, that is in agreement with the rules laid down by the grammarians, (§ 23).

1. GGA. 1894, 478ff.—2. IA. 20, 204.—3. KONOW, l. c. p. 481.—4. l. c. p. 482.—5. KONOW, l. c. p. 480.—6. KIELHORN, IA. 20, 201.—7. BÜHLER, Über das Leben des Jaina Mönches Hemacandra (Wien 1889), p. 18.

§ 12. When one refers to the Prakrit language in general terms it is the Māhārāṣṭri (§ 2), that derives its name from Māhārāṣṭra, the land of the Marāṭhās, that is thereby meant. It is considered to be the best Prakrit. As shown by GARREZ (§ 5) Māhārāṣṭri, no doubt, has unmistakable points of contact with the Marāṭhī language.<sup>1</sup> No other dialect has been phonetically, modified, to such an extent for artificial purposes. The dropping of consonants had, in M., been so extensive, as has been seen nowhere else, therefore, a large number of words that were phonetically quite different have assumed the same form. Thus:—M. *kaa*=*kaca* and *khṛta*;



*kai=kati, kapi, kavi, kṛti* ; *kā=kāka, kāca, kāya* ; *gā=gatā, gadā, gajāḥ* ; *maa=mata, mada, maya, myga, mṛta* ; *vaa=vacas, vayas, vrata, °pada* ; *sua=śuka, suta, śruta*, etc.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, it was not without reason that BEAMES designated M. the 'emasculated stuff'.<sup>3</sup> It was admitted long ago that its sound system was essentially determined by the fact that M. above all was used for musical stanzas. Such stanzas are the *Gāhās=Gāthās*, that are, for us, collected in the *Satasāi* of Hāla, and the *Vajjālagga* of Jayavallabha<sup>4</sup>, and are scattered in the writings of authors on rhetorics, and are inserted in dramas as well. They were expressly designated as *Gāhā*, 'song', 'musical stanza' thus for example H. 3, 500. 600. 698. 708, 709. 815 ; *Vajjālagga* 3.4. 9.10 ; p, 326,6. The stanza that is written in the purest M. in *Mudrār.* 83,2<sup>3</sup>, and is addressed by Virādhagupta, who appears as a snake-charmer and Prākṛit poet, to the minister Rākṣasa, is called by him *Gāthā*, and Viśvanātha, *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 432 says that the women that are not of lowly origin speak Śaurasenī in dramas, and that in their songs (*āsameva tu gāthāsu*) they should speak Māhārāṣṭrī. Priyaṅvadā calls the stanzas, 55, 15. 16 of Śak. *gīdaam=gītakam* in 54, 8 ; Śakuntalā calls it *gīdiā=gītikā* (55,8) : the verses recited by the spy in *Mudrārākṣasa* (34,6ff.) are called, after 35,1, *gīdām*, "songs". The actress sings (*gāyati*) her song in M. : thus for example Śak. 2, 13 ; Mallikām. 19, 1 ; Kāleyak. 12, 6 (*viṇām vādayantī gāyati*) ; *Ummattar.* 2, 17 ; cf. *Mukund.* 4, 20 ff ; about the stanzas that are recited from behind the stage, it is said *nepathye gīyate* ; e. g. Śak. 95, 17 ; *Viddhaś.* 6, 1 ; Kāleyak. 3, 6 ; *Karṇas.* 3. 4. This application of M. in lyrics destined for musical purposes is undoubtedly the oldest, and in these the dropping of consonants in such large proportions is, in the first place, to be attributed to this cause.<sup>5</sup>

1. I do not think that it is correct to say, like E. KUHN (KZ. 33, 478), that the oldest form of Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛit is to be found in Pāli.—2. Some examples have been given by SHANKAR P. PANDIT, *Gauḍavaho* p. LVI. LVIII.—3. *Comp. Gram.* 1, 223. 4. BHANDARKAR, Report 1883, 84 (Bombay 1887), p. 17, 324 ff. The correct name is *Vajjālagga* (3. 4. 5 ; (p. 326, 9) from which originated *Vajjālaya* (p. 326, 5). The word is derived from *vajji=vrajyā* (B. R. s. v.) ; WEBER, *Hāla*<sup>2</sup>, p. xxxviii ; FISCHER, *Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena* (Göttingen, 1893), p. 30 f.), and *lagga* (indication, mark ; *Defin.* 7, 17)=Skt. *lagna*. Its translation by *Padyālaya* is wrong.—5. WEBER, I. Str. 3, 159 f. ; 279 ; *Hāla*<sup>2</sup> p. xx

§ 13. For a knowledge of M., the most essential work is the *Sattasāi* of Hāla. The first 370 stanzas were already published by WEBER, under the title "Über das Saptasātakam des Hāla, Leipzig, 1870.<sup>1</sup> WEBER brought out the addenda and corrigenda to his edition of the work in *ZDMG.* 26, 735 ff ; 28, 345 ff., which were followed by a complete edition with a German translation and word-index. *Das Saptasātakam des Hāla, Leipzig, 1881.* WEBER dealt upon Bhuvanapāla's commentary on *Chekotivīcāralīlā* in *IS.* 16, 1ff. DURGA PRASAD and KASINATH PANDURANG PARAB, have, besides, furnished us with an edition of the work that is indispensable on account of the complete printed commentary and several good readings, under the title *The Gāthāsaptasāti of Sātavāhana* with the commentary of Gaṅgādharaḥaṭṭa, Bombay, 1889 (*Kāvya-mālā* 21). WEBER fixes as the earliest limit to the date of the collection, at the 3rd. century A. D., and in any case, according to him, it was compiled earlier than the 7th century, and he has, in the introduction to his complete edition, dealt elaborately with the six different recensions of the work, of which the recension of Bhuvanapāla is the seventh (p. xxxvii ff.). We observe from the *Sattasāi* that there was in M. a literature that was very extensive. Originally, the name of the author of each of the stanza was appended to it (H. 709). Of these names unfortunately, we know only a few, many, whereof are in corrupt

form, and the tradition varies a great deal in the matter of assignment of the verses. The commentators of the vulgata have given 112 names; Bhuvanapāla gives 384, considering Sātavāhana, (Śātavāhana, Śāli-vāhana, Sālāhana) and Hāla to be one and the same person. Two of these poets, Hariṽṛddha (Hariuḍḍha) and Poṭṭisa were mentioned also by Rājasekhara, Karp. 19. 2, where, moreover, occur the names of Nandiuḍḍha = Nandivṛddha and Hāla as well," and in the v. l. Pālittaa, Campaarāa and Malaa-sehara are also named.<sup>2</sup> By Bhuvanapāla, of them, Pālittaa is credited with the authorship of ten verses of this anthology. In case Pālitta is to be equated to Pādalipta, as was done by WEBER<sup>3</sup>; this Pālitta might be identical with Pādaliptācārya, who is referred to by Hc., Deśin. 1, 2, as the author of a manual of Deśī (*deśīśāstra*). The actual name of the last mentioned poet, is now proved by the v. l., with certainty, to be Mallaschara in KONOW's edition and Malayasekhara, i.e. °sekharā in Bhuvanapāla. According to Bhuvanapāla, Abhimāna, whose full name was Abhimānacihna, who was perhaps the author of H. 518, was, like Pādalipta, also the author of a *deśīśāstra*, that had a *ṛtti* to each *sūtra*, and in which Abhimāna gave his own examples, (Deśin. 1, 144 ; 6, 93 ; 7, 1 ; 8, 12.17). This holds good equally for Devarāja, who according to Bhuvanapāla, was the author of H. 220. 369, and according to Deśin. 6. 58. 72 ; 8,17, was a writer on Deśī, and also for Sātavāhana, who is mentioned among the sources of Hc. on Deśī in Deśin. 3, 41 ; 5, 11 ; 6, 15. 18. 19. 112. 125. Aparājita, whom Bhuvanapāla describes as the author of H. 756, is different from Aparājita, who, according to Karp. 6, 1, wrote Mrgānkalekhākathā, and was a contemporary of Rājasekhara. It remains still undecided whether this younger Aparājita did never use Sanskrit : because it is likely that Rājasekhara himself might have translated into Prākṛit the passage under reference, and in fact, we find in the Subhāṣitā-valī, a Sanskrit strophe, i.e. no. 1024, cited from him. Sarvasena, to whom, according to the authority of Bhuvanapāla, belong the verses, H. 217 and 234, composed, according to Ānandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka, 148, 9, Harivijaya, wherefrom is quoted a stanza, namely 127, 7, that is cited also by Hemacandra, Alaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi, fol. 7<sup>b</sup> (Ms. KIELHORN, Report, Bombay 1881, p. 102, Nr. 265).<sup>4</sup> In both the lists, one of the famous poets is Pravarasena. Further, in Bhuvanapāla occurs also the name of Vākpatirāja. None of the quoted passages, however, is found either in Rāvaṇavaho or in Gauḍavaho. Because this Vākpatirāja had written a second artificial poem, i.e. Mahamahavīa according to G. 69, and Madhumathanavijaya, according to Ānandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka, 152, 2 ; Someśvara, Kāvyaḍarśa, fol. 31. (Ms. KIELHORN, Report, p. 87, No. 66. Hemacandra, Alaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi fol. 7<sup>b</sup>) ; it is likely that both of the stanzas might have been derived from the latter source. But the two lists often go against each other, and are not reliable. However, the fact remains that the Sattasāi presupposes a very rich literature in Prākṛit, in the formation of which women too took active part. Only the futurity will tell whether or not stray stanzas were taken only occasionally into Sanskrit literature, as in the dramas.<sup>5</sup>

1. An excellent review thereof has been published by GARREZ in JA. VI, 20, 197ff. —2. FISCHER, GGA. 1891, 365 ; v. l. of Karp. 19, 2.—3. IS. 16, 24 note 1.—4. FISCHER, ZDMG. 39, 316.—5. The two editions by WEBER are respectively indicated as H<sup>1</sup> and H<sup>2</sup>; H<sup>1</sup> however, indicates the second edition.

§14. That Prākṛit has had a rich literature is presupposed also by the second anthology, the Vajjalagga of Jayaballabha (§ 12), a Jaina belonging to the Śvetāmbara sect. According to BHANDARKAR, l.c. p. 17, it is divided

into 48 sections and contains 704 stanzas, whereof the authors are unfortunately not named. Stanza 2=H. 2 ; none of the stanzas, nos. 6 to 10, found at p. 325 occurs in H. ; an immediate publication of Vajjālagga is very much desirable. A chāyā thereof was written by Ratnadeva in the Vikrama-year 1393=1336 A.D. Moreover, the actual name of the collection is Jaavallaham, according to p. 324, 26. A large number of stanzas in M. are further quoted by the writers on rhetorics. Of the 67 stanzas, that WEBER collected in the supplement to H.<sup>1</sup>, p. 202 ff., from Dhanika's Commentary on Daśarūpa, Sāhityadarpaṇa and Kāvya prakāśa, 32 are found in the different recensions of Sattasāi, so that H.<sup>2</sup> p. 509 ff. has yet the remaining 35. Of them the one bearing no. 968 *de ā pasia* is quoted also in Dhvanyāloka, 22, 2 ; in Alaṅkāracandrikā fol. 4<sup>b</sup> and also elsewhere: the one bearing no. 969 *aṅṅaam laḍahattanaam* (so it is to be read) is cited by Ruyyaka, Alaṅkārasarvasva 67, 2; Alaṅkārac. fol. 37 etc. ; the stanza no. 970 is quoted by Jayaratha, Alaṅkāravimarsini fol. 24<sup>b</sup> (Ms. BÜHLER, Detailed Report Nr. 230) ; the stanza no. 971 is cited by Śobhākara, Alaṅkāraratnākara fol. 20 (Ms., BÜHLER, Det. Rep. Nr. 227), and so also are the other stanzas quoted by this or that writer on poetics. The stanzas, nos. 979 *jo* (so it is to be read) *parharium*, 988 *tām tāṇa*, the oft-quoted 989, *tāta jāanti*, and 999 *homi vahatthiareho* were taken from Ānandavardhana's Viśamabāṇalilā, a poem which Ānandavardhana himself quotes in Dhvanyāloka, 62, 3; 111, 4; 152, 3; 241, 12.20, and which according to 241, 19, was written for the instruction of the poets. (*kavivyuṭṭattaye*). Cf. 222, 12 with the commentary of Abhinavagupta. The origin of stanza no. 979, is given by Someśvara, Kāvyaḍarśa, Fol. 52 (Ms., KIELHORN, Report 1880/91, p. 87, No. 60) and Jayanta, Kāvya prakāśadīpikā, fol. 65 ( Ms. BÜHLER, Det. Rep. Nr. 244 ), both of them designate this poem as a Pañcabāṇalilā ; 988 and 989 are cited by Ānandavardhana himself, Dhvanyāloka p. 111. 62<sup>1</sup> ; stanza no. 999 is quoted by Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka 152, 18 (quite mutilated in the printed text) ; and it is noted by Someśvara l.c. fol. 62, and by Jayanta l.c. fol. 79, that this is from Viśamabāṇalilā. Further Ānandavardhana, Dhvanyāloka 241, 13, directly quotes from it also the stanza *ṇa a tāṇa ghaḍai*. The stanza no. 243, 20<sup>2</sup> proves that he wrote also in Apabhraṁśa. Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka p. 223, 13, cites also a Prākṛit stanza of his teacher, Bhaṭṭendurāja, who has been well-known as a Sanskrit poet from a very long time<sup>3</sup>. The Sarasvatikanṭhābharṇa, a treatise on Rhetorics, contains the largest number of Prākṛit stanzas; they number nearly 350, according to ZACHARIAE<sup>4</sup>, of which nearly 150, and according to JACOB<sup>5</sup> nearly 113, are taken from Sattasāi, nearly 30<sup>6</sup> are from Rāvaṇavaho; besides there are stanzas in M. from Kālidāsa, Śriharṣa, Rājasekhara, etc. Moreover, there are in it many stanzas from sources that are still unknown. The statement of BOROAH<sup>7</sup>, that there, in it, existed particularly a poem Satyabhāmāsarṇvāda or a similar poem on the same subject is apparently based on the stanzas *kumā ca sacchāmā*, 322, 15 and *surakusumehi kalusiam*, 327, 25, which are addressed by Satyabhāmā to Rukmiṇi according to the following elucidation. Cf. also 340, 9 ; 369, 21 ; 371, 8. But according to all that we know up till now these stanzas might have been taken from Hari-vijaya of Sarvasena or from Madhumathanavijaya of Vākpatirāja (§ 13). It has already been noted above (§ 12) that even the dramas contain Gāthās in M.

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3. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. I. 59, s. v. Indurāja Bhaṭṭa.—4. GGA. 1884, p. 309.—5. JRAS. 1897, p. 304. AUFRECHT in WEBER, Hāla,<sup>2</sup> p. XLIII, note 1, has identified no. 78.—6. ZACHARIAE, l. c.—7. In his edition (Calcutta 1883), Preface p. iv f.

§ 15. Māhārāṣṭrī is also the language of artificial epics of which up till now two have been published, the Rāvaṇavaho, and the Gaūḍavaho. The author of Rāvaṇavaho, designated also as Dasamuhavaho, mostly referred to by its Sanskrit title Setubandha, is unknown. According to tradition the author is Pravarasena, whereby probably they mean<sup>1</sup> king Pravarasena II of Kashmir, under whose patronage the poem might have been composed. This work had already become famous by the time of Bāṇa, that is to say, by the 7th century A.D.; so it is proved by Harṣacarita 14 of the introduction. The fact that it has been referred to by Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍarśa I, 34, would seem to suggest a still earlier date. Rāvaṇavaho has been handed down to us in three recensions : the existence of a fourth one is presupposed by its Sanskrit translation Setusaraṇi<sup>2</sup>. The vulgata was commented upon by Rāmadāsa, who lived under Akbar (1556-1605); he has very often misunderstood the text. HOEFER was the first scholar to have occupied himself with this work. Already in 1846 he had announced an edition of it.<sup>3</sup> But it was PAUL GOLDSCHMIDT who edited all the poems contained in the first two of the 15 Āśvāsas, in 1873. The complete text with a German translation was published by STEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT : Rāvaṇavaho or Setubandha appeared at Strassburg in 1880 (and the translation in 1883)<sup>4</sup>. A new edition, based upon that of STEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT but containing the complete commentary of Rāmadāsa, and therefore, quite indispensable, has been published by ŚIVADATTA and PARAB : The Setubandha of Pravarasena, Bombay 1895 (=Kāvyaṃālā 47). The author of Gaūḍavaho is Bappaīrāa, in Sanskrit Vākpatirāja. He lived under Yaśovarman, the king of Kanyākubja, therefore, is to be dated towards the end of the seventh or the beginning of the 8th century A. D.<sup>5</sup> He mentions in 799 ff. Bhavabhūti, Bhāsa, Jvalanimitra, Kāntideva, Kālidāsa, Subandhu and Haricandra as his predecessors. Among all the mahākāvya, the Gaūḍavaho is all alone in enumerating continuously its stanzas whereof it contains 1209 in the Āryāmetre. Even this poem is represented in several recensions that often differ from one another to a great extent in number and order of sequence of the stanzas.<sup>6</sup> The commentary of Haripāla, explains merely the principal points, on account of which it is also called Gaūḍavadhasāraṭīkā.<sup>7</sup> Very often it is nothing better than its Sanskrit paraphrase. Gaūḍavaho with the commentary of Haripāla and a word-index has been published under the title "The Gaūḍavaho, a Historical Poem in Prākṛit, by Vākpati, Bombay 1887 (=Bombay Sanskrit Series No. XXXIV)<sup>8</sup> by SHANKAR PANDURANG PANDIT. It has already been mentioned above (§ 13) that Vākpatirāja composed another artificial epic in Prākṛit, i. e. Mahumahavāia. One of its stanzas is found in the commentary of Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka 152, 15 ; and two others perhaps in Sarasvatik. 322, 15 ; 327, 25 (§ 14). The text, in PANDIT's edition, as of course in Hemacandra, is prepared in accordance with the Jaina mode of writing where initially *na* occurs, and there are cases of doubling, as well as of *yaśruti*, because the Mss. are Jaina manuscripts. Similarly is quoted the text of Sattasaī in Bhuvanapāla's commentary. This mode of orthography has not been taken into consideration in this grammar, and here the words have been quoted in pure Māhārāṣṭrī form. The Rāvaṇavaho and the Gaūḍavaho are very strongly influenced by Sanskrit patterns (§ 9) and are written in thoroughly high-flown and artificial language, sometimes with unending compounds, as

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5. JRAS. 1897, p. 304. AUFRECHT in WEBER, Hāla,<sup>2</sup> p. XLIII, note 1, has identified  
no. 78.—6. ZACHARIAE, l. c.—7. In his edition (Calcutta 1883), Preface p. iv f.

§ 15. Māhārāṣṭrī is also the language of artificial epics of which up till now two have been published, the Rāvaṇavaho, and the Gaūḍavaho. The author of Rāvaṇavaho, designated also as Dasamuhavaho, mostly referred to by its Sanskrit title Setubandha, is unknown. According to tradition the author is Pravarasena, whereby probably they mean<sup>1</sup> king Pravarasena II of Kashmir, under whose patronage the poem might have been composed. This work had already become famous by the time of Bāṇa, that is to say, by the 7th century A.D.; so it is proved by Harṣacarita 14 of the introduction. The fact that it has been referred to by Daṇḍin, Kāvya-darśa I, 34, would seem to suggest a still earlier date. Rāvaṇavaho has been handed down to us in three recensions : the existence of a fourth one is presupposed by its Sanskrit translation Setusarāṇī<sup>2</sup>. The vulgata was commented upon by Rāmadāsa, who lived under Akbar (1556-1605); he has very often misunderstood the text. HOEFER was the first scholar to have occupied himself with this work. Already in 1846 he had announced an edition of it.<sup>3</sup> But it was PAUL GOLDSCHMIDT who edited all the poems contained in the first two of the 15 Āśvāsas, in 1873. The complete text with a German translation was published by SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT : Rāvaṇavaho or Setubandha appeared at Strassburg in 1880 (and the translation in 1883)<sup>4</sup>. A new edition, based upon that of SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT but containing the complete commentary of Rāmadāsa, and therefore, quite indispensable, has been published by ŚIVADATTA and PARAB : The Setubandha of Pravarasena, Bombay 1895 (=Kāvya-mālā 47). The author of Gaūḍavaho is Bappaīrāa, in Sanskrit Vākpatirāja. He lived under Yaśovarman, the king of Kanyākubja, therefore, is to be dated towards the end of the seventh or the beginning of the 8th century A. D.<sup>5</sup> He mentions in 799 ff. Bhavabhūti, Bhāsa, Jvalanāmītra, Kāntideva, Kālidāsa, Subandhu and Haricandra as his predecessors. Among all the mahākāvya, the Gaūḍavaho is all alone in enumerating continuously its stanzas whereof it contains 1209 in the Āryāmetre. Even this poem is represented in several recensions that often differ from one another to a great extent in number and order of sequence of the stanzas.<sup>6</sup> The commentary of Haripāla, explains merely the principal points, on account of which it is also called Gaūḍavadhasāraṭīkā.<sup>7</sup> Very often it is nothing better than its Sanskrit paraphrase. Gaūḍavaho with the commentary of Haripāla and a word-index has been published under the title "The Gaūḍavaho, a Historical Poem in Prākṛit, by Vākpati, Bombay 1887 (=Bombay Sanskrit Series No. XXXIV)<sup>8</sup> by SHANKAR PANDURANG PANDIT. It has already been mentioned above (§ 13) that Vākpatirāja composed another artificial epic in Prākṛit, i. e. Mahamahavīa. One of its stanzas is found in the commentary of Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka 152, 15 ; and two others perhaps in Sarasvatik. 322, 15 ; 327, 25 (§ 14). The text, in PANDIT's edition, as of course in Hemacandra, is prepared in accordance with the Jaina mode of writing where initially *na* occurs, and there are cases of doubling, as well as of *yaśruti*, because the Mss. are Jaina manuscripts. Similarly is quoted the text of Sattasāi in Bhuvanapāla's commentary. This mode of orthography has not been taken into consideration in this grammar, and here the words have been quoted in pure Māhārāṣṭrī form. The Rāvaṇavaho and the Gaūḍavaho are very strongly influenced by Sanskrit patterns (§ 9) and are written in thoroughly high-flown and artificial language, sometimes with unending compounds, as

are found also in the dramas of Bhavabhūti and occasionally in Mṛcchakaṭikā<sup>9</sup> as well. The Gauḍavaho, the Sattasaī of Hāla, and the Rāvaṇavaho are the most important sources of our knowledge of Māhārāṣṭri. Because they are furnished with excellent word indexes they will be referred, mostly in the section on phonology, by G. H. R. In H<sup>1</sup> (§ 13, note 5) p. 29 ff., WEBER has given an outline of the grammar of M., as far as it was possible with the parts of Sattasaī published till that time.

1. MAX MÜLLER, *Indien in seiner Weltgeschichtlichen Bedeutung* (Leipzig 1884) p. 272 ff. The assumption that Kālidāsa was the author of the Rāvaṇavaho is based entirely on recent sources.—2. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Rāvaṇavaho*, Introduction p. v. ff.—3. Annual Report of DMG. of the year 1845, (Leipzig 1846) p. 176 : *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache* 2, 488 ff.—4. Cf. also the recension by FISCHER, GGA. 1880, p. 321 ff.—5. PANDIT, *Gauḍavaho*, Introduction p. LXIV ff. The research of JACOBI, GGA. 1888, p. 68 ff., with regard to the solar eclipse mentioned in the stanza no. 829 that took place in 733 A.D., as indicative of the downfall of Yaśovarman is wrong. The context does not permit us to consider it a reference to Yaśovarman's defeat. The type of description is very common with the writers of mahākāvya and is of not of any historical value.—6. PANDIT, *Gauḍavaho* p. VIII f ; 345 ff.—7. Other, but wrong, explanations are given in PANDIT, *Gauḍavaho* p. VII f ; JACOBI, GGA. 1888, p. 63.—8. Review by JACOBI, GGA. 1888, p. 61 ff.—9. Vaktipatirāja is very much overrated by PANDIT, *Gauḍavaho*, p. LI ff, and JACOBI, GGA. 1888, p. 65.

§ 16. The two dialects used by the Jains are usually considered to be closely connected to Māhārāṣṭri. They have, from one another, been differentiated by JACOBI<sup>1</sup> by calling them *Jaina Māhārāṣṭri* and *Jaina Prākṛit*. By *Jaina Māhārāṣṭri* (JM.) he means the language of the commentators and the poets<sup>2</sup> and by *Jaina Prākṛit* the language of the older books of the *Jaina canons*<sup>3</sup> and that of the older *Sūtras*.<sup>4</sup> The name *Jaina Prākṛit* that was first used by E. MÜLLER<sup>5</sup> is not a happy one, and the assertion that this *Jaina Prākṛit* is an older or archaic Māhārāṣṭri is wrong.<sup>6</sup> The Indian grammarians usually call the language of the old *Jainasūtras* *Ārṣam*, i. e. "the speech of the ṛṣis". Hc. 1, 3, announces that for *Ārṣa*, all the rules of his grammar are subjected to exceptions, and in 2, 174 he states that the limitations recorded above do not hold good for *Ārṣa*, and there all the types of forms are permissible. *Trivikrama*<sup>7</sup> excludes *Ārṣa*, like *Deśya* (§ 9), from his grammar altogether, because it is of independent origin (*rūḍhatvāt*), i. e. because it does not have Sanskrit as its source and as it abides mostly by its own rules (*svatantratvācca bhūyasā*). In a quotation in *Premacandra Tarkavāgiśa* on *Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍarśa* I, 33, two types of *Prākṛit* are distinguished : the one is that which originated from *Ārṣa*, and the other is that which is almost exactly the same as *Ārṣa*: *ārṣoṭham ārṣatulyaṅca dvividhaṁ prākṛitaṁ viduḥ*. *Nāmisadhu* on *Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra* 2, 12, thus derives the word *Prākṛit* : that its basis (*prākṛitih*) is the natural language of intercourse of all beings and it is not regulated according to grammar, etc. : it is called *Prākṛit* because it is derived from this language or is itself the same. Or it may be that *prākṛita* stands for *prākṛitā*, "created before, in earlier period (*pūrvam*)", for it is called *prākṛita*. The *Prākṛit* of the *Ārṣa canon*, i. e. the *Ardhamāgadhā*, is the language of gods: *ārisavayaṇe siddhaṁ devānāṁ addhamāgadhā vāṇi*. Accordingly *Prākṛit* is the language that is easily understood by children, women, etc. and is the basis of all the languages. Like rain-water it had one and the same form in former times but it has become diversified on account of difference in locality and grammatical modifications, and has come to be known as *Sanskṛit* and other languages mentioned by *Rudraṭa* 2, 12, (§ 4). Therefore, *Prākṛit* has been made the source of *Sanskṛit* as well. It is to be explained by the fact that like the *Buddhists*, the *Māgadhī*<sup>8</sup>, the *Jains* consider *Ardhamāgadhī*, the *Ārṣa* of the grammarians,

the original language from which all the other languages have sprung up, because Mahāvira is supposed to have preached in that language. Thus describes the Samavāyaṅgasutta 98<sup>9</sup> *bhagavaṃ ca naṃ addhamāgahāe bhāsāe dhammaṃ ākkhāi | sā vi ya naṃ addhamāgahā bhāsā bhāsijjamāṇi tesim savvesim āriya-m-aṇāriyānaṃ duḥpāyacaūppayamiyāpasupakkhisarivānaṃ appappaṇo hiya-sivasuhadāya bhāsattāe pariṇamāi*. "The Lord propagated, the law in the Ardhamāgadhi language : this peace, happiness-and-bliss-giving Ardhamāgadhi undergoes modifications when it is spoken by the Aryans, the non-Aryans, the bipeds, the quadrupeds, the wild and the tamed animals, the birds and the worms". Vāgbhata, Alankāratilaka 1, 1 : *sarvārdhamāgadhiṃ sarvabhāṣāsu pariṇāminim | sāvriyām*<sup>10</sup> *sarvato vācam sāvajñim prañidadhmahe* "we salute Vāc that is fully Ardhamāgadhi and who modifies herself into all the different languages, and is perfect and omniscient". In the Paṇṇavaṇāsutta 59f. the Aryans are divided into nine classes ; of them the sixth one is the *bhāsāriyā*, "those that are Aryans by language". About them it is said, p. 62<sup>11</sup> : *se kiṃ taṃ bhāsāriyā | bhāsāriyā je naṃ addhamāgahāe bhāsāe bhāsanti jathā vi ya naṃ bambhī livi pavattāi*, "what is meant by 'Aryans by speech' ? Aryans by speech are they who speak the Ardhamāgadhi language, and who use the Brāhmī alphabet". That Mahāvira preached in Ardhamāgadhi is mentioned, besides in the passage quoted above from the Samavāyaṅgasutta, also in the Ovavāiyasutta § 56 ; it runs thus : *tae naṃ samane bhagavaṃ mahāvire.....addhamāgahāe bhāsāe bhāsāi | arihā dhammāṃ parikahe | tesim savvesim āriya-m-aṇāriyānaṃ agūlāe dhammaṃ ākkhāi | sā vi ya naṃ addhamāgahā bhāsā tesim savvesim āriya-m-aṇāriyānaṃ appaṇo sabhāsāe pariṇāmeṇaṃ pariṇamāi*. The same idea is emphasized also by Abhayadeva on Uvāsagadasāo p. 46 and Malayagiri on the Sūriyapannatti, in WEBER, Bhagavati, 2, 245 ; cf. also Hc., Abhidhānacintāmaṇi 59 with commentary. In a passage quoted by Hc. 4, 287, it is said that the older Suttas are composed in Addhamāgahabhāsā<sup>12</sup> : *porānaṃ addhamāgahabhāsāniyayam havaī suttaṃ*. Thereon, remarks Hc.—although this is the tradition also of the older people, Ardhamāgadhi follows its own rules, and not the rules he would frame later for Māgadhi.<sup>13</sup> The second of the illustrative examples, cited by him, *se tārise dukkhasahe jindie*=Dasaviyāliyasutta 633, 19, would read in Māgadhi as *se tālīse dukkaśahe yidindie*.

1. Kalpasūtra p. 17 ; Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭri (Leipzig, 1886), p. xi f.—2. Kalpasūtra p. 17.—3. Erzählungen p. xii.—4. Kalpasūtra p. 17.—5. Beiträge zur grammatik des Jaina-Prākṛit (Berlin 1876).—6. See under sec. 18.—7. First in PISCHEL, De Gr. Pr. p. 29.—8. D' ALWIS, An Introduction to Kachchāyana's Grammar of the Pāli Language (Colombo 1863) p. cvii ; MUIR, ost. 2<sup>3</sup>, 54 ; FRYER, Proc. ASB. 1879, 155f.—9. The text has been published by WEBER also ; Index, 2, 2, 406 ; cf. further below the passage quoted from the Ovavāiyasutta.—10. So do the Mss. ; the printed edition (Bombay 1894=Kāvymālā 43) reads *sarvāpām*.—11. The text was published by WEBER also, IS. 16, 399, and Index 2, 2, 562.—12. LEUMANN, Das Aupapātika Sūtra (Leipzig 1883), p. 96 s. v. Addhamāgahā bhāsā suggests *niyayam*=*nijaka*, "to hold". But Hc. himself explains it by *niyata*, and that is demanded by the sense.—13. Wrongly explained by HOERNLE. The Prākṛita-Lakṣhaṇam or Chaṇḍa's Grammar of the Ancient (Ārṣha) Prākṛit (Calcutta 1880). p. xix, note.

§ 17. It follows, therefore, that Ārṣa and Ardhamāgadhi are identical, and that according to tradition, the language of the older Jaina-Suttas was Ardhamāgadhi<sup>1</sup>, and in fact, as demonstrated by the passage from Dasaveyāliyasutta quoted by Hc. § 16, it was used not merely in prose but also in poetry. But in spite of all the correspondences there is a greater amount of difference, between the language of prose and that of poetry. The chief characteristics of Māgadhi are :—change of *r* into *l* and *s* into *ś*, and the nom. sing. ending in—*e* instead of in—*o* of *a*-stems



as well as of the consonant stems that are reduced to *a*-stems in declension. Ardhamāgadhi retains both *r* and *s*, but it has the nom. in—*e*; and according to Abhayadeva on Samav. p. 98<sup>3</sup> and Uvās. p. 46 it derives its name “Half Māgadhi” on that account; *ardhamāgadhi bhāṣā yasyām rasor laṣau māgadhyām<sup>3</sup> ityādikaṁ māgadha-bhāṣālakṣaṇaṁ paripūrṇaṁ nāsti*. As already suggested by STEVENSON<sup>4</sup>, WEBER<sup>5</sup> has proved that the contact of Ardhamāgadhi with Māgadhi is “not very close”. Besides the nom. in—*e*, the only feature that is common to both is *da* = Skt. *ta* in the past passive participle of roots in—*r*, but that too is not the only possible form in Mg. (§ 219). The preponderance of *ya* must be considered as a characteristic common to both, although the conditions under which it comes in are not quite similar. Further we may consider the change of *ka* into *ga* (§ 202), that occurs in Mg. in sporadic cases only, and the frequent *pluti* in the voc. sing. of *a*-stems (71), that takes place in Dh. as well as in A. Had the literary Mg. monuments been more numerous and handed down to us in a better condition the contact could undoubtedly be further illustrated. At the present time, however, it is the chance that decides the issue. Thus AMg. *uṣiṇa* = Skt. *uṣṇa*, is equivalent to Mg. *koṣiṇa* = *koṣṇa* (§ 133), and it is very much remarkable that both AMg. and Mg. use the Sanskrit genitive form *tava*, that is wanting in other dialects (§ 421). From the Lāṭ-dialect, comes the loc. sing. in—*msi*<sup>6</sup> of *a*-stem. In poetry even in Ardhamāgadhi, in the nomin. sing. of *a*-stem, the forms in—*o* abound instead of those in—*e*; in our texts forms in both are retained near one another. Thus Āyār. p. 41, 1, *abhivāyamāṇe*, but 2 *hayapuvvo*, 3 *lūsiyapuvvo*; p. 45, 19, *nāo*, but 20 *se mahāvīre*, 22 against *aladdhapuvvo* and *gāmo*; p. 46, 3 *dukkhasahe*, *apaḍiṇne*, 4 *sūro*, 5 *saṁvude*, 6 *paḍisevamāṇo*, 7 *acale*, 14 *apuṭṭhe*, 15 *puṭṭho*, *apuṭṭho*. In such cases the manuscript tradition is faulty which should have been corrected by the editors. The Calcutta edition has, 45, 22, *gāme*, 46, 6, *paḍisevamāṇe*, besides the forms in—*o*. Here, in all these places—*e* must be written. But in other metrical passages undoubtedly, the original form is the nomin. sing. in—*o*, as in Āyār. p. 127ff.; instead of *maūde*, p. 128, 3, as in ms. B. it should have been written *maūdo*. It is repeated in all the pieces written in verse, as in Sūyagaḍaṅgasutta, in Uttarajjhayaṇasutta, in Dasaveyāliyasutta, etc. Further, the language of poetry shows many other remarkable variations in phonology and morphology, from that of prose, and very often approaches M. and JM., the second dialect of the Jainas, but, however, without coinciding with either. Thus for example the Skt. word *mleccha* is written as *mūlakku* in AMg. in prose, but in poetry, as in M., JM., Ś., and A., it is written as *mēccha* (§ 84); AMg. has only in verses, like M. and JM. the verbal form *kuṇāḥ*, from *√kr* [§ 508]. In AMg. the absol. forms in—*tuṇa* and—*uṇa* are almost, if not all exclusively, limited to poetry, though they are supreme in M. and JM. (§ 584). In construction of Sandhi, in flexion, and in vocabulary the metrical works stand in contrast with those in prose. Consequently many of the grammatical peculiarities may be noticed only in works like Dasav., Uttar., and Sūyag. The characteristics of the poetical dialect almost tally with those laid down by Kramadīśvara, who in 5, 98, says that AMg. is a mixture of Māhārāṣṭri and Māgadhi *māhārāṣṭri-miśrārdhamāgadhi*.<sup>7</sup> This may, therefore, be considered to be the third separate dialect of the Jainas. Further, it is noteworthy, that though in Pāli, the language of poetry, has a series of archaic and peculiar forms unknown in prose, they are not sufficient to give the former the status of a separate dialect. In the same way, as the dialect of poetry doubtlessly agrees with that of prose fundamentally, I have designated both of them with the traditiona

Ardhamāgadhī (AMg.). In Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17,48, Ardhamāgadhī is mentioned by the side of Māgadhī, Āvanti, Prācyā, Sūrasenī, Bāhlikā and Dākṣiṇāṭyā, as one of the seven bhāṣās, and again in the same work 17,50 = Sāhityadarpaṇa, p. 173, 3, it is said that it is used in dramas, as the language of menials, Rājputs and bankers: *ceṭānām rājaputrāṇām śreṣṭhinām cārdhamāgadhī*. But our dramas do not conform to this, and Mārkaṇḍeya rejects, as already stated above (§ 3), the existence of Ardhamāgadhī as an independent dialect beside Māgadhī. We may expect that in dramas wherein the Jains may appear, they speak AMg. LASSEN, Inst. pp. 410 ff., has even attempted to describe the characteristics of Ardhamāgadhī, on the basis of Prab. and Murdār., and he holds the view that the language of the barber in Dhūrtas. is Amg. In Mudrār. pp. 174-78 ; 183-187 ; 190-194, there appears the beggar monk (*kṣapaṇaka*) Jivasi-dhhi, about whom Dhunḍhirāja, in his commentary on this work, p. 40, explicitly remarks—*kṣapaṇako jainākṛtiḥ* : in the dialect of this Kṣapaṇaka, the nominative sing. forms ending in *e* agree with those of AMg. : thus *kuvide*, *bhadante* (178,4), also in the neuter *adakkhiṇe ṇakkhatte* (to be read as *°khi°* ; 176.1.2) ; further therein occurs also the change of *ka* into *ga*, in *śāvagānam* (175,1 ; 185,1 : 190, 10) in the voc. sing. *śāvagā* (175,3 ; 177,2 ; 183,5 etc.), wherein has to be noted also the lengthening of the final vowel (§ 71), in the nom. sing. *śāvage* (178,2 ; 193,1, it is to be so read), and in *hage* = \**ahakah* (§ 142. 19+. 417). Otherwise, however, his dialect is Māgadhī, and Hc 4,302 cites from it examples of Mg. In Prab. also appears a Kṣapaṇaka, who is designated as a Digambara, pp. 46-64. Rāmadāsa correctly remarks that his dialect is Mg., and notes that Māgadhī is the language spoken by the Bhikṣus, the Kṣapaṇakas, the Rākṣasas, and the servants employed in female apartments. Then there appears a Digambara also in Laṭakamelaka, pp. 12-15, 25-28, who likewise speaks Mg. It must not be overlooked that wherever a Digambara appears his dialect does not immaterially differ from that of a Śvetāmbara, and it agrees with Mg., in an essential phonological characteristic (§21). We do not find any trace of AMg. in the dramas.

1. WILSON, Select Works I, 289 ; WEBER, Bhagavatī I, 392-2. Published by WEBER, Verzeichniss 2, 2, 406, note 8.—3 WEBER, l. c., correctly remarks that the quotation is from same hitherto unknown grammar. Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśāstrā 2, 12, also quotes it, but he reads *māgadhīkāyām* for *māgadhīyām*. Caṇḍa, 3, 39, reads it as *māgadhīkāyām rasavyorlasau*. WEBER's view (Verzeichniss 2, 3, xiv, note 7) that *addhamāgadhībhāṣā* "expresses too little and is qualitatively inaccurate" is wrong.—4. The Kalpa-sūtra, and Navatstva (London 1848), pp. 137 ff.—5 Bhagavatī I, 393 ff.—6. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge, p. 3. The other points of resemblance mentioned by MÜLLER are found also in other dialects.—7. HOERNLE, Caṇḍa, p. xix, wrongly assumes Ardhamāgadhī = Māhāsāstrī = Ārṣa.

§ 18. COLEBROOKE<sup>1</sup> called the language of the canons of the Jains to be Māgadhī, and opined that this Prākṛit did not differ much from the language used by the dramatical authors in their works and which they assign to women. It is considered to be derived from Sanskrit, like Pāli in Ceylon. LASSEN<sup>2</sup> considered it to be identical with Māhārāṣṭrī, and HOFER<sup>3</sup> asserted that many of the particularities, found in the Prākṛit of the Jaina books, are generally foreign to the common Prākṛit, and that on the whole the former appears to be one and same language as the latter. JACOB<sup>4</sup> finds it to be older or archaic Māhārāṣṭrī, and remarks further that on a comparison of the Jaina Prākṛit, particularly in its earliest available form, with Pāli, on one hand, and with the Prākṛit of Hāla, Setubandha, etc., on the other, we find that the Jaina Prākṛit is more akin to Pāli, than it is to the later Prākṛit,<sup>5</sup> and that it is an old Indian

dialect, that is closely allied to Pāli, but is decidedly later than it.<sup>6</sup> Against this WEBER denies the existence of any close relationship between AMg. and M., and is more critical about its kinship with Pāli, and holds, as was already said before by SPIEGEL,<sup>8</sup> and after him by JACOBI,<sup>9</sup> that AMg. is considerably later than Pāli. AMg. differs from M. in phonetics, morphology and vocabulary so significantly that it is impossible to regard it as an older M. JACOBI<sup>10</sup> himself had collected together a number of points of such differences and E. MÜLLER<sup>11</sup> has collected still more. He rejects the idea of inclusion of AMg. under M. and will like to connect it with Māgadhi of the inscriptions. The nom. sing. in *-e* alone will fully suffice to distinguish AMg. from M. It is not a case of phonetic change that can be explained on the hypothesis of difference in time, but is due to local dialectal peculiarity as the history of Indian Linguistics clearly shows. It assigns AMg. much further to the east than M. It is likely that that at the time of the compilation of the canons, either in the council held at Valabhī under Devardhigaṇin or in the council of Mathurā under Skandilācārya, the original dialect got a western colouring. At Valabhī particularly the influence of M.<sup>12</sup> might have been quite considerable. But such an influence could not have been significant, because even by it the basic character of AMg. was not touched. To M. are unknown, thus for example, the phonetic laws like the lengthening of *-am* into *-ām* before *ēva* (§ 68), the weakening of *iti* into *i* (§ 93), the dropping of *-i* of the prefix *prati* in cases like *paḍucca*, *paḍuppanna*, *paḍoyāra*, etc. (§ 163), the substitution of dentals for palatals (§ 215), the dropping of *ya* in *ahā=yathā* (§ 335) and the use of the sandhi-consonants (§ 353); further the dative in *-ttāe* (§ 364), the instrumental in *-sā* (§ 364), the locative in *-msi* (§366<sup>a</sup>), the nom. sing. of the *t*-stem in *-m* (§ 396), the instrumental forms like *kammunā* and *dhammunā* (§ 404), the peculiar types of numerals, the inflection of many verbs like *āikkhai* from *khyā* (§ 492), *pāunai* from *āp* with *pra* (§ 504), *kuvvaī* from *kr* (§ 508), the strong and the *s*-aorists (§ 516 ff.), the infinitives in *-ttu*, *-ittu* (§ 577), the absolutives in *-ttā* (§ 582), *-ttānam* (§ 583), *-ccā*, *ccānam*, *ccāna* (587), *-yānam*, *-yāna* (§ 592). The process of cerebralization has in AMg. a wider sphere than in M. (§ 219. 222. 289. 333), and likewise the change of *ra* into *la* (§ 257). The phonetic laws that are usual in AMg. are found to hold good only rarely in M.: such are the use of the separation-vowel *-a* (§ 132), the retention of long vowels and the simplification of consonant groups in the case of the suffix *-tra* (§ 87), and in that of *kṣa* (§ 323), the change of *ka* into *ga* (§ 202), and of *pa* into *ma* (§ 248), etc. These, the *ya*-*ruti*, (§ 187), the often wholly different vocabulary and many other grammatical peculiarities irrefutably demonstrate that AMg. and M. have been fundamentally different dialects from the beginning. Due to its elevation to the status of a literary language AMg. did not escape the fate of the other (literary) dialects, and on account of the dropping of consonants it has become fundamentally changed. The nom. in *-e* shows that in the matter of fixation of the linguistic boundary of AMg., we need not go further in the west beyond Allāhābād.<sup>13</sup> At present it is not possible to determine its region more accurately.

1. Misc. Essays 2<sup>1</sup>, 213.—2. Inst. pp. 1.42.43.—ZWSpr. 3, 371.—4. Kalpasūtra, p. 18; cf. p. 19 and Erz. p. XII; WEBER, Verzeichniss 2,3, xiv, note 7.—5. SBE. XXII, p. XLI.—6. Ayāramga Sutta p. VIII.—7. Bhag. I, 396 f.—8. Münchener Gelehrte Anzeigen 1849, p. 912.—9. Kalpasūtra p. 17 f., Erz. p. XII.—10. Beiträge pp. 3 ff.—11. JACOBI, Kalpasūtra, pp. 15 ff.; SBE XII, pp. XXXVII ff.; WEBER, IS. 16, 218.—12. Suggestion of JACOBI, Erz. p. XXII.—13. See §. 24.

§ 19. WEBER, in IS. 16, 211-479; 17, 1-90 has studied in detail the holy scriptures of the Śvetāmbaras written in AMg. These essays were further

supplemented by the copious extracts that WEBER included in the catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākṛit manuscripts preserved in the Royal Library of Berlin, 2, 2, 355-825 ; therein he has also specified all the Indian and European editions of all such works<sup>1</sup> as were published by that time. In this grammar the entire literature that has been published has been utilized. Unfortunately there do not still exist many strictly critical editions: many of the published texts are almost unusable for grammatical purposes. The most important prose text for our purpose is the first Aṅga, the Āyār-āṅgasutta<sup>2</sup>, which has the most antiquated language of all. After it comes into consideration particularly the second Aṅga, the Sūyagaḍaṅgasutta, of which the first book, predominantly metrical, is for the poetic language what Āyār., is for prose. The fourth Aṅga, the Samāvāyaṅgā, is essential for a knowledge of the numerals. The sixth, the Nāyādhammakahāo, the seventh Uvāsagadaśāo,<sup>3</sup> the eleventh, the Vivāgasuya, as well as particular portions of the fifth, the Vivāhapannatti, contain continuous narratives, and, therefore, offer much more information with regard to declension and conjugation than do others. The same is true also of two of the Upāṅgas, namely the Ovavāiyasutta and the Nirayāvaliyāo, and also the first section of the Kappasūya among the Chedasūtra. Among the Mūlasūtras the Uttarajjhayaṅgasutta, that is written almost entirely in verse, is of the highest importance ; it contains plenty of peculiar and archaic forms : and of significance is the Dasaveyāliysutta, although its language is very much degenerated. The endless repetitions of the same words and phrases render it possible to ascertain the correct reading even of the corrupt texts, in several cases ; but in other cases it was not possible to reach any certainty and much has to be left out of consideration, because the sources were inadequate. Nevertheless, it is now possible to draw a clear and correct picture of AMg., and it is now proved that AMg., is the most important of all the Prākṛit dialects,<sup>4</sup> because it is best preserved and is most copious. First of all, it was STEVENSON, Kalpasūtra, pp. 131 ff., who gave the incomplete and erroneous information about AMg. ; HOEFER, ZWSpr. 3, 364 ff., furnished something additional ; herein he pointed out some of the chief characteristics of the language such the yaśurti, the anaptyctic vowels, the change of ka into ga, etc. Of fundamental importance for AMg., was the work of WEBER ; Über, ein Fragment der Bhagavatī, Theil 1.2 (Berlin 1866. 1867)=Abhandlungen der Kgl. Akademischer Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1865, p. 367-444 ; 1866, p. 155-352. It was here that WEBER, first of all, treated the peculiar orthography of the Jaina manuscripts, and attempted to determine (of course, in many places wrongly) the sound value of certain letters of the alphabet, and gave the outlines of a grammar, which is still valuable, and also specimens of the language. It may be noted here that the Bhagavatī, is the fifth Aṅga, and its canonical name is the Vivāhapannatti, by which name it will be referred to in this grammar : it will be quoted simply as Bhagavatī whenever the reference is to WEBER's above mentioned essay. The work of E. MÜLLER, the author of Beiträge zur Grammatik des Jainaprākṛit, Berlin 1876, does not take us much further, although the writer, in it, has made several improvements upon WEBER in respect of phonology. JACOBI in Āyār., pp. VIII-XIV, gave a cursory resumé of the grammar in comparison with of Pāli.

1. A list of the utilized editions and translations along with the abbreviations has been given at the end of this grammar.—2. It is due to the objectionable practice that has become a customary that the Jaina texts like Kalpasūtra Aupapātikasūtra, Daśavikālikasūtra, Bhagavatī, Jitakalpa, etc., are designated by their Sanskrit titles. Only HOERNLE in his edition of Uvāsagadaśāo made a noteworthy exception. In this grammar, the Sanskrit titles will be used only when reference will be made to the remarks of the editors concerned

who have named them as such, and this has been done with a view to avoid error.—3. The edition of HOERNLE (Calcutta 1890, Bibl. Ind.), remains up to the present day the only edition of a Jaina work with its text and the commentary critically edited. Without extracts from the commentaries, the text often remains unintelligible.—4. FISCHER, ZDMG. 52, p. 95.

§ 20. The dialect used in the non-canonical writings of the Śvetāmbaras differs from AMg. significantly. As already stated above (§ 16) JACOBI has called it Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī. More suitable perhaps would have been Jaina Saurāṣṭrī, that was suggested by JACOBI<sup>1</sup> earlier, if it could be assumed that Māhārāṣṭrī and Saurāṣṭrī were closely allied dialects. But that, however, is a hypothesis that cannot be established and, therefore, the name Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī may be retained, because undoubtedly this dialect is very close to Māhārāṣṭrī, even though in no way it is fully identical with it. JACOBI<sup>2</sup> wrongly supposes that M. is fully identical with M. of Hc., and not with that of Hāla, Śetubandha and the dramas. All the traceable quotations in Hc. go back to Hāla, Rāvaṇavaho, Gauḍavaho, Viṣamabāṇalīlā and Karpūramañjarī. Hc. had simply extended the orthography of the Jains also to these works as it was so in the original Jaina manuscripts (§ 15). But in fact, it appears that Hc. had taken into consideration some specific works in JM. besides those in AMg. At least, it must be noted that not a small number of his rules may as yet be instanced only in JM. AMg. too has not remained without any influence on JM. Of the characteristics of AMg. enumerated under § 18, many are to be found also in JM.: thus for example, the saṁdhi consonants, the nom. of *t*-stems in-*m*, the infinitives in-*ittu*, the absolute in-*ttā*, and the change of *ka* into *ga*. Therefore, JM. is not pure M., but in fact it is so close to it that, after all, it may be called M. The most important text in JM. is the Āvaśyaka legends edited by ERNST LEUMANN, Heft I, Leipzig, 1897. Lack of a commentary makes the understanding of the text extremely difficult, and much remains completely obscure. But even these few sheets of paper show that out of these JM. texts we may expect many new and important things notably lexicographical, for in this respect JM. is perhaps the most promising dialect. The later texts, in greater part, are contained in the *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī, zur Einführung in das Studium des Prākṛit. Grammatik, Text, Wörterbuch, Herausgegeben von HERMANN JACOBI, Leipzig 1886.* The introductory elementary grammar contains also a section on syntax, but that is confined only to the forms that occur in the stories concerned. Besides we have to take into consideration the Kakkuka inscription (§ 10), and the smaller pieces, like the Kālakācāryakathānaka, ZDMG. 34, 247 ff.; 35, 675; 37, 493 ff., the legend of the fall of Dvāravatī, ZDMG. 42, 493 ff., and the stūpa of Mathurā SWA 137, the Rṣabhapañcāśikā, ZDMG. 33, 445 ff., and in the Kāvya-mālā, Part VII (Bombay, 1890), pp 124 ff., and the extracts in the Reports that are mostly unfit for use. Probably in JM. was written also the rhetorical work of Hari, from whom Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lāṅkāra, 2, 19 cites a stanza.<sup>3</sup>

1. Kalpasūtra, p. 18—2. Kalpasūtra, p. 19.-3. FISCHER, ZDMG. 39, p. 314. In the commentary on 1, 2, for Rudra read Hari.

§ 21. We are not as yet sufficiently acquainted with the language of the canons of the Digambaras. This language does not insignificantly differ from that of the canons of the Śvetāmbaras. If a conclusion has to be drawn on the basis of the non-canonical writings, it will be said that in one important aspect, as it respects phonology, i.e., so far as the change of *ta* into *da*, and of *tha* into *dha*, is concerned, it is closer to Māgadhi, than to the AMg. of the Śvetāmbaras. In any case, the later day writings of the Di-

gambaras as well observe this phonetic law. For instance the Gāthās, in the Gurvāvali, referred to by JACOBI,<sup>2</sup> and the extracts from Kundakundācārya's Pavayanasāra, and Kārtikeyasvāmin's Kattigeyānupēkkhā, that has been published by BHĀNDĀRKAR<sup>3</sup> (§ 203). Śaurasenī also observes the same phonetic law; and as the nom. sing. of *a*-stem ends in-*o*, in the language of the scriptures of the Digambaras, this dialect may be designated as the Jaina Śaurasenī. But here we have to be more cautious than even in the case of J.M., so as always to remember that this designation merely serves as a convenient term even though it is by no means accurate. Even a preliminary examination of the dialect will show that it has such forms and words as are altogether foreign to the Śaurasenī, though, however, they are found partly in M. and partly in AMg. Thus typically M. is the loc. sing. of *a*-stems ending in-*mmi*, as in *dāṇammi*, *suhammi*, *asuhammi*, *nāṇammi*, *damaṇamhammi* (Pav. 383, 69; 385, 61; 387, 13), *kālammi* (Kattig. 400, 322), and the use of—*va=iva* (Pav. 383, 44). The root *kr.* is inflected, always showing *da=ta*, partly like M. *kuṇaḍi* (Kattig. 399, 310. 319; 402, 359. 367. 370. 371; 403, 385; 404, 388. 389. 391), and partly like AMg. *kuṇvadi* (Kattig. 399, 313; 400, 329; 401, 340) and *kuṇvade* (403, 384), side by side with forms that are Ś. e. g. *kareḍi* (Pav. 384, 59; Kattig. 400, 324; 402, 369; 403, 377. 378. 383) and M., J.M. AMg. *karadi* (403, 332). The form of the passive is *kiradi* (Kattig. 399, 320; 401, 342. 350, ) as in M. J.M. The absolutive mostly ends in—*ttā*, as in AMg. *cattā=tyaktvā* (Pav. 385, 64; Kattig. 403, 374); *jāṇittā* (Pav. 385, 68; Kattig. 401, 340. 342. 350); *viyāṇittā* (Pav. 387, 21); *ṇamamsittā*, *nirūṇjhittā* (Pav. 386, 670); *ṇihanittā* (Kattig. 401, 339); also in—*ya* as in *bhaviya* (Pav. 380, 12; 387, 12); *āpiccha=āpīcchya* (Pav. 386, 1); *ādāya* (Pav. 386, 6); *āsijja*, *āsējja=āsāḍya* (Pav. 386, 1. 11); *samāsijja* (Pav. 379, 5); *gahiya* (Kattig. 403, 373); *pappa* (Pav. 384, 49), and in—*ccā* as in *kiccā* (Pav. 379, 4; Kattig. 402, 356. 357. 358. 375. 376); *thiccā* (Kattig. 402, 355); *soccā* (Pav. 386, 6). Side by side with such forms are found also the absolutive in—*dūna*; *kādūna*, *ṇedūna* (Kattig. 403, 374. 375), wrongly<sup>4</sup> also in—*ūna*: *jāi-ūna*, *gamiūna*, *gahiūna*, *bhuṇjāvīūna* (Kattig. 403, 373. 374. 375. 376). Such Digambara texts may have been the source, according to which Hc. allows even in Ś forms in—*ttā* and—*dūna* and such other forms as are not found in Śaurasenī of the dramas, (§ 22. 266. 365. 475. 582. 584). Side by side with the AMg. *pappodi=prāpnoti* occurs the commonly found *pāvadi* (Pav. 380, 11, Kattig. 400, 326; 403, 370); by the side of Ś. *jāṇādi* (Pav. 382, 25) is seen *jāṇadi* (Kattig. 3 8, 302. 303; 400, 323) as well as *ṇādi* (Pav. 382, 25); moreover, here are used the forms like *muṇadi* (Kattig. 398, 303; 399, 313. 316. 337), *muṇedavo* (the MS. has °*eva*<sup>2</sup>, Pav. 380, 8) that are unknown in Ś. Mg. In this way there occur many other forms from M. AMg. S. side by side. From what has seen up till now it seems that JŚ. has much more of common characteristics with AMg. than with J.M., and is partly more archaic. Both the texts are in verse.

1. BHĀNDĀRKAR, Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year 1883-84 (Bombay 1887), pp. 106 ff.; WEBER, Verzeichniss 2, 2, 823 f.—2. Kalpasūtra pp. 30.—3. l.c. pp. 379-389; 398-404. The references are given according to page and verse: cf. also PETERSON, Fourth Report pp. 142 ff.—4. In the manuscripts, exactly as in those of the dramas, very often the M. forms are given in lieu of those of Ś.

§ 22. Among the Prākṛit dialects that are used in the prose of the dramas, Śaurasenī occupies the first place.<sup>1</sup> As its name indicates, its basis is the dialect of Śūrasena, of which the capital city was Mathurā.<sup>2</sup> According to Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17,46 the dialect of the dramas should be based on the Śaurasena dialect, and according to 17,51, the heroines

of the drama and their lady—friends should speak Śūrasenī. According to Śāhityadarpaṇa, p. 172, 21, the cultured women, not of lowly origin, speak Ś. and according to p. 173, 11f, it is spoken also by the maid-servants who are not too low, eunuchs, children, lower grade-astrologers, the insane and the sick. Śūrasenī is mentioned as the language of women also by Daśarūpa 2.60. According to Bharata. 17, 51 : Śāhityadarpaṇa 173 4 ; Pṛthvidhara on Mṛcchakatikā p. V, ed. STENZLER = p. 493, ed. GODABOLE the Vidūṣaka speaks Prācyā<sup>3</sup>, which according to MK. fol. 72, is prescribed also for other amusing characters. MK. refers to Bharata and remarks—Prācyā is grammatically derived from Śūrasenī ; *prācyāyāḥ siddhiḥ śaurasenyaḥ*. The manuscripts are so corrupt that it is not possible to decipher, all that MK. describes as the characteristics of Prācyā. They are very meagre and that mostly of lexicographical nature. It is said that for *mūrkhā* should be used *murukkha* ; the voc., sing. of *bhavatī* is *bhodi* ; for *vakra* is prescribed a form that differs from that of Ś.<sup>4</sup> : the voc. sing. of a stems may have pluti : the Vidūṣaka uses *hi, hī, bho* to express his joy,—*hī, māṇahe* to express wonder (*adbhute*) and *avida* 'o express dismay. There appears to be some special rules to regulate *ṇam, va*, and perhaps also for the future. Pṛthvidhara refers, as a characteristic, to the repeated use of *kaḥ svārthe*. Hc. 4, 285, *hī hī vidūṣakasya*, prescribes Ś. directly for the Vidūṣaka, and 4, 282, *hī māṇahe vismayanirvede*, is likewise recorded as Ś., and that is certainly correct. Śūrasenī is the language of the Vidūṣaka as well as of a number of other characters that appear in the dramas. The older grammarians deal with Śūrasenī very briefly. Vr. 12.2 says :—its basis is Skt. For it he gives 29 rules with which the texts mostly agree,<sup>5</sup> and under 12, 32 he remarks that in other respects it agrees with M. *śeṣam māhārāṣṭrivat*. Hc. 4, 260-286 has 27 rules of which the last one reads of *śeṣam prākṛtāvat* and corresponds to Vr. 12, 32. In other respects Hc. and Vr., differ strongly from one another, a thing which, to a great extent, is to be explained by the fact that Hc., has taken into consideration also the Śūrasenī of the Digambaras (§ 21), the peculiarities of which the Jainas have carried over to Śūrasenī of the dramas with the result that the Śūrasenī texts of the latter have become corrupt and later writers have been misled.<sup>6</sup> Even Ki. 5, 77-85 says little on this topic. Contrary to this, the later grammarians like MK., fol. 65-72, and Rv., fol. 34 ff., say much more thereon. The manuscripts of these works that are available in Europe are so corrupt that in this case as well we can use only a part of the material contained in them. Their verification is rendered difficult on account of most of the editions of the dramas being uncritical. Of the editions that have appeared in India, only a few are of any use : one such is BHĀNDARKAR'S edition of Mālatimādhava (Bombay 1876) ; and even among the texts printed in Europe not many are of any use for the purpose of linguistic study.<sup>7</sup> In every cases, the new editions do not show any improvements upon the older ones. Thus : the edition of Mudrāksaṣa by TELANG (Bombay 1884), is worse than the one printed in the Majumdār's series and edited by TARANATHA TARKAVACASPATI (Calcutta Saṁvat 1926) ; BOLLENSEN'S edition of Mālavikāgnimitra (Leipzig 1879) is deplorably a retrograde step. In spite of all this, I have cited from both of them, because in them the readings are often correctly reproduced from the MSS. and, therefore, they are indispensable. Very often it has been possible to arrive at a decision only after consulting the highest possible number of texts of one and the same drama.<sup>8</sup> Many of the editions show a noteworthy admixture of dialects. It is in this way that the first Prākṛit words in Kāleyakutūhala, 2,4 *bho kīm tī tue hākkarido hage maṁ kḥu eṇhīm* (text *eṇhīm*) *chuhā bāhei* contain three dialects : *hākkarido* is Ś., *hage* is Mg., *eṇhīm* and *bāhei* are M.; subsequently the

text is much more in M. than in Ś. In Mukundān. 58,14.15, both Ś., *kadua* M. *kāūna* stand near one another in the same stanza. Here this may have been due to editor's error. In other cases it is clear that poets themselves did not know how to distinguish between the different dialects. For instance Somadeva (§ 11) and Rājasekhara. The critical edition of Karpūramañjarī by KONOW shows that the manuscripts are not always responsible for the dialectical errors committed by Rājasekhara, particularly when the same mistakes are repeated also in the Bālarāmāyaṇa and Viddhaśālabhañjikā. Thus, all the MSS. of Karpūramañjarī, 7,6 ed. KONOW=11,2 ed. Bombay, have *ghēttūna* in place of the only Ś. form *genhūa.*, an error that recurs also elsewhere (§ 584) : 9,5=13,5 (ed. Bom.), has the dative form *suhāa*, that is wrong in Ś. (§ 361) ; further the following are the dialectical irregularities *tujjha* 10,9=14,7 and *majjha* 10,10=14,8 (§ 421.418), *va* 14,3=17,5 for *via* (§ 143), locatives like *majjhammi* 6,1=9,5 for *majjhe kavvammi* 16,8=19, 10 for *kavve* (§ 366<sup>a</sup>), ablatives like *pāmarāhinto* 20,6=22,9 for *pāmarādo* (§ 365), etc. In Rājasekhara, we further find many dialectical errors in the use of deśī words. According to MK. fol. 50, Rājasekhara's M. had its own peculiarities. He says *rājasekharasya mähārāṣṭryāḥ prayoge ślokeṣvaḥi drśyata iti kecit*, whereby, as it appears, is meant the substitution of *da* for *ta* in lieu of its dropping. The manuscripts of his dramas show repeatedly many of the forms with elision instead of those with *da* in Ś. Due to the mixing up of dialects in the Devanāgarī and the south Indian recensions of the Śakuntalā and in the south Indian recension of the Vikramorvaśī,<sup>9</sup> these works do not serve any purpose in settling critical questions. In spite of all these difficulties, it is, however, possible to obtain on the whole a fairly correct picture of Ś. In phonology, the most striking characteristic is the change of *ta* into *da* and of *tha* into *dha* (§ 203) ; in declension and conjugation, a host of forms of M. AMg. JM. JŚ. have been very much simplified. Similarly in the case of the *a*-stems only the abl. sing. in-*do* and the loc. sing. in-*e* are used : in the plur., only such forms of all the stems are nasalised at the end as are found to have been used in the ins., in the gen., as well as in the loc. ; the *i*- and the *u*-stems have in the gen. sing. only-*no*, and not also-*ssa* ; in respect of verbs, the Ātmanep. forms had by then disappeared almost completely : the opt. had only the endings-*eam* (I. sing.) and-*e* ; many verbs have stem forms that deviate from those of M. ; the future is formed only from *i*-stems ; the passive is obtained only in-*ia* ; the absolute, against M., is found almost exclusively in-*ia*=Skt.-*ya*, etc.<sup>10</sup> In flexion and in vocabulary, in which Ś. greatly deviates from M., it approaches Skt. very closely, as rightly observed by Vr.

1. Even Śūrasenī is often wrongly called Sūrasenī.—2 LASSEN, IAlt. 1<sup>2</sup>, 158, note 2 ; 796 Note 2 2<sup>2</sup>, 512 ; CUNNINGHAM, The Ancient Geography of India (London 1871) 1,374.—3. FISCHEL, Die Recensionen der Śakuntalā (Breslau 1875), pp. 16f.—. FISCHEL on Hc. 1, 26.—5. FISCHEL, KB. 8, 129 ff.—6. That Hc. utilized the texts of the Digambaras, even though he was a Śvetāmbara Jaina, has been shown by LEUMANN, IS. 17, 133, note 1.—7. FISCHEL, Hemacandra, 1,xif. Since 1877 unfortunately there has been little change in the circumstances. For the purpose of grammar, primarily the materials can be drawn only from Mṛcchakaṭikā, edited by STENZLER, Śakuntalā, edited by FISCHEL, and Vikramorvaśī, edited by BOLLENSSEN ; in the second line comes the Ratnāvālī edited by CAPPELLER, which in fact, is the best edition of the drama, although it gives no variants it has been planned somewhat very systematically. I could use the excellent edition of Karpūramañjarī by KONOW, when the present work was in the press. But Rājasekhara, as already pointed out above, is no authority for Ś.—8. A list of texts used along with necessary notes is given at the end of this grammar.—9. FISCHEL, KB. 8, 129 ff. Die Recensionen Śakuntalā, pp. 19 ff. Monatsberichte der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1875, pp. 613 ff. Wrongly WEBER, IS. 14, 39 ff., 161 ff. A collection of incorrect forms was made by BURKHARD, Flexiones Prācriticae quas editioni suae Śācuntālī Pro Supplemento adjecit. Vratislaviae 1874.—10. FISCHEL, Jenaer Li-



teraturzeitung 1875, pp. 794 ff.; JACOBI, Erzählungen, pp. LXX ff. Further details have been furnished in the relevant paragraphs of this grammar.

§ 23. Māgadhi has been transmitted to us in a worse condition than Śaurasenī. According to Kohala, in MK fol. 74, Mg. is spoken by Rākṣasas, beggars Kṣapaṇakas, servants, etc ; according to Bharata 17, 50 = Sāhityadarpaṇa p. 173, 2, Mg. is used also by people frequenting the ladies' apartments of the princes, among whom were, according to Daśarūpa 2, 42; Sāhityad. 81, eunuchs, Kirātas, dwarfs, Mlecchas, Ābhīras, Śākāras, and chamberlains ; and according to Bharata, 24, 50-59 eunuchs, snātakas, and chamberlains. According to Daśarūpa 2, 60, the Piśācas and all the low-class people speak Mg., and according to Sarasvatik., 56, 18 the people of lower status speak it. In the dramas, the chamberlains always speak Skt. (Śak. 93 ff ; Vikr. 37 ff., Venis. 17ff ; Nāgān. 61 ff.; Mudrār. 78.; 110 ff.; Anarghar. 109 ff.; Pārvatīp. 36 ff ; Priyad. 2f ; 28ff ; Pratāpar. 132ff.) The following speak Mg.: in Mṛcch., the Śākāra, his servant, Sthāvaraka, the masseur, who later becomes a Bhikṣu, Kumbhīlaka, the servant of Vasantasenā, Vardhamānaka, the servant of Cāruduṭṭa, the two Cāṇḍālas, Rohasena, the little son of Cārudatta<sup>2</sup>; in Śak. 113ff., both the constables and the fishermen, 154 ff., Sarvadamana, the little son of Śakuntalā ; in Prab. 28-32, the disciple of Cārvāka and the messenger from Oriṣa ; in 46-64, the Digambara Jaina; in Mudrār. 153f., the servant who prepares seats ; in 171-178, 183-187, 190-194 the Jaina monk ; in 197 the messenger<sup>3</sup>; in 256-269 Siddhārthaka and Samiddhārthaka as Cāṇḍālas, while they, in another rôle in pp. 224 ff., speak Ś.; in Lalitav. 565-567, the bards and the spy who, however, also speaks Ś., in another rôle at p. 567 f.; in Venis. 33-36 the Rākṣasa and his wife ; in Mallikām. 143.144 the elephant drivers ; in Nāgān. 67 68, and Cait. 149f., the servant ; in Caṇḍak. 42-43, the scoundrel, in 60-72, the Cāṇḍālas; in Dhūrtas. 16, the barber; in Hāsyārṇava 31, Sādhuhīmsaka; in Laṭakam. 12ff., 25ff., the Digambara Jaina ; in Kāmsavadha 48-52, the humpbacked ; and in Amṛtodaya 66, the Jaina monk. With the exception of Mṛcchakaṭikā only short pieces are written in Mg., and they, in the Indian editions, have come down in such a mutilated form that often it is hardly possible to recognize the dialect. It is unfortunate that even after such a long time, Prabodhacandrodaya has not appeared though it was announced long ago by the Bombay Sanskrit Series. The edition of BROCKHAUS is worthless, and I have used the Pūṇā, the Madras and the Bombay editions throughout as they are better. Of all these texts only the Lalitav. appears to be essentially in agreement with the rules of the grammarians ; among the other stray texts, like those of Mṛcch. and Śak. the MSS. show agreement with the rules of different dialects. Usually they are so strongly influenced by Ś., which according to Vr. 11, 2, is the basis of Mg. and according to Hc. 4, 302, mostly coincides with it, that the character of the dialect is very much effaced. The rule, Hc. 4, 288, *rasorlasau* is followed rigorously ; according to 4, 287, the nom. sing. of *a*-stem ends in *e*; according to 4, 301, = Vr. 11, 9, *hage* is substituted for *aham*, and more rarely also for *vayam*. On the other hand no text other than Lalitav. conforms to Hc. 4, 292 = Vr. 11, 4, 7, that prescribes the retention of *ya*, and substitution of *ya* for *ja*, of *yya* for *ḍya*, *rya* and *rja*. There can be no doubt that this, like all other rules of grammarians, has to be followed against the manuscripts. All the grammarians from Vr. downwards are substantially in agreement,<sup>4</sup> on the essential points. Hc. finds these peculiarities, according to 4, 302, in Mudrār., Śak., and Venis., though in our manuscripts only a part of them is found, and even the manuscripts

of Hc. are lacking at this place. The more the manuscripts become available to us the more the variants become noticeable that go against our existing texts. In Mṛcch. 22,4, for instance, in STENZLER's edition, which, as usual, is followed here in 61,5 in GODABOLE's edition, occurs the passage *tava jjeva haste ciṣṭadu*: according to the grammarians it should be read as *tava yveva haste ciṣṭadu*. The MSS. DH in GODABOLE read *ēva*, C. *jjeva*; almost all the MSS. have *haste* and *ciṣṭadu*, i. e. *ciṣṭhadu* as in J. It is repeated throughout. Mudrār. 154, 3, E, reads (as in Hc. 4, 302) *yveva*, and 264, 1 the majority of the MSS. has *ēva*; likewise Venīs. 35. 7; 36,5. The rule, Hc. 4,295, whereafter for an intervocalic *cha* is substituted *śca*, I have strictly observed in the Śakuntalā, for it was suggested by the MSS. and also because the MSS. of the Mṛcch. prove this (§ 233), which also partially conform to Hc. 4,291 prescribing the change of *stha* and *rtha* into *sta* (§ 310. 290). The characteristics of Mg. in phonology, are the transformation of *ra* into *la*, of *sa* into *śa*, the retention of *ya*, the change of *ja* into *ya*, of *dya*, *rja* and *rya* into *yya*, of *nya*, *ṅya*, *jña*, *ṅja* into *ñña*, of *cha* into *śca*, of *ṭṭa* and *ṣṭha* into *ṣṭa* etc. (§ 24), and in the inflection, especially of nouns, the formation of the nom. sing. of *a*-stem in *-e*; in other respects, as regards flexion, Mg. strictly corresponds with Ś. with which it agrees also in the transformation of *ta* into *da* and of *tha* into *dha*.

1. It is not clear as to what was meant by Bharata by *aupasthāyikanirmuṇḍāh*.—2. It is attested by Pṛthvidhara, in STENZLER, p. v and GODABOLE, p. 493. In the printed edition he speaks Ś; but the MSS. throughout indicate Mg. as in 161, 9, they have *ale ale*, in 161,16, *māledha*, in 165, 25, *ala*, and in DH in GODABOLE, p. 449 g also there is *māledha*. In the introductory scene, there is, 327, 10=484, 12 ed. GODABOLE H, *āvutte*. Wrongly analysed by BLOCH, Vr. und Hc, p. 4. Cf. §42.—3. Cf. HILLEBRANDT, ZDMG. 39, 130. 4. Cf. §24 and the relevant paragraphs of this grammar.

§ 24. According to Pṛthvidhara on Mṛcch., ed. STENZLER, p. V=p. 494, GODABOLE's edition, the brother-in-law of the king speaks Śākārī, a dialect that is mentioned as a form of Apabhraṃśa. It is mentioned also by Ki. 5,99; Rv. in LASSEN, Inst. p. 21; Mk. fol. 76; Bharata 17,53; and Sāhityad. p. 173.6. LASSEN, Inst., pp. 422 ff, has attempted to determine the peculiarities of this dialect and has come to the conclusion (p. 435) that Śākārī is a Māgadhi dialect. This conclusion is quite correct, as Mk., fol. 76, also derives it from Mg.; *māgadhyāḥ śākārī | sādhyatīti śeṣaḥ*. Further Pṛthvidhara on Mṛcch. 9,22, ed. STENZLER, p. 240=p. 500 of GODABOLE's edition, has shown that in this dialect a *y* was pronounced before the palatals, viz. *yciṣṭha=īṣṭha* (§ 217). This *y* was so weak that it could not gain: therefore, any importance from the view point of metre. According to Mk. this phonetic rule was valid for Mg. and Vṛācaḍa Apabhraṃśa as well (§ 28). Other peculiarities like the change of *ta* into *ḍa* in certain past passive participial forms (§ 219), and the genitive sing. of *a*-stems in *-āha*, beside in *-āśa* (§ 366) are found in the language of other persons also; the loc. in *-āhīm* (366<sup>a</sup>) and the voc. plur. in *-āho* (§ 372) are met with in the dialect of Śākāra, but perhaps this is so merely by accident. In respect of the last three forms this dialect coincides with Apabhraṃśa, and consequently the classification of Pṛthvidhara is not without justification. The grammarians and the rhetoricians mentioned above name Cāṇḍālī as a separate dialect, which, according to Mk., fol. 82, is derived from Māgadhi and Śauraseni, and is rightly considered likewise by LASSEN, Inst. p. 420, to be a form of Māgadhi. Mk., fol. 81, derives again Śābarī from Cāṇḍālī. Accordingly the basis of the former would be Ś., Mg. as well as Śākārī. Cf. LASSEN, Inst. § 162. According to Mk., fol. 3, to the Māgadhi dialects belongs also Bāhlikī, which is assigned by Bharata, 17,52 =Sāhityad. p. 173,7 to gamesters, and by others to the Piśāca countries. (§27).

Undoubtedly Mg. was not a homogeneous language, on the other hand, it was dialectically diversified. It is thus that we can explain the development of *kṣa* sometimes as *ḥka* and sometimes as *śka.*, of *rtha* sometimes as *śta* and sometimes as *śta* ; and of *śka*, sometimes as *śka* and sometimes as *śka*. All the dialects that have *ya* for *ja*, *la* for *r* and *ś* for *s*, and form the nom. sing. of *a*-stems in *-e* should be regarded as Mg. It has already been shown above (§ 17. 18) that the boundary of the *-e* dialect extended beyond the frontiers of Magadha. Bharata 17,58 asserts that the languages of all the provinces lying between the Gaṅgā and the sea are full of *-e* forms. But we can conclude nothing from such a vague statement. HOERNLE<sup>1</sup> has divided all the Prākritis into two groups : "the Sauraseni Prākrit tongue" and the "Māgadhi Prākrit tongue" and has drawn a line of demarcation between tow the groups from Khālsī, extending in the north over Bairāt, and Allahabad, and in the south through Ramgaṛh upto Jaugaḍa<sup>2</sup>. GRIERSON<sup>3</sup>, who is in agreement with HOERNLE, assumes that the two groups of Prākrit gradually come closer and calls the resultant obtained from a mixture of the two a third Prākrit, namely Ardhamāgadhi, and he assigns it to the land lying about Allāhābad and that of the Marāthās. I do not believe that these assumptions are tenable. The Lāt-dialect shows significant vestiges of dialects, so much so that even between Dhaulī and Jaugaḍa,<sup>4</sup> there exist dialectical differences, but generally it seems to be a homogeneous language, which, perhaps was also the language of the empire and was, therefore, understood rather than spoken over a wide area in the north, the west and the south.<sup>5</sup> Consequently the inscriptions of Aśoka found at Khālsī, Delhī, and Mirāt, and the inscription of Bairāt as well as others furnish us with no information about the language of the country. In earlier days, as it happens today, certain individual dialects, which need not be called Prākrit, (§ 5), it is true, gradually shaded into each other. Ardhamāgadhi is a strong proof of this. There is no connecting link between the modern Mg.<sup>6</sup> and the old Mg.

1. Comp. Grammar, p xvii ff.—2. Caṇḍa, p. XXI.—3. Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Biharī Language, Part I (Calcutta 1883), p. 5. ff—4. SENART, Piyadasi 2,433 ff.—6. GRIERSON, Seven Grammars, Part III, (Calcutta 18;3).

§ 25. In Mṛcchakaṭikā pp. 23-39, Māthura, the keeper of the house of gambling, and his fellow player speak the dialect, called Dhakkī, named after Dhakka that is in the Eastern Bengal. Mk. fol. 81, Rv. LASSEN, Inst. p. 5, and Prthvīdhara on Mṛcch. p. V=p. 493, ed. GODABLE, record Dhakkī, along with Śākāri, Cāṇḍālī, and Sābāri among the dialects of Apabhramśa. Corresponding to its geographical situation, it seems that Dhakkī was a transition dialect between Māgadhi and Apabhramśa. According to Prthvīdhara this dialect is phonetically characterized by preponderance of *la*, and by the use of the two sibilants, namely the dental *s* and the palatal<sup>2</sup> *ś* ; *lakāraprāyā*<sup>1</sup> *dhakkavibhāṣā saṃskṛtaprāyatve dantyaṭālavayaśākāradvayayuktā ca*. It is to be understood from this that in it, as in Mg., *ra* is changed into *la*, and *ja* into *śa*, which, as well as *ś*, remains, however, unchanged in places where it occurs in Sanskrit. In the texts the mode of writing is not always consistent, but the manuscripts preserve very often the fairly correct reading. STENZLER reads in 29, 15 and 30, 1 *are re*; in 30, 7 *re*; in 30, 11, *are*, but GODABOLE reads in 82, 1; 84, 4; 86, 1, *ale*; in 85, 5 *le* according to the most of his manuscripts, and it is read otherwise everywhere as in STENZLER (30, 16; 31, 4. 9. 15; 39, 16). Further this rule is corroborated by *luddhu* = *rudhah* (29, 15; 30, 1), *palivevida* = *parivepita* (30, 7), *kulu kulu* = *kuru kurt* (31, 16), *dhāledi* = *dhārayati* (34, 9; 39, 13), *pulisō* = *puruṣaḥ* (34, 12). But in

more cases *ra* remains in the texts and the manuscripts. So throughout we have *jūdiara* (29, 15 ; 30, 1. 12 ; 31, 12 ; 36, 18), but only in 36, 18 = 106, 4 ed. GODABOLE, the word is found with *la* (v. l.); likewise in the Calcutta edition (Śaka 1792) at p. 85, 3, there is *jūdakalassa*, and in the Calcutta edition (1829), p. 74, 3, *muṭṭhipahāleṇa* against *°reṇa* found in all others ; while all the editions in the following line have *ruhirapaham anusa-remha* in stead of the expected reading *luhilapadham anusalēmha*. In the verse 30, 4. 5, by the side of *salanam* for which the Calcutta edition of 1792 rightly has *salanam*, there is *ruddo rakkhidum tarai* in lieu of *luddo lakkhidum taladi*. Other cases are : *anuseremha* (30, 13) *māthuru* (32, 7 ; 34, 25), *pidaram*, *mādam* (32, 10. 12), *pasaru* (32, 16), *jajjara* (34, 11, beside *puliso!*), *uarocheṇa* (36, 24), *ahareṇa rai* (39, 8). Likewise the manuscripts oscillate in the use of the sibilants. Beside the correct forms *dasasuvannāha* (29, 15 ; 30, 1), *dasasuvannam* (31, 4 ; 32, 3 ; 34, 9. 12 etc.), *sunnu* (30, 11), *śela* (30, 17) there occur the wrong forms like *jasam* (30, 9), *ādamsaami* (34, 25), *paḍisudia* (35, 5); the palatal sibilant has been wrongly used in forms like *śamaviśamam*, *sakaluśam* (30, 8. 9), where GODABOLE has correctly used *samaviśamam*, *aikasaṇam* (read *adi*<sup>o</sup>); but in spite of this he has erred in using *kaśśa* (114, 9) for *kassa*, as found in the ed. of STENZLER (39, 8). With *la* and *śa* Dhakkī becomes close to Mg., and with the endings *u=ah*, and *-am*, as well as in the second person singular of the imperative it comes close to Apabhramśa. Here also the manuscripts are not wholly dependable. Beside *deulu* (30, 11) there occurs *deulam* (30, 12) ; by the side of *esu=esaḥ* (31, 12; 34, 17; 35, 15) there is *eso* (30, 10); beside *pasalu=prasara* (32, 16) there is *geṇha* (29, 16; 30, 2) as well as *paaccha=prayaccha* (31, 4. 7. 9; 32, 8. 12. 14; 34, 24; 35, 7); by the side of the nom. in-*u*, as in *luddhu=ruddhaḥ* (29, 15; 30, 1), *vippadivū pādu=vipratīpaḥ pādaḥ* (30, 11), *dhuttu*, *mādhulu*, *niṇṇu=dhūrto māthuro niṇṇaḥ* (32, 7), *vihavu=vibhavaḥ* (34, 17), the texts have the nominatives in-*o*, as in *baddho* (31, 12), *°ppāvudo puliso=°prāvṛtaḥ puruṣaḥ* (34, 12), *ācakkhanto* (§499) (34, 24), *°vutto=°vṛttaḥ* (31, 3), and also in-*e*, such as *pāḍhe=pāṭhaḥ* (30, 25; 31, 1), *laddhe gohe=laddhaḥ puruṣaḥ* (31, 3). That here we have just the cases of blunders committed in the manuscript-tradition and that such forms do not present any special dialectical peculiarities, are clearly demonstrated by the presence of the word *baddho* (31, 14) in Mg. for the correct word *baddhe* that is not to be found in any of the editions. Certainly erroneous is *tha* in *māthuru* (32, 7; 34, 25), for for which should be read *mādhulu*; as for *pāṭhe* found in all the editions (30, 25; 31, 1), and also in Mg. (31, 2), the manuscripts DH of GODABOLE, p. 88, read *pāḍe*, K has *pāḍhe*, a form which including the ending is correct only in Dh. Thus we have in 30, 16 *kadham=katham*, but in 36, 19 *ruhirapaham=rudhirapatham*. The correct form would be *luddhilapadham*. As in Ś. and Mg., so also in the case of Dh. as well, the manuscripts are not reliable, and there is no hope that, with the limited number of the texts that we have, we shall ever be able to obtain a clear description of this dialect.<sup>3</sup> Cf. § 203.

1. So correctly reads STENZLER ; GODABOLE reads at p. 2 and p. 494 *vakāraprāyā*.

—2. So correctly reads GODABOLE.—3. LASSEN, Inst. p. 414 ff., holds that the gambler speaks Dākṣiṇātyā and Māthura, the Āvanti dialect. See § 26. BLOCH's decision is wrong, in Vr. und Hc. p. 4.

§ 26. Likewise it is difficult to get a clear idea about the other dialects mentioned by the Grammarians. According to Pṛthvidhara, in *Mṛcchakatikā*, the two police officers, Viraka and Candanaka, pp. 99-106, speak the dialect of Avanti. About this dialect all that he says is that it has *sa* and *ra*, and that it is full of proverbial expressions : *tathā*

*sauraseny-avantijā prācyā | etāsu dantyasakāratā | tatrāvantiijā rephavati lokokti-vahulā.* The quotation from Prthivīdhara is =Bharata 17, 48. According to Bharata 17, 51=Sāhityad. p. 173, 4, Avantijā is to be spoken in dramas by the *dhūrtāḥ*, whereby according to the scholiast, in LASSEN, Inst. p. 36, are meant the dice-players. LASSEN, Inst. pp. 417-419, therefore, considers Āvantī to be the language of Māthura, but this is wrong. Mk. fol. 3, like Kī. 5, 99, considers Āvantī as a *bhāṣā* and defines it in fol. 73, as the admixture of Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī. This admixture is found in one and the same sentence: *āvantī syānmāhārāṣṭrī saurasenyāstu saṅkarāt | anayoḥ saṅkarād āvantībhāṣāsiddhāsyāt | saṅkaraścaikaṣminneva vākye bodhavyaḥ.* In this dialect are found, for instance *hoi*=*bhavati*, *peḥchadi*=*prekṣate*, *darisēdi*=*darśayati*, etc. This description is in accord with the dialect of the two police officers, as it is given in the MSS. In the stanzas 99, 16. 17 there are found Ś. *acchadha* and M. *bhēttūna* and *vaccāi*, side by side; similarly in 99, 24. 25, Ś. *āacchadha* and M. *turiām, jatteha, karējjāha* and *pahavai*; in 100, 4 there is *darisēsi*; in 100, 12 M. *jaha* and Ś. *khūḍido* occur side by side: again in 100, 19; 101, 7; 105, 9, is found *vaccadi*, a mixture of M. *vaccāi* (99, 17) and Ś. *vajjadi*, as well as *vajjai* (100, 15); in 103, 15 there is *kahijjadi* and in 16 *sāsijjai*; the second one is a pure M. form and the first one an admixture of M. *kahijjai* and Ś. *kadhiadi*; many other examples are to be found in prose and poem. Accordingly the definition enunciated by Prthivīdhara might appear to be correct. But so far as it respects Candanaka, the latter's own statement as given in 103, 5 goes against him: *vam dakkhiṇattā avoattabhāsiṇo..... mlecchajātūnām anskadesābhāṣābhijñā yathēṣṭām mantrayāmaḥ*: we southerners speak unintelligibly; because we are expert in languages of many barbarian countries we speak just as we like. Candanaka, therefore, describes himself as a southerner (*dākṣiṇātya*) that is proved also by his own statement found in 103, 16: *kaṇṇādakalahappaoam karemi*, "I proceed to fight in the manner of Kaṇṇāṭa. Therefore, it is very much improbable that the language in what he should have spoken is Āvantī, on the other hand, it is to be assumed that his language is Dākṣiṇātyā, which Bharata 17, 148 calls as one of the seven *bhāṣāḥ*, and which according to 17, 52=Sāhityad. p. 173, 5, is spoken by hunters and police officers in the drama. Mk., fol. 3 (cf. fol. 76) rejects it as an independent language because it does not have any distinctive characteristic (*lakṣaṇākaraṇāt*). LASSEN, Inst. pp. 414-416, assigns the Dākṣiṇātyā language to the unnamed gambler in Mṛcch. and he is inclined to believe that in the language of the police officers in Śak. pp. 113-117, there are vestiges of this dialect. Both of his views are wrong. The dialect used by the gambler is Dhakkī (§ 25) and the language of the police officers in Śak. does not differ on any point from the common Ś, as already observed by BÖHTLINGER<sup>1</sup>. As some of the manuscripts of the Bengali recension show doubling of the aspirates, I believed earlier<sup>2</sup> that this must have been the distinctive characteristic of Dākṣiṇātyā. But the doubling is found also in Mg. in one of the manuscripts and it is in no way linguistically important, rather it is just an orthographical device (§ 193). So far as we have been able to see up till now it seems that Dākṣiṇātyā must have been very close to Āvantī which is spoken by Vīraka, and that both of them were very much akin to Ś. Apart from the dialectical admixture, there are a number of forms that are against idiomatic usage in Ś. Thus: *vam* for *amhe*, *do*=*dvau*, and remarkable is the change of *tya* into *ta* in *dakkhiṇattā* (§ 281). The form *darisaanti* occurs also in Ś. in Mṛcch. 70,25.

1. In his edition of Śak., p. 240.-2.GN. 1873, pp. 212 ff.

§ 27. One of the very archaic dialects is Paisāci. Vr., 10, 1 ff. knows only one dialect of this name; likewise Kī., 5, 96, and Sīmhadeva-gaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālamkāra, 2, 3, where this dialect is called Paisācika, and Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaalamkāra, 2, 12 calls it Paisācika and in a grammatical quotation he refers to it by the name Paisāciki: Hc. 4, 303-324 deals with Paisāci and appends to it, 325-328, Cūlikāpaisācika. Hc. is followed by Triv. 3, 2, 43 ff., and Sr. fol. 63 ff., and both of them call the second dialect Cūlikāpaisāci. An unknown author (§ 3 note 1) referred to by Mk., fol. 2, describes eleven types of P. *kāncideśīyapāṇḍye ca pāñcālagaudamāgadham | vrācaḍam dākṣiṇātyam ca śaurasenam ca kaikayam | śābaram drāvīḍam caiva ekādaśa piśācakāh.* Mk. himself, as per fol. 3, treats only 3 Paisācis., namely Kaikeya, Saurasena and Pāñcāla; because they alone were used as literary dialects: *kaikayam śaurasenañca pāñcālam iti ca tridhā | paisācyo nāgarā yasmāt tenāpy anyāna na lakṣitāh* ..... Kaikeya, according to Mk. fol. 86, is based on Sanskrit, and Saurasena upon Śaurasenī: the only difference that Pāñcāla maintains in comparison with Śaurasena consists in the former having as its characteristic the change of *ra* into *la*. RV., in LASSEN, Inst., p. 22, recognizes only two classes of Paisāci: Kaikeyapaisācam and the second one whose name has been handed down to us in the corrupt form Caska. In any case, in accordance with the grade of purity, these are again divided into sub-classes, of which, according to LASSEN, Inst., Appendix p. 6, Māgadha and Vrācaḍa (read thus for Brāvḍa) are called Paisācikas. Lakṣmīdhara, in LASSEN, Inst. p. 13, derives the name P. from the countries, of the Piśācas, in which it is spoken, and is named as such according to the opinion of the people of the earlier age: these countries are Pāṇḍya, Kekaya, Bāhlika, Sahya, Nepāla, Kuntala, Gāndhāra, and four others whose names have been transmitted to us in their corrupt forms: Sudeṣa, Bhota, Haiva, and Kanojana. These names point towards the north and the west of India. A nation is referred to as Piśācas in the Mahābhārata 7, 121, 14. But the Indians understand by the word Piśāca only demons, (*bhūta*) of this name (Kathāsaritsāgara, 7, 26-27). Thus it is referred to by Bhāmaha in his commentary on \ r. 10, 1: *piśācānām bhāṣā paisāci*, and, therefore, he calls it also *bhūtabhāṣā* "the language of the demons", (Daṇḍin, Kāvyaḍarśa 1, 38; Sarasvatik. 95, 11. 13; Kathāsaritsāgara 7, 29; 8, 30; HALL, Vāsavadattā p. 22 note) or even *bhūtabhāṣita* as well as *bhautika* (Vāgbhaṭālamkāra 3, 1. 3), *bhūtavacana* (Bālarāmāyaṇa 8, 5=Sarasvatik. 57, 11). There is the popular belief that the unmistakable identifying characteristic of a bhūta is that he speaks with a nasal accent, and thereupon CROOK<sup>1</sup> assumes that like modern English this language too for that reason has been called a Piśācabhāṣā. The grammarians make no mention of this phonetic characteristic and I deem it probable that originally P. also like M. Ś. Mg. was named as such after the name of some people or country and the name of this country or people was similar in sound to *piśāca* and that on account of this the language as well began to be referred to as the dialect of the Piśācas, meaning demons. The nation of the Piśāca or Paisāca, except in the passage of the Mahābhārata referred to above, is nowhere mentioned, even though individual tribes like the Kekaya and Bāhlika, to whom Mk. clearly assigns as their language a Mg. dialect (§ 24), Kuntala and Gāndhāra are mentioned very frequently. According to Daśarūpa, 2, 60, the Piśāca or Māgadha language is especially spoken by the Piśācas, the people of lowly origin, etc. According to Sarasvatik. 56, 19; Sāhityad. p. 173, 10, P. is the language of the Piśāca; Bhojadeva, Sarasvatik. 57, 25, forbids the use of pure P. by high class characters: *nāyuttamapātraprāyojyā paisāci sūddhā*. The example

given by him is found in Hc. 4, 236 as that of Cūlikāpaiśācika. High characters, who do not appear in the highest rôles, according to Sarasvatik. 58, 15, speak in a language that is Sanskrit and Paiśācī at the same time, by means of the popular play of words *bhāṣāśleṣa*, which is comparatively easier in Paiśācī than in any other Prākṛit dialect inasmuch as P., of all the Pkt. dialects, is most akin to Sanskrit. Vr. 10, 2, it is true, says that Śāurasenī is the basis of P., and Hc. 4, 323 agrees with him; but as shown by Hc. 4, 324, in phonology, it stands closer to Skt., Pāli and the dialect of PG. The characteristic of P., and in addition to that, of CP. as well, the two dialects that the grammarians do strictly differentiate, is the change of the voiced consonants into the voiceless ones, e. g. P. CP. *matana*=*madana*; *tāmotara*=*dāmodara*; P. *patasa*=*pradeśa*; CP. *nakara*=*nagara*; *kiri*=*giri*; *mekha*=*megha*; *khamma*=*gharma*; *rācā*=*rajā*; *cīmūta*=*jīmūta* etc. (§ 190. 191). Another characteristic feature is the retention in unchanged form of most of the consonants including *na* into which is transformed also *ṇa* and the change *la* into *ḷa*. HOERNLE<sup>2</sup>, on account of mutation of the voiced mutes and the change to *ṇa* into *na* and *la* into *ḷa*, assumes that P. is a form of the Aryan language that developed in the mouth of the Dravidian people when the latter wanted to speak the Aryan Language. SENART<sup>3</sup> was perfectly correct in rejecting this view. Against the hypothesis of HOERNLE that in none of the Aryan dialects of India even a trace of the devocalization of voiced mutes is visible it has to be noted that in a number of sporadic cases this mutation is noticeable in the dialect of Shābhāzgarhi<sup>4</sup>, in the Lāt<sup>5</sup>-dialect and in the Leṇā-dialect<sup>6</sup>; in the NIA. languages the mutations of the aspirate voiced mutes takes place in the Dardū, Kāfir, and in the Gypsy languages<sup>7</sup> and this suggests that the home of P. has to be searched for in the north-west in India.<sup>8</sup> P. is so much peculiar and independent that it began to be considered as the fourth language, besides Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apabhraṃśa (Kathāsarits. 7, 29; cf. 6, 148, Brhatkathām. 6, 52; Bālarā-māyaṇa 8, 4.5; Vāgbhaṭālamkāra 2, 1). Perhaps P. is understood also by *grāmyabhāṣā*, in which, according to Vāgbhaṭa, Ālamkāratilaka 15, 13, was composed Bhīmākāvya. It is deplorable that we have to depend exclusively on a few and insufficient statements of the grammarians for a knowledge of P. Brhatkathā was written in P. by Guṇādhya,<sup>9</sup> whose time has been calculated by BÜHLER<sup>10</sup> as the first or second century A. D. The only connected fragments in this dialect are found in Hc. 4, 310, 316. 320. 322. 323<sup>11</sup> and perhaps also in 326. According to the annals of the northern Buddhists there lived 116 years after the death of Buddha four Sthaviras who belonged to four different castes and spoke four different languages, namely Sanskrit, Prākṛit, Apabhraṃśa and Paiśācī respectively. The Sthaviras, forming one of the four chief schools of Vaibāṣikas, are said to have used Paiśācī<sup>12</sup>

1. An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India (Allahabad 1894) p. 149.—2. Comp. Grammar p. XIX f.—3. Piyadasi 2, 501, (note 1). 4. JOHANSSON, Shābhāzgarhi 1, 172 ff.—5. SENART, Piyadasi 2, 375 (*kāmbocā*), 376 (*paṭi-pāyachārā*, etc.); 397 (*tuphe*, etc.) 6. HULTZ, ZDMG. 37, 549; 40, 66, note 5.—7. MIKLO-SICH Beitrage zur Kenntniss der Zigeunermundarten I, II (Wien 1874) p. 15ff.; IV. (Wien 1878) p. 51. Cf. also Gyp. *khūl*=Hindī *ghūr* in PISCHEL, Beitrage Zur Kenntniss der deutschen Zigeuner (Halle a. S. 1894) p. 42 and Kalāṣa *khās*=Gyp. *khas*=Hindī *ghās*=Skt. *ghāsa*.—8. PISCHEL, Deutsche Rundschau XXXVI (Berlin 1883) p. 368. The hypothesis that Guṇādhya was a Kashmirian is incorrect. He was a South-Indian, but his work was popular in Kashmir as is proved by its abridgments by Somadeva and Kṣemendra. HALL,—Vāsavadatā (Calcutta 1859) p. 22f., note.; BÜHLER, IA. 1, 304ff., LEVI, JA., 1885, VI, 412ff. Cf. Nāmīśādhū on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikāra, 2, 12—10. Detailed Report p. 47.—11. PISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 33. I am unable to find the passage in Somadeva's work. Kathāsarits. 11, 48. 49 agrees in

certain places but not sufficiently accurately.—12. WASSILJEW, Dr. Buddhismus, Seine Dogmen, Geschichte and Literatur. Translated from Russian (by TH. BENEVEY) 1,248, note 3. (St. Patersburg, 1860).

§ 28. Apabhraṁśa, in the widest sense of the term is indicative of any language that in any manner deviates from the correct one—, i.e. Sanskrit. Consequently it is the common name for all the Indian popular dialects (§ 4), and only remotely does it signify particular form of the Prakrit dialects that were remodelled from the popular dialects to the status of literary languages according the usual practice that obtained in Prākṛit (§ 5). Hc., 4, 329-4+6, treats A. as a uniform language. But from his rules it appears that under the name A., have been included together a number of several different dialects. The forms *dhruvā*, *tram* (4,360) *tudhra* (4,372), *prassadi* (4,393), *brōppīnu*, *brōppi* (4,391), *grhanti*, *grṇheppīnu*, (4,341. 394. 438), *vrāsu* (4,399) with their *r* and *ṛ* belong to a dialect altogether different from the one that has been described in most of the other rules. The rule 4, 396, which prescribes that in A. the sounds *ka*, *kha*, *ta* *tha*, *pa*, *pha* generally become *ga*, *gha*, *da*, *dha*, *ba*, *bha* respectively, stands as much in contradiction to by far most of the other rules and examples : thus for instance 4, 446, according to which A. should mostly be dealt with like Ś.<sup>1</sup> The language of Piṅgala has gone much further than A. towards disintegration in Vikramorvaśi of Kālidāsa and in Hc. The anonymous author cited by Mk., fol. 2, recognises 27 different dialects of A. among which are included all the sub-classes mentioned under Paisāci (§ 27). Similarly Rv. in LASSEN, Inst. App. p. 5. Mk., on account of the differences being of insignificant character (*sūkṣmahedatōāt*), Mk. confines A. only to three varieties, *nāgara*, *vrācaḍa* and *upanāgarra*, a classification that is adopted also in Kī. 5, where the second variety has been designated as *vrācaṭa*. The chief variety of A. is Nāgara, and according to Mk. this was the language of Piṅgala as well, as is evident from the fact that he (Mk.) cites passages from this work under it. From Nāgara is derived Vrācaḍa, which according to Mk., fol. 85, originated in Sindh: *sindhudeśedbhavo vrācaḍopabhraṁśaḥ*. Among its peculiarities, Mk. notes the development of *y* before *c* and *j*, and the change of *ṣa* and *sa* into *śa*—the phonetic characteristics that are ascribed by him also to Mg. and by Pṛthivīdhara to the dialect of Śakāra, (§ 24). Further the optional change of the initial *ta*, *da* into *ṭa*, *ḍa*, and as it seems, the retention of *ṛ*, with the exception of *bhṛīya*, etc. occur as other characteristics. The rest is all corrupt in the MSS. From an admixture of Nāgara and Vrācaḍa springs Upanāgara. Kī. 5, 70 is not clear. According to Mk., fol. 81, Hariścandra considered also *Śāklī* or *Śakkī* as an Apabhraṁśa dialect, but Mk. himself describes it as an admixture of Skt. and Ś., and includes it in his list of vibhāṣāḥ in fol. 3. The words *ehu<sup>2</sup> je=ṣa yadi*, found in Piṅgala 1, 4<sup>a</sup>, according to Ravikara in BOLLENSEN on Vikra. 527, belong to Vārendrī bhāṣā, which, therefore, is located behind Bengal.<sup>3</sup> On Dhakkī, see §25. Thus it is clear that A. extended from Sindh to Bengal, and this is in conformity with its nature as a popular language. Only a small portion of the many A. has again been turned into Prākṛit. Lakṣmīnāthabhaṭṭa on Piṅgala 1.1.29.61 calls the language of Piṅgala to be Avahaṭṭhabhāṣā<sup>4</sup>=Apabhraṣṭabhāṣā, but at p. 22, 15, he says that he would like to describe, in short, Varṇamarkaṭi, that has been overlooked by Piṅgala and other teachers, by *śabdaiḥ prakṛtaiḥ avahaṭṭhakaiḥ*. Hc., in Deśin. 1,37 says that *avajjhāo=upādhyāyaḥ* has not been mentioned by him as it has *prakṛtam apabhraṣṭam iva rūpam*; in 1, 67, he quotes the view of some teacher according to whom the Apabhraṁśa word *āsiao* is equivalent to *āyasikaḥ*, and in Kathāsaritsāgara, 17, 141, the pure



Māhāraraṣṭrī words *eso tho' kku majjāro*<sup>5</sup> are said to be *apabhraṣṭa*. The literary A., therefore, actually is *prakṛto'pabhraṣṭaḥ*, "Prākṛit—Apabhraṣṭaḥ". In spite of the phonetic disorder and the inchedible freedom with which the poets, at their sweet will for, the sake of rhyme, alter the vowels, drop the endings, suppress the entire syllables, confuse gender, case, number, and voice with one another A. has remained extraordinarily important and interesting, and it shows affinities with the Vedic language not in a small measure (§ 6).

1. FISCHEL, Hc. I, IX.—2. BOLLENSEN has *eho* in the text and *eha* in the commentary; in the Bombay edition the text has *eo*.—3. B. R. s. v. Varendra and Vārendra.—4. The Bombay edition has everywhere. <sup>o</sup>*ha*°. Cf. Sarasvatik. 59.9.—5. BROCKHAUS gives the wrong form *majjhāo*; DURGA PRASAD and PARAB correctly read *khu*.

§ 29. For a knowledge of A. up to this date the most important source is Hc., 4,329-446, whom follows Triv. 3,3, 1ff. Besides the materials utilized in my edition of this work I have used also the Vyutpattidīpikā of Udayasubhāgyagaṇin, and that both in the Pūṇā MSS<sup>1</sup>. The work is designated as Haimaprākṛtavṛttidhūṇḍhikā and is confined to the etymological explanations of individual words on the basis of Hc.'s rules. Therefore, it is worthless for the most part. Unfortunately even the text is not essentially improved by these two MSS., because they too have all the defects of the manuscripts<sup>2</sup> used by me earlier. Like Trivikrama, Udayasubhāgyagaṇin has added Sanskrit equivalents to the examples of A.; this makes the understanding of the subject extraordinarily easy and has proved to be of great advantage to me. We can say nothing about the sources whence Hc. collected his examples. They, however, create the impression of having been drawn from an anthology of the type of Sattasāi. As already noted by ZACHARIAE<sup>3</sup>, the stanzas quoted under Hc. 4,357, 2 3 are found along with an elaborate Skt. gloss also in Sarasvatik p. 76; further, Hc. 4,353 is found also in Caṇḍa 1 11<sup>a</sup> (p. 36), 4,330,2, also in Caṇḍa 2, 17<sup>b</sup> (p. 47), and in 2,27<sup>1</sup> (p. 47) he quotes an A. stanza of his own (see § 34 note 4). Hc. 4,420,5 is found also in Sarasvatik., p. 158, and Hc. 4,367,5 is found even in Śukasaptai, p. 160. Next after Hc. comes into consideration the A. stanzas found in Vikramaovaśī pp. 55-72. Unfortunately SHANKAR P. PANDIT<sup>4</sup> and BLOCH<sup>5</sup> have declared these metrical passages to be spurious. But they are found in all the manuscripts which are not of the South Indian source, in which even other works have been systematically abridged,<sup>6</sup> and, as shown by KONOW,<sup>7</sup> are thoroughly free from suspicion as it respects their genuineness. The Piṅgalachandaśūtra will make rich materials available to us when we shall have a critical edition of it. A beginning of the work had already been made by BOLLENSEN in the appendix to his edition of the Vikramorvaśī, pp. 520ff. The materials collected by him have been taken over to Berlin by SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT,<sup>8</sup> who had planned an edition of the work, and other materials are to be found abundantly in India.<sup>9</sup> The Bombay edition (1894), in the Kāvya-mālā (41), of Prākṛita-Piṅgala-Sūtras with the commentary of Lakshminātha Bhaṭṭa by ŚIVADATTA and KASINATH PANDURANG PARAB is hardly usable. I have compared the text of Piṅgala of this edition with that of GOLDSCHMIDT upto 2, 140.<sup>10</sup> In several places this text has been found useful to me. Generally it agrees with the Bombay edition, even in respect of errors, and this shows that the material found in Europe, is not sufficient for a critical edition. It is true, that the text of GOLDSCHMIDT was not meant for printing, and it is evident from the MS. itself that it was the result of researches carried for private use. There still remains much to be done here, and without an edition furnished with all the

critical materials and the oldest and the best commentaries, for this A., the work is useful to a very limited extent. Besides detached A. stanzas are met with here and there; thus in Erz. edited by JACOBI, pp. 157f.; in Kk. 260, 43 ff.; 272, 34-38; in Dvār. 504, 26-32; in Sarasvatik. p. 34.59. 130. 139. 140.165. 166. 167. 177. 214. 216. 217. 219. 254. 260f.; in the commentary on Daśarūpa 139, 11; 162,3; in Dhvanyāloka 243, 20 of Ānandavardhana (§ 14 with note 2); in Śukasaptati. Textus simplicior. Edited by RICHARD SCHMIDT (Leipzig 1893) pp. 32. 49. 76. 122. 136. 152 note; 160 with note; 170 note; 182 note; 199; in Vetālapañcavimśatikā, edited by UHLE., p. 217, No. 13: 220 No. 20; in Sinhāsanaadvātrīṃśikā, IS. 15, 394; in Prabandhacintāmaṇi (Bombay 1888) pp. 17. 46. 56. 59. 61. 62. 63. 70. 80. 109. 112. 121. 141. 157. 158. 159. 204. 228. 236. 238. 248., and in BEAMES, Comp. Grammar 2, 284. Most of these stanzas are so much corrupt that we can utilize only particular words from them. In Alaṅkāratilaka, 15, 13, Vāgbhaṭa mentions Abdhimathana as a work written in A.

1. SHRIDHAR B. BHANDARKAR. A Catalogue of the Collections of Manuscripts deposited in the Deccan College (Bombay 1888), p. 68, No. 276; p. 118, No. 788.—2. Hc. 1-IX.—3. GGA. 1884, p. 309.—4. Vikramorvaśiyam (Bombay 1879) p. 9 ff.—5. Vararuci and Hemcandra p. 15ff.—6. FISCHER. GN. 1874, 214; Monatsberichte der Akad. zu Berlin 1875, 613. Even Pañcatantra and the Mahābhārata are abridged in the south Indian recensions, but they are by no means the oldest.—7. GGA. 1894, 475.—8. WEBER, Verzeichniss, 2, 1, 269ff.—9. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 336 ff; 2, 75, where it has been correctly remarked that in our texts spurious passages are found in quite a good number. Thus for example a quotation from Karpūramañjarī p. 199. 200. 211. —10. WEBER, Verzeichniss 2, 1, 270, Nr. 1711.

§30. According to Bhāratīyanāṭyaśāstra 17, 31-44<sup>1</sup>; Das'arūpa 2, 59.60; Sāhityad. 432 in the drama men of high position and, among women, the nuns, the chief queens, the ministers' daughters, and the courtesans, according to Bharata also the female artists speak Sanskrit; and all other women speak Prākṛit; the apsaras on the earth can speak the language of their choice. Generally these statements are in conformity with the practice obtaining in the dramas. Yet everywhere the chief queen speaks Prākṛit; Mālatī and Madayantikā, the daughters of the minister, speak Prākṛit in Mālatīmādhava; the harlot Vasantasenā speaks mostly in Prākṛit in Mṛcchakaṭikā, but at pages 83-86, she speaks in verses in Sanskrit. It was assumed in the case of harlots that they were well versed in both the languages; it is noteworthy that in order to become a fully qualified harlot she must be adept in 64 arts, be endowed with all the 64 kinds of accomplishments, and be conversant with the 18 popular languages:<sup>2</sup> *gaṇyā...cāusaṭṭhikalāpandīā cāusaṭṭhi gaṇyāguṇovaveyā...aṭṭhārasadesibhāsāvisarōyā* (Nāyādh. 480; Vivāgas. 55 ff.). Prosperity in the profession was concomitant with this. In Kumārasambhava 7, 90, the priest Sarasvatī praises the married pair, Śiva and Pārvatī, in two languages, Śiva, in Sanskrit, and Pārvatī, in an easily intelligible language, i. e. in Prākṛit. Rājaśekhara, Karp. 5.3.4 says that a work in Skt. is rough and that it is sweet in Pkt.; accordingly the difference between the two languages is the same as that between a man and a woman. In Mṛcch. 44, 1ff., the Vidūṣaka says that two things make him laugh, one is a Sanskrit-speaking woman and the other is a man who sings in a low voice; the woman who speaks Sanskrit makes the sound *su su* like a heifer through whose nose a cord has been passed and the man who sings in a low voice resembles an aged family priest who mutters his prayer with a dry garland of flowers worn over his head. The director of the play, in Mṛcch., who subsequently plays the rôle of the Vidūṣaka, speaks in Sanskrit in the beginning, but as soon as he begins to talk to a woman he (2,14), "according to the circumstance and

usage", expresses his readiness to speak in Prākṛit. In support of the statement that a man should speak to a woman in Prākṛit Pṛthivīdhara (495, 13) gives a quotation : *stīṣu nā prākṛitāni vadot*. From all this it is gathered that Prākṛit is characterized as the proper language of women, as has been prescribed by the authors on rhetorics. Besides, they not only understand Skt. but they speak it as well the moment they have to say something in verse. So speak Vicakṣaṇā in Viddhaś. pp. 75, 76; Mālatī in Mālatīm. pp. 81, 84; Lavaṅgikā p. 253; Sitā in Prasannarāghava, pp. 116-118 even in prose, and pp. 120, 121, 155 in verses; Kalahansikā in Anarghar. p. 113; the girl friend of the heroine in Karmas. p. 30, and the heroine herself, p. 32; Sindūrikā in Bālar. pp. 120, 121; in Chardi, Jivān. 20, in Subhadrāh. the actress, p. 2 and Subhadrā, p. 13; in Mallikām., Mallikā, pp. 71, 17; 75, 4; 81, 12; 82, 1; 85, 9; Navamālikā 72, 8; 75, 10; Sārasikā 78, 14; 251, 3; Kāīndī 82, 24; 84, 10; 91, 15; in Dhūrtas. p. 11f., Anaṅga-senā, also in prose; and sometimes also women in Cait. Buddhārakṣitā cites Mālatīm p. 242, Kāmasūtra 199, 17f. Even the men who speak usually Pkt. now and then cross over to Skt. when they have to say in verses. So the Vidūṣaka, in Viddhaś. p. 25, who declares Pkt. to be the proper medium of expression for people of his class (*amhārisajjanjogge pādamaṅge*), in Karmas. p. 14, and Jivān. pp. 53, 83; similarly in Kāmasavadha p. 12, the gate-keeper, in Dhūrtas. p. 9, and in Hāsy p. 23, 33, 38, the snātaka, and at p. 28 also the barber. In Jivān. pp. 6ff. Dhāraṇā speaks to herself in Pkt. but in the guise of a female ascetic she speaks to the minister in Skt.; in Mudrār., Virādhagupta, in the guise of a snake-charmer, pp. 70ff., speaks Pkt., but to himself, pp. 73ff. 84, and to the minister Rākṣasa, p. 85, he speaks in Skt.; and at p. 82, 2 he introduces himself as a Prākṛit poet. An unknown poet complains that even in his time many people are not capable of reading a Prākṛit poem<sup>3</sup>, and another one (H. 2=Vajjalagga, 324, 20) asks why should they not be ashamed of themselves who cannot read and understand the nectar-like poetry in Prākṛit and still trouble themselves about true love. We as yet do not know if in Sarasvatīk. 57, 8, Nāṭyarājasya is the correct reading, and the person who has been designated by this term is also unknown. Likewise we are not sure about the identity of Sāhasānka referred to in 57, 9. Perhaps in the kingdom of the former there was nobody who could speak in Pkt. and in that of the latter there was none who did not speak Skt.<sup>4</sup> Notwithstanding the praise of Prākṛit expressed here and there it has always, in comparison with Skt., been considered to be a language of inferior status, and perhaps for that reason the word Prākṛta, even as the name of the language, signifies very appropriately "common", "general", "inferior" which is also commonly denoted by the word. It is useless to carry an investigation into the antiquity and succession of the dialects (§32).

1. Bharata gives more of details, and here I have entered into them only to a limited extent, because the text is very often doubtful.—2. The number of the popular dialects is mentioned to be 18 also in Ovav. §109; Nāyādh. §121; and Rāyap. §291. In Kāmasūtra 33, 9 only the deśabhāṣāḥ in general are referred to.—3. ПРИБЕР., Hc. 2, p. 44, on Hc. 1, 181.—4. Both of the following verses, i.e. 57, 10, 11, literally are=to Bālar. 8, 4, 5; 57, 13, resemble Bālar. 8, 7. Since Rajaśekhara lived a century earlier than Bhoja, it is the author of Sarasvatīk. who has borrowed it from him.

## B. THE PRĀKRIT GRAMMARIANS.

§ 31. At the top of the list of the names of native workers in the field of Prākṛit must be placed the name of Bharata, in case, by this name, we, with the Indians, mean the mythical author of Indian dramaturgy. Mk. fol. 1 refers to Bharata among his sources. Neither the quotation found at

fol. 4 nor the others, cited by the scholiasts<sup>1</sup>, are to be found in our text of the Bhāratīyaṅātyaśāstra<sup>2</sup>; in adhyāya 17 thereof, the different languages have been treated, and in stanzas 6-23 there is a short and very faulty presentation of Prākṛit grammar. Besides, in chapter 32 of the work there is a number of examples in Prākṛit, and all these are thoughtlessly distorted. A second work, that is ascribed to Bharata, is Saṅgītanṛtyākara.<sup>3</sup> According to DEVIPRASĀDA<sup>4</sup> this work is very rare. There are found hardly any citations from that work, on the other hand, they are all from another recension of Nātyaśāstra. Mk. fol. 1 mentions Śākalya and Kohala side by side with Bharata. According to Mk. fol. 48 Śākalya, beside *tujjesu* and *tumbhesu*, reads also *tujjhisuṃ* and *tumbhisuṃ*, which were not acceptable to many (*etat tu na bahusammatam*) and according to fol. 71, in Ś., beside *bhodi*, occurs also *hodi*<sup>5</sup>. The quotation from Kohala is given in § 23. It cannot be affirmed if both of them are identical with the ancient grammarians<sup>6</sup>. Likewise nothing can be said with certainty with regard to Pāṇini, who is credited with the authorship of Prākṛitlakṣaṇa, a Prākṛit grammar, by Kedārabhaṭṭa in Kavikaṅṭhapāśa<sup>7</sup> and Malayagiri<sup>8</sup>. He is credited also with the authorship of two artificial epics, namely Pātālavijaya and Jāmbavatīvijaya<sup>9</sup>. In view of the fact that from the first are cited the forms *grhya* and *paśyati* that go against Pāṇini's own rules 7, 1, 37. 81 KIELHORN<sup>10</sup> and BHĀNDĀRKAR<sup>11</sup> are suspicious about the identity of the poet with the grammarian Pāṇini. But we know that the antiquity of the Indian artificial epics goes back to a period, far earlier than hitherto supposed<sup>12</sup> to be. The word *grhya* is quite common in the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, and likewise the forms of the participle ending in *-ati*, instead of those in *-anti*, are not rare.<sup>13</sup> It is highly improbable to hypothesize that Pāṇini might not have known the Mahābhārata. His grammar does not codify the language of poetry, but the correct Skt. of the Brāhmanas and the Sūtras,<sup>14</sup> and it does not follow from this that many of the forms, that have not been mentioned in his grammar, either did not exist from before his time or that he, as a poet, could not use them. According to tradition Pāṇini, the poet, was identical with Pāṇini, the grammarian<sup>15</sup>, and I do not see any reason to doubt its correctness. It seems probable that Pāṇini, might have written a grammar of Prākṛit as well, and that perhaps as a supplement to his Skt. grammar which was the original work. However, the Prākṛit grammar of Pāṇini is said to be very bad. Along with the names of earlier writers Mk. fol. 171 mentions also one Kapila.

1. FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 1f.—2. Besides the edition of ŚIVADATTA and PARAB (Bombay 1894=Kāvya-mālā 42), I have used both the MSS. of Pūnā; they are transcriptions from the same archetype and constitute the basis of the printed edition. The edition of GROSSET (Lyon 1897) extends up to the end of the fourteenth adhyāya only.—3. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 396. 686—4. A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts existing in Oudh for the year 1883 (Allahabad 1884) p. 100f.—5. FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 2. 3.—6. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 130 mentions one Kohala, who was a writer on music. He might have been identical with the Prākṛit grammarian. Cf. also WEBER IS. 8, 272f; I Str. 2, 59; B. R. s. v.—7. A work bearing this title is often referred to without any mention of its author (AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 86: 2, 16). It is ascribed to Kedārabhaṭṭa by D'ALWIS; An introduction to Kachchāyana's Grammar of the Pāli Language (Colombo, 1863) p. xxv. Cf. WEBER, I Str. 2, 325, note 2.—8. WEBER, IS. I Str. 2, 325, note 2; IS. 10, 227, note 1, KLATT, ZDMG. 33, 472; LEUMANN, Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes (Leide 1885) 3, 2, 557 f.—9. AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 14, 581 f; 28, 113; 36, 366 ff; Halāyudha s. v. sṛkvan; PETERSON, Subhāshitāvalī (Bombay 1886) p. 54ff., who has rightly remarked that both of them may have been the names of the same epic; FISCHEL, ZDMG. 39, 95ff. 316.—10. GN. 1885, 185ff.—11. JBoAS. 16, 343ff.—12. BÜHLER, Die indischen inschriften und das Alter der indischen Kunstpoesie. Wien 1890. Cf. BHĀNDĀRKAR l.c.—13. HOLTZMANN, Grammatiches aus dem Mahābhārata (Leipzig. 1884); BÖHTLINGK, BKSGW. 1887, 213ff. on WHITNEY § 449. 990.—14. LIEBICH,

Panini Leipzig 1891) p. 47 ff. The conclusion drawn by him from the Bhagvadgītā, p. 32 ff., as shown above, cannot be proved.—15. AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 36,365ff; FISCHER, ZDMG. 39, 97f.

§ 32. The oldest of the Prākṛit grammars that we possess is Prākṛta-prakāśa of Vararuci. Of the several persons bearing this name<sup>1</sup>, the grammarian is distinguished from others by his gotra name, Kātyāyana. This appellation was given to him by the unknown<sup>2</sup> author of the commentary Prākṛtamañjarī, who in his introduction interchanges Kātyāyana and Vararuci, one for the other, throughout, and under 2,2 uses the name Kātyāyana in lieu of Vararuci.<sup>3</sup> This sort of inconsistency is noticeable also in the case of the name of Vararuci, the author of the Vārttika. That he also was called Vararuci is reported by Somadeva, Kathāsaritsāgara 2, 1, and Kṣemendra, Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, 1, 68; 2, 15. Besides, the tradition goes as back as Gūṇādhyā<sup>4</sup> and reaches down upto Sāyana<sup>5</sup>, and the lexicographers<sup>6</sup> fix it in the middle course. The anthology, Śaḍuktikarṇamṛta contains a stanza composed by the Vārttikakāra<sup>7</sup>, a term that can denote Kātyāyana and Kātyāyana alone<sup>8</sup>, and Patañjali, on Pāṇini, 4,3,101 (2,315 ed. KIELHORN) mentions *vārurucam kāvyam*<sup>9</sup>. From this it appears probable that our Vārttikakāra was not a simple dry grammarian, but also a poet like his successor Patañjali<sup>10</sup> and his predecessor Pāṇini (§ 31). This makes it clear that Kātyāyana could be confused with Vararuci, who, according to the tradition, was a contemporary of Kālidāsa and was one of the nine jewels in the court of Vikramāditya<sup>11</sup>. WEBER<sup>12</sup> has attributed the same sort of confusion also with regard to the author of Prākṛtamañjarī, and he<sup>13</sup>, WESTERGAARD<sup>14</sup> and BLOCH<sup>15</sup> have expressed the opinion on the question of identity of Vārttikakāra with the Prākṛit grammarian, that is against the view of COWELL<sup>16</sup>, MAXMÜLLER<sup>17</sup>, FISCHER<sup>18</sup> and KONOW<sup>19</sup>. When even Vr. could be surpassed by Hc. and the south Indian grammarians in the art of criticism there is no reason to push him upwards, just on account of his critical acumen, upto Vārttikakāra, referred to above, "the stubborn castigatōr of Pāṇini"<sup>20</sup>. By the time of Hc Prākṛit grammar had already made great progress as compared with the time of Vr., and it is one thing to improve upon a work that has been ready from before and it is quite another to plan a work all new. After all it was a fact that Patañjali found one Kātyāyana to criticize and improve upon him. That the dialects taught by Vr., more particularly Māhāraṣṭrī, have forms that are phonetically much later than those of the language of the inscriptions of Aśoka and that of the Nāśika inscriptions proves nothing at all<sup>21</sup>. Because the Prākṛits are merely artificial dialects and existed by the side of the popular and the official dialects it is wholly wrong to draw a chronological sketch of the Prākṛit languages on the basis of the inscriptions. If the Sattasāi be the work of a single author, it is wholly wrong to suppose, as opined by JACOB and BLOCH, that Māhāraṣṭrī did not come into common use before the beginning of the 3rd century A. D. The names of 318 poets that have been transmitted to us through the medium of this anthology alone presuppose that there existed from before a rich literature in Prākṛit (§13), which up to the time of Govardhanācārya, and therefore, till up to the 12th century A. D. was the only literary dialect employed in composing aphoristic musical stanzas, mostly depicting love themes, and written in the Āryā metre, that might have later been collected together in the form of an anthology.<sup>22</sup> The Gitagovinda of Jayadeva goes back to an original work written in Apabhraṃśa<sup>23</sup>; besides, it may be noted that several Sanskrit works, of course not rarely, are found to be just imitations of some earlier works in Prākṛit<sup>24</sup>. The assumption of

BLOCH that Vr. could not have lived before the 5th century A. D. is not important on linguistic grounds. On the other hand, the possibility is not altogether ruled out that the author of Prākṛtamāñjarī, confused the two Vararucis, although a reference in his work to the grammarian is to be taken less lightly than that in the work of the Tibetan Tārānātha. Then there is the tradition that Kātyāyana was a Prākṛit grammarian as well, and it seems to me that the name Vārttikārṇavabhāṣya, a work taken to be a grammar of Prākṛit and mentioned by Appayadikṣita, Prākṛitam-apidīpa 5, among his sources of information, immediately after *vāvarucā granthāḥ*, corroborates it. The identity of Kātyāyana with Vararuci can not naturally be looked upon as certain.

1. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1,551.—2. In OPPERT, Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries of Southern India, (Madras 1880. 1885) 1,290, No. 3426 and 2, 371, No. 6341 Kātyāyana is mentioned as the author.—3. FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. 10 f—4. KONOW, C.G.A. 1894, 473—5. COWELL, The Prākṛita-Prakāśa, Second Issue. Advertisement; FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 9. Cf. also Prakriyākaumudiprasāda in BHĀNDĀRKAR, Report 1883/84, p. 362, 18.—6. B. R. s. v. Kātyāyana.—7. AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 36, 524—8. FISCHEL, ZDMG. 39,98. The Prākṛitamāñjarī speaks about *mahākavi Kātyāyana*.—9. In what respect does this sort of reference to this *kāvya* in the Mahābhāṣya warrant the statement, “that this reference to bhagavān Kātyāḥ, as the author of this Kāvya, does not hold good for Vararuci as its author” WEBER, Istr. 3,227, I do not understand.—10. AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 36. 370.—11. KONOW, GGA. 1894, 474.—12. Istr. 3,378.—13. Istr. 2, 53ff; 3,27, ff.—14. Ueber den ältesten Zeitraum der indischen Geschichte mit Rücksicht auf die Literatur (Breslau 1862) p. 86.—15. Vr. und Hc. p. 9 ff.—16. The Prākṛita-Prakāśa<sup>2</sup>, p. VI.—17. HASL. p. 148. 239ff.—18.—De gr. Pr. p. 9. ff.—19. GGA. 1894, 473.—20. WEBER, Istr. 3,278.—21. WESTERGAARD l. c.; JACOBI, Erzählungen p. xiv f.; BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 12f.—22. FISCHEL, Hofdichter p. 30.—23. FISCHEL, l. c. p. 21.—24. FISCHEL, Rudraṭa's Sṛṅgāratilaka (Kiel 1886) p. 13 note 1.

§ 33. In any case, if Vararuci is not the oldest, he is one of the oldest Prākṛit grammarians. The title of his grammar is Prākṛitprakāśa, that was edited with notes and translation by COWELL : The Prākṛita Prakāśa : or The Prākṛit Grammar of Vararuci, with the Commentary Manoramā) of Bhāmaha. Second Issue. London 1868 (printed for the first time, Hertford, 1854). A reprint of the text has recently been brought out by RAMA SHASTRI TAILANGA (Benares 1899). Vr. treats in paricchedas 1-9, M., in 10, P., in 11, Mg., and in 12, Ś. In parts, the text has come down to us in a very mutilated condition and in several places its recensions differ strongly, and this goes to prove its antiquity<sup>1</sup>. The oldest of its commentators was Bhāmaha, an inhabitant of Kashmir, who was also a rhetorician as well as poet<sup>2</sup>. His time has been determined only to this extent that he was older than Udbhata, who lived under the king Jayapīḍa of Kashmir (779—813 A. D.) and wrote a commentary on the rhetorical work of Bhāmaha<sup>3</sup>. Bhāmaha's commentary on the Prākṛitprakāśa bears the title Manoramā<sup>4</sup> and is lacking in pariccheda 12. Undoubtedly Bhāmaha misunderstood Vr. now and then. The most striking proof of this is furnished by 4, 14.<sup>5</sup> It is uncertain if he had ever understood the gaṇas<sup>6</sup> exactly as they were conceived by Vr. A distinction, that is to be seen throughout, has to be rigorously maintained between the sūtras and the commentary. We can just have an idea as regards the sources of information of Bhāmaha from the significant passages quoted by him. Such passages occur under Vr. 8,9; 9,2. 4-7. 9-17; 10, 4, 14; 11, 6. Of them, under 9,2 is given *hūm sāhasu' sabbhāvaṃ* = H. 453 (cf. the v. l.), where none of the MSS. has *hūm*. According to Bhuvanapāla (IS. 16, 153) the writer of this stanza is Viṣṇunātha : under 9,9 occurs *kiṇo dhuvasi* = H. 369, it is also cited in Hc. 2,216, and according to Bhuvanapāla (IS. 16, 120) it is of Devarāja. I cannot trace the remaining ones : the examples given under 10,4,14 have been taken from Bṛhatkathā. In 9, 4 the Gāthās are generally referred to. A later

commentary is the Prākṛtamañjari of which the unknown author (cf. § 32, note 2) wrote it in verses and who was evidently a South Indian. The manuscript containing these verses utilized by me is in the Malayālam character : it belongs to the Royal Asiatic Society, London<sup>8</sup> and is incomplete and extends upto Vr. 6,18. The author evidently knew Bhāmaha. The examples given by both of them mostly tally, nevertheless the number of examples quoted by the anonymous writer is often smaller than that of those given by Bhāmaha, though sometimes a few are added by him here and there ; his text differs in many places from that of COWELL.<sup>9</sup> The commentary is not of a high value.

I COWELL p. 97 ; FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 10, 13 ; BÜHLER, Detailed Report p. 75 ; HOERNLE, Proc. ASB. 1879, 79f.—2. AUFRECHT, IS. I 6, 207f : Cat. Cat. 1.405f ; PETERSON Subhāsītāvalī p. 79 ; FISCHER, Rudraṭa p. 6f.—3. FISCHER, Rudraṭa p. 13—4. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 360, wrongly calls it Prākṛtamañoramā. Wrong is also the statement that it is called Prākṛtacandrikā as well. Both the statements are based upon KIELHORN, A Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. existing in the Central Provinces (Nagpur 1874) p. 84, No. 44. All the other sources quoted by AUFRECHT have Manoramā. The manuscript referred to by HOERNLE, Proc. ASB. 1879, 79f. ascribes it to Vararuci himself.—5. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 28.—6. It is not, therefore, certain that the gaṇas did never have a fixed number of words as was supposed by BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 31. As in Sanskrit, so in Prākṛit as well, the schools were differing from one another.—7. We must read as such in lieu *sāhusu* in COWELL and *kadhehi sāhusu* in TAILANGA, and in the translation it is to be changed into *sādhusu*.—8. Noted by AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1,360.—The more important ones in FISCHER, De. Gr. Pr. p. 10-16.

§ 34. The opinions differ very widely with regard to Caṇḍa, whose Prākṛtalakṣaṇam has been published by HOERNLE : The Prākṛita-Lakṣaṇam or Caṇḍa's Grammar of the Ancient (Arsha) Prākṛit. Part I. Text with a critical introduction and indexes. Calcutta, 1880. HOERNLE is of the view that Caṇḍa had treated Arṣa (§ 16. 17). He bases his edition on the manuscripts AB, which give the least of the texts : he is of the opinion that MSS. CD contain later interpolations. He considers C. to be older than Vr. and Hc., and as such, generally speaking, he considers him to be the oldest of the known Prākṛit grammarians. Against this BLOCH<sup>1</sup> thinks "the grammar of Caṇḍa is an inaccurate and superficial abridgement of another work, may be perhaps even of Hemacandra." Both the views are incorrect. That Caṇḍa is not so old as he is considered to be by HOERNLE is proved by the introductory stanza 1, in which the author states that he will fashion his work on the basis of the views of the earlier writers (*vṛddhamatāt*). This stanza is found in all the manuscripts of HOERNLE as well as in PETERSON, Third Report (Bombay 1887) p. 265, and in BHANDARKAR, Lists of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Private Libraries in the Bombay Presidency. Part I (Bombay 1893) p. 58, and, therefore, cannot presumably be considered, in agreement with HOERNLE, p. 1, note to be a later adaptation. It is doubtful as to how far the work can generally be considered to be an adaptation. It is true that the manuscript C, in the commentary, appears to have received many additions. But all the rules that C and D, rather B, C. and D, have in common, cannot be denied to be the original work. C evidently deals with M., JM., AMg. and JS' side by side. This is demonstrated by the rules; thus in 1, 5, the genitive in-*āṇam* is mentioned by the side of that in-*āham*; in 2, 10, the nominative in-*e* is taught close to that in-*o*; in 2, 19, the absolutive in M., JM., AMg., JM. and JS' as well as in A. is treated; in 3, 11. 12 the rules relating to M. AMG., and JS' are combined into one<sup>2</sup>. This peculiarity is noticeable to a far greater extent in C and D. Thus in 1, 26<sup>3</sup> (p. 42) occurs A. *haū* by the side of *ham* and *aham*; in 2, 19, C and D add forms of M. and A. to those of the absolutive of M. AMG., JM., JS' and

A; likewise in 2, 27<sup>a-1</sup>. the forms of A. are preponderant and in 27<sup>b-k</sup>, also of JS'; in 3, 6 (p. 48) the forms from JS', AMG., and JM. are mixed up together; 3, 11<sup>a</sup> furnishes supplementary forms from CP. in addition to those given in 3, 11. 12. Hence the assertion that 3, 6 (p. 48) is fully in keeping with the characteristics of the work and that 3, 39<sup>a</sup> is wrong may be an impossibility. Sometimes the additions appear to be going back to Hc. as the source: Thus the definition of Prākṛta in C. on 1, 1 is verbally Hc. 1, 1, but the former gives just the beginning; 1, 11<sup>a</sup> (p. 36) is=Hc. 4. 353; 2, 1<sup>c</sup> (p. 37) is=Hc. 1, 6, but the former is shorter; 3, 11<sup>a</sup> (p. 48) corresponds to Hc. 4, 325, but here also the former is shorter. Thus everywhere C. is shorter, and in certain cases, such as in 3, 34 (p. 51)=Hc. 1, 177, in spite of so much of correspondences the distinction is so great that C. cannot be considered to be the borrower. As against what has been said above, it is noteworthy that Hc. 3, 81 seems to have referred to C. 1, 17 as noted by HOERNLE, p. XXII. There C. teaches that *se* is used also in the genitive plural, and Hc., 3, 81 remarks that some author desires the use of *se* in the genitive plural as well : *idantador āmāpi se ādeśam kaścid icchati*. BLOCH<sup>3</sup>, in fact, is of the opinion that reference to C. by the singular form *kaścit* in Hc. is indicative of the fact that no great importance is to be attached to him. But the entire thesis of BLOCH with regard to the manner of giving citations in Hc. and in other Indian grammarians is essentially wrong. When Hc. says *kaścit* thereby he means to refer to one more authority. Besides, there is no grammarian other than C. who is known to have framed an identical rule; thus the greatest possibility is that in places where C. and Hc. have an identical rule the borrower is not C. but Hc. All other such cases have been correctly put together by HOERNLE p. XXIII f.<sup>4</sup> I shall, however, just add the example *cauṃśam . . . pi . . .* given under C. 2. 12<sup>a</sup> (p. 44) which is much more detailed in C. than in Hc. 3, 137. Further, the terminology employed by both of them is not identical throughout. Thus in C. 2, 1<sup>b</sup> (p. 37) the vowel that remains after elision of a consonant is called *uddhṛta*, but in Hc. 1. 8 it is designated as *udvṛtta*; C. 2, 10 has Visarjanīya, but Hc. 1, 37 has Visarga; C. on 2, 15 (p. 45) uses Ardhānusvāra, but Hc. in 3, 7, Anunāsika; etc. Moreover, sometimes C. gives us quotations that Hc. does not have. Thus 2, 21. 22. 24; 3, 38. 39 where the second example given under 1, 1 (p. 39) is quoted also by Simhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhaṭālankāra, 2, 2 (§9); further those given under 2, 24 (p. 46), under 2, 27<sup>b</sup> and 2, 27<sup>c</sup> (p. 47). In no way C. had desired to treat the Āṛṣa dialect all alone. The so called archaisms, such as retention of *t*, *th*, the lengthening of the vowels in the endings *-ām*, *-īm*, *-ūm*, etc. are errors committed by the scribe like the so many errors that are quite common in Jaina MSS.<sup>5</sup> Even in the case of the manuscripts of C. it is noteworthy that all of them do not mostly have such errors in them and seldom do they have these all in one and the same places. The dialect mainly taught by C. is M., and along with it he himself mentions expressly Apabhraṃśa in 3, 37, Paiśāciki in 3, 38, Māgadhikā in 3, 39, Āṛṣa in 2, 13<sup>a-b</sup> (p. 44), which as already noted is referred to several times also in the A and B recensions; Śaurasenī is mentioned 3, 39<sup>a</sup> (p. 52). The example quoted in D 2, 1<sup>c</sup> (p. 37) is= Gaṇḍavaho (p. 220) and is found also in Hc. 1, 6; the second example given in C and D under 1, 26<sup>a</sup> (p. 42) *teṅ\*aham viddho* is clearly Hāla 441<sup>6</sup>. Because these examples are not found in all the manuscripts, it is risky to depend on them for determination of the age of C. The text has been handed down to us in such a mutilated condition that it can be used only with great caution and that also after a careful examination of the variants. In any case this much seems to be certain that C. was older than Hc. and



was one of his authorities. The very fact that C. is preserved in several recensions goes to suggest his comparatively earlier antiquity. Differing from all other grammarians, C. begins with the nominal and pronominal flexion (*vihaktivīdhāna*): in the second section he treats the vowels (*svaravidhāna*) and in the third, the consonants (*ryaṅjanavidhāna*). The C and D recensions bifurcate the third section after 3, 36, and designate the remaining portion beginning from 3, 37 up to 3, 39<sup>a</sup> the fourth section and give to it the heading *bhāṣāntaravidhāna* "Rules on the other languages"; corresponding to this name this section deals with the other Prākṛit dialects like M., JM., AMg., and JŚ., and therefore, it was wrong to consider this alone to be an entire work *Prākṛitabhāṣāntaravidhānā* as in BÜHLER (ZDMG. 42, 556) and BHĀNDĀRKAR (Lists p. 58); BÜHLER and BHĀNDĀRKAR call the author of this to be Candra.<sup>7</sup> The extract quoted in BHĀNDĀRKAR shows that they meant by it the same work. The introduction to C and D is certainly correct. Now there remains little scope for the doubt about this as the manuscript of BHĀNDĀRKAR has the same colophon as in A and B. C. does not at all treat the verb; perhaps this is just the legacy of transmission of the text. That the grammar was really very short is suggested by one of its name, *Prākṛtasāroddhāravṛttiḥ*, which is given in the MS. in PETERSON, Third Report, p. 265.

1. Vr. und Hc. p. 8.—2. This could be applied to Ś. also in lieu of JŚ. But the very nature of the grammar, particularly 3, 6 in C and D (p. 48) refers to JŚ.—3, Vr. und Hc. p. 8.—4. That the forms were comprehended under 2, 27<sup>1</sup> (p. 47) by C. as those of common Prākṛit, as was considered by HOERNLE p. XXIII, is wrong. The stanza is composed in pure Apabhraṃśa. It has to be read as:—*kālu, lahevīṅ joīā jīva mohu galei tīva tīva dapsaru lahaī jo niameṅ aḥpu muni*, "the measure in which, with the passage of time he dissolves his delusion, the yogin, who comes to know the self by penance, attains enlightenment". *joīā* is not=*jāyāyah*, but=*yogikaḥ*=*yogī* from *yogin*.—5. On t cf. §203.—6. cf. §417, note 2.—7. Caṇḍa is the most authentic form of the name: by it we must never understand that it refers to Candra, i.e. Candragomin, (LIEBIG, Panini p. 11), since it has been proved that according to KIELHORN, IA. 15, 184 the terminology used by Candragomin is quite different from the one used by Caṇḍa.

§35. As a lexicographer of Pkt. there was the energetic Dhanapāla, whose dictionary of synonyms, the *Pāiyalacchī*, that is *Prākṛitalakṣmīḥ*, has been published by BÜHLER: The *Pāiyalacchī Nāmamālā*, a Prakrit Kosha, by Dhanapāla, Edited with critical notes, an introduction and a glossary by GEORG BÜHLER, Göttingen, 1878 (=BB. 4, 70-166<sup>a</sup>). According to his own statement (stanzas 276-278) Dhanapāla composed his work at Dhārā in the year 1029 of the Vikrama era=972 AD., that is during the period when Mānyakheta was sacked in a series of attacks by a Mālava prince, for his younger sister Sundarī.<sup>1</sup> In stanza 1, he calls his work a *Nāmamālā*, and in 278 he designates it as *Deśi*=*Deśī*. As already pointed out by BÜHLER (p. 11), the *Deśī*s consitute only a quarter of the words of the lexicon, all others are either *tatsamas* or *tadbhavas* (§8), and, therefore, this work is not of any great value.<sup>2</sup> It contains 279 stanzas in the *Āryā* metre, and the first one is the *maṅgalācaraṇa*, and the last four constitute a statement of the event referred to above. Each object takes one complete strophe in stanzas 1-19, a verse in 20-94, a half verse in 95-202; the stanzas 203-275 contain single words that are explained sometimes by means of synonyms and sometimes by half of a verse. Dhanapāla is acknowledged by Hc., *Deśin*. 1, 141; 3, 22; 4, 30; 6, 101; 8, 17 as one of the sources of his information. But sometimes the citations are not traceable at all in *Pāiyalacchī* (3, 22; 4, 30; 8, 17), or partly they do not accord with the statement of Hc. (1, 141; 6, 101). Therefore, rightly conjectures BÜHLER (p. 15) that Dhanapāla had written another work of the same<sup>3</sup> type as well. After his conversion to Jainism Dh. wrote *Ṛṣabhapañcāśikā*.

1. Details in BÜHLER p. 5 ff.—2. BÜHLER p. 13ff.—3. Vide §20; BÜHLER p. 9; KLATT, ZDMG. 33, 445. On Dh.'s other literary activities see BÜHLER p 10; AUFRECHT, ZDMG. 27, 41; Cat. Cat. 1, 267.

§ 36 Of the Prākṛit grammars that have as yet come to light by far the most important is that of Hemacandra (1088-1172 A. D.). His Prākṛit grammar constitutes the eighth section of the Siddhahemacandra, i. e. grammar dedicated to Siddharāja and written by Hemacandra<sup>1</sup>, whereof the first seven sections are devoted to the Sanskrit language. Hc. himself wrote thereupon a commentary in two recensions, one, the Brhatī—and the other, the Laghu-vṛtti<sup>2</sup>; of them the Laghuvṛtti bears the name Prakāśikā and has been printed in the editions of Mahābala Kṛṣṇa, Bombay, Śamvat 1929, and PISCHEL : Hemacandra's Grammatik der Prākṛitsprachen (Siddhahemacandram Adhyāya VIII), herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert, Teil I. II. Halle a. S. 1877. 1880. On the Vṛtti, Udayasaubhāgyagaṇin wrote an etymological commentary, Haimaprākṛtavṛttidhruṇḍhikā, under the title Vyutpattidīpikā, (§29), and on the eighth chapter, Narendracandrasūri wrote a running commentary named Prākṛtprabodha<sup>3</sup>. Hc. has divided his grammar into four sections : of them the first two are devoted to Phonetics, the third one contains rules on Morphology, in the fourth, under 1-258, he gives root-substitutes, the classification of roots that differ in conjugation from those of Sanskrit and detached rules for forming the passive, in rule No. 259 he makes certain observation on the meaning of roots: he deals with Śauraseni in 260-286, Māgadhī in 287-302, Paisāci in 303-324, Cūlikāpaisācīkā in 325-328, Apabhraṃśa in 329-446, and finally in 447-448 he passes some general remarks. The language taught by Hc. in 1,1-4,259 is preponderantly M. But by the side of it he carries by force also JM. and occasionally even JŚ., and that without differentiating strictly between these dialects everywhere. In 260-286, he has in view also JŚ. (§21). Nothing can as yet be said about his predecessors whose works were utilized by Hc. in his grammar. He refers by name only to Hugga 1,186, not as a grammarian, but as a lexicographer<sup>4</sup>, and that with reference to Skt. only; otherwise he refers to his sources simply in general terms such as *kaścit* (2,80 : 3,81); *kecit* (1, 67. 209; 2, 80. 128. 138. 145. 188; 3, 19. 25. 103. 153); *anyaḥ* (3, 103. 117); *anye* (1, 35. 88; 2, 163. 174. 207; 3, 177); *anyaiḥ* (4, 2); *anyeṣām* (4, 327) *eke* (1, 35). JACOB<sup>5</sup> is of the opinion that Hc. used the sūtras of Vr. as the basis of his grammar in the same manner as Bhaṭṭojidikṣita had the sūtras of Pāṇini the basis of his Siddhāntakaumudī. The sūtras of Vr. were irrefutably held in high esteem, and their exposition, relatively restricted, had become the main problem for Prākṛit grammarians. That Hc. stands to Vr. in a relation similar to that of Kātyāyana to Pāṇini is all wrong<sup>6</sup>, as has been shown in detail by BLOCH<sup>7</sup>. We cannot determine with certainty if Hc. has even utilized the work Vr. at all. It is just probable that he may have done so, but it cannot be proved. It has already been noted above (§34) that presumably he knew Caṇḍa. Besides his grammar, Hc. has written also a dictionary of Deśis, the Deśināmamālā or the Deśisābdasaṃgraha, that was designated as Rayanāvali = Skt. Ratnāvali, by the author himself (8,77). According to the evidence available at pp. 1, 4ff. he wrote it after his grammar, and according to 1, 3 he wrote a supplement also to it. The text has been published by PISCHEL : The Deśināmamālā of Hemchandra, Part I. Text and critical notes. Bombay, 1880<sup>8</sup>. Like Dhanapāla (§35) Hc. also included tatsamas and tadbhavas under Deśī, but in proportion to the volume of the work their number is very small, and for a knowledge of Prākṛit it is extraordinarily essential. The Deśināmamālā is divided into alphabetically

arranged eight vargas. The words are divided into two classes. In the beginning occur the words arranged according to the number of syllables that have one meaning (*ekārthāḥ*), then follow the similarly arranged ones having more than one meaning (*anekārthāḥ*). To the first class of words are added illustrative examples in verses which were composed by Hc. himself; most of them are silly : it was so because Hc. was obliged to collect together in single verses words of different meanings. They serve as mnemotechnical auxiliaries and contain sometimes, by the side of Deśis, furthermore, the words and forms that are not usually included in Pkt. Besides, it is not rarely that this book helps us in ascertaining the exact meaning of several Deśi words<sup>9</sup>. Hc. has written a commentary to his Deśin. as well. He makes no claim that his work is not based on other sources, on the other hand, he admits that his work is nothing but a compilation of earlier works of similar pattern. In 1, 37 he leaves the problem of deciding whether *ambasamī* or *ambasā* is the correct form to the reader, (*ambasāṭi ke ciṭ paṭhanti tatra keṣām cid bhramobhrahmo veti bahudr̥śvāna eva pramāṇam*); in 1, 41 he is not clear either with regard to the form or the meaning of *acchiharullo* and that because even authors differ from one another he leaves it to the well informed ones to decide (*tad evaṃ granthakṛdvipratipattau bahujñāḥ pramāṇam*); in 1, 47 he distinguishes between the words *avaḍḍhīa* and *avaḍḍkīa*, which others have explained as synonyms on the basis of observation of the materials found in the best writings on Deśis (*asmābhis tu sāradeśinirīkṣaṇena vivekaḥ kṛtaḥ*); in 1,105 he firmly holds that *udduhīa* in lieu of *utuhīa* remains due to scribe's error; likewise in 6, 8 *hora* occurs in lieu of *cora*. In support of his own decision he refers to many works in Deśi in 2, 28; to the best writings in it in 3, 12. 33; in 8, 12 he scolds modern writers on Deśi and their commentators; in 8, 13 he leaves again the decision to judicious people (*kevalam sahr̥dayāḥ pramāṇam*). After 1, 2 the merit of the work lies in its alphabetical arrangement. According to 1,49 he does it for students. He refers by name to *A b h i m ā n a c i h n a* (1, 144; 6, 93; 7,1;8,12.17); *A v a n t i s u n d a r ī* (1, 81. 157); *D e v a r ā j a* (6,58.72;8,17); *D r o ṇ a* or *D r o ṇ ā c ā r y a* (1,18.50;6, 7; 8, 17); *D h a n a p ā l a* (1, 141; 3, 22; 4,30;6,101;8,17); *G o p ā l a* (1, 25. 31. 45; 2, 82; 3, 47; 6,26.58.72;7,2.76;8,1.17.67) *P ā d a l i p t a* (1, 2); *R ā h u l a k a* (4, 4); *S ' i l ā n k a* (2, 20; 6, 96; 8, 40); *S ā t a v ā h a n a* (3, 41; 5, 11; 6, 15. 18. 19. 112. 125). Of them, *Abhimānaciha*, *Devarāja*, *Pādalipta* and *Sātavāhana* appear also as *Prākṛit* poets in the *Sattasā* (§13) as well; 'about *Avantisundarī* *BÜHLER*<sup>10</sup> conjectures that she might have been identical with *Sundarī*, the younger sister of *Dhanapāla*, for whom he wrote *Pāiyalacchī*. When she herself could write and actually wrote on Deśi it appears improbable. Rather she might have been identical with *Avantisundarī*, the wife of *Rājasekhara*, on whose inducement, according to *Karp.* 7, 1, the *Karpūramañjarī*, a drama wholly written in *Prākṛit*, was presented on the stage and in fact it is she who is cited by Hc. in his grammar. *Rāhulaka* is referred to as a *Sanskrit* poet in *Śaraṅgadhara*paddhati and *Subhāṣitāvali*. From among the writers in *Sanskrit* Hc. refers by name to *K ā l ā p ā ḥ* (1,6), *B h a r a t a* (8, 72), *B h ā m a h a* (8, 39), and without naming him he cites *H a l ā y u d h a* (1, 5; 2, 98). Mostly he refers to his sources in some general terms: thus *anye* (1, 3. 20. 22. 35. 47. 52. 62. 63. 65. 66. 70. 72. 75. 78. 87. 89. 99. 100. 102. 107. 112. 151. 160. 163; 2, 11. 12. 18. 24. 26. 29. 36. 45. 47. 50. 51. 66. 67. 69. 77. 79. 89. 98; 3, 3. 6. 8. 28. 40. 41. 58. 59; 4, 3. 4. 6. 7. 18. 22. 23. 26. 33. 44. 47; 5, 9. 30. 33. 36. 40. 45. 50. 61;

6, 14. 15. 16. 21. 24. 25. 26. 28. 42. 48. 53. 54, 61. 63. 75. 81. 86. 88. 91. 93. 94. 97. 99. 105. 106. 116. 121. 132. 134. 140. 145; 7, 2. 16. 17. 18. 21. 31. 33. 37. 44. 45. 48. 62. 68. 69. 74. 75. 76. 88. 91; 8, 10. 15. 18. 22. 27. 35. 36. 38. 44. 45. 59. 67); *eke* (2, 89; 4, 5. 12; 6, 11; 7, 35; 8, 7); *kaścit* (1, 43; 2, 18; 3, 51; 5, 13; 8, 75); *kecit* (1, 5. 26. 34. 37. 41. 46. 47. 67. 79. 103. 105. 117. 120. 129. 131. 153; 2, 13. 15. 16. 17. 20. 29. 33. 38. 58. 87. 89; 3, 10. 12. 22. 23. 33. 34. 35. 36. 44. 55; 4, 4. 10. 15. 45; 5, 12. 21. 44. 58; 6, 4. 55. 80. 90. 91. 92. 93. 95. 96. 110. 111; 7, 2. 3. 6. 47. 58. 65. 75. 81. 93; 8, 4. 51. 69. 70); *pūrvācāryāḥ* (1, 11. 13); *yad āha* (1, 4. 5 [Halāyudha]. 37. 75. 121. 171; 2, 33. 48. 98 [Halāyudha]; 3, 23. 54 [Skt.]; 4, 4. 10. 21. 24. 45; 5, 1. 63; 6, 15. 42. 78. 81. 93. 140. 142; 7, 46. 58. 84; 8, 1. 13. 43. 68); *yad āhuḥ* (1, 5; 3, 6; 4, 15); by some other expressions (1, 18. 94. 144. 174; 3, 33; 4, 37; 6, 8. 58. 93; 8, 12. 17. 28). In spite of so much of care taken by him in utilization of the writings of his so many predecessors Hc. could not always avoid gross blunders, for the simple reason that he drew his materials from secondary sources: Thus in 2, 24 he says that *kaṇṭhadīṅāra* means "an opening in a fence" (*ṛtīvīvara*), and again in 6, 67 he teaches that *paero* also means "an opening in a fence" (*ṛtīvīvara*), in addition to "a particular ornament" (*kaṇṭhadīṅāra*). Clearly he read somewhere in some verse referred to in 6, 67 the nom. *kaṇṭhadīṅāro*, in lieu of the locative *re*, and with the help thereof he construed 2, 24; but later he found the correct reading of 6, 67 and gave the right meaning, but he did not take notice of the error committed by him earlier. *kaṇṭhadīṅāra* is certainly an ornament made from Denar that is worn about the neck. *poālo* "steer" (6, 62) is really the same word as *vovālo* (7, 79) which as a second member of a compound needed its preceding form.<sup>11</sup> As far as I can see the Deśin. constitutes an "authority of the first rank"<sup>12</sup> that shows to us that there still remains much to be known about the valuable contributions made in Indian languages and that we still do not know much about the rich literature that exists in Prākṛit.

1. BÜHLER, Ueber das Leben Das Jaina Mönches Hemachandra (Wien 1889) p. 15.—2. BÜHLER, l.c. p. 72, note 31.—3. In AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 360 the author is said to be Naracandra. According to PETERSON, Det. Report (1883) p. 127. No. 300 and BHANḌĀRKAR, A Catalogue of the Collections of MSS. deposited in the Deccan College (Bombay 1888) p. 328, No. 300 he calls himself Narendracandrasūri. The MS. was lent out when I wanted to utilize it.—4. FISCHER on Hc. 1, 186; ZACHARIAE, GGA, 1889, 996, note 1; Die indischen Wörterbücher (Kos'a) (Strassburg 1897; Grundriss 1. 3b) p. 7; Epilegomena zu der Ausgabe des Maṅkhakośa (Wien 1899) p. 17 ff. 5. Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1876, 797.—6. FISCHER on Hc. 2, 145.—7. Vr. und Hc. p. 21 ff.—8. Found by BÜHLER, JA. 2, 17 ff. 9. BÜHLER had desired to publish the second part that would have contained the dictionary, FISCHER Deśin. p. 8.—10. Pāiyalacchī-p. 7ff.—11. Another example in SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT, Deutsche Literaturzeitung 2, 1109.—12. SIEGFRIED GOLDSCHMIDT, l.c.

§37. Undetermined remains the age of Kramadīśvara. Scholars have attempted to place him between Hc. and Bopadeva. ZACHARIAE<sup>1</sup> has correctly remarked that we cannot prove that Kī. lived later than Hc. and that we do not find any strong reason to support the untenable proposition that Kī. had written his grammar before Hc. Kī.'s grammar Saṁkṣiptasāra, like that of Hc., is divided into eight chapters (pādas), whereof the last chapter deals with the Pkt. languages. This is a thing that also is in agreement with Hc. But in other respects the two grammars have nothing in common. The arrangement and the technical terms are altogether different.<sup>2</sup> As regards the antiquity of Kī. it is noteworthy that a quotation in his Skt. grammar cannot be dated earlier than the eighth and later than the beginning of the ninth century A.D. The latest of the authors cited by him is Murāri,<sup>3</sup> about whom we now definitely know that he was anterior to Ratnākara,<sup>4</sup> the author of Haravijaya,<sup>4</sup> who lived in about the middle of the ninth century A.D. With respect to finding the latest limit

to the age of Kī. it may be noted that he, like some later grammarians, gives names of more dialects than those mentioned by Hc. LASSEN, Inst. p. 15 ff. 393. 440 ff. 449 ff., Appendix 39-58, was the first scholar to give a detailed account of Kī. The chapter on the Root has been published by DELIUS: *Radices Pracriticae* (Bonnae ad Rhenum 1839) pp. 10-12. A complete edition of the Prākṛtapāda is said to have been published by RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA in the Bibliotheca Indica-Series.<sup>5</sup> It could not be possible for me to procure it. I have before me pp. 17-24 of the text and pp. 141-172 of the Word-Index, from *bhādūko* up to *saddāviadi*,<sup>6</sup> and pp. 1-8 of the English translation. If I am allowed to draw my conclusion on the basis of the proof-sheets I shall say that the edition had been very bad. A new edition of the eighth pāda had been printed in Calcutta, 1889. I got it through the courtesy of BLOCH, and it is from this that I have given the quotations in this grammar. This too is a very bad edition, and therefore, I have constantly taken into consideration the extracts given in LASSEN. Kī. closely follows Vr., but has, as the review given in LASSEN. Inst., App. pp. 40. ff. demonstrates, certain deviations that point to some other source, thus for instance his treatment of A. is well in contrast to that of Vr. Kī. himself wrote a short commentary to his Saṃkṣiptasāra, whereof the Rasavati of Jumarānandin is a careful exposition and elucidation.<sup>7</sup> The Prākṛtadīpikā of Caṇḍidevaśarman<sup>8</sup> is a second commentary on the Prākṛtapāda only. RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA<sup>9</sup> names a third one: The Prākṛtapādaṭīkā of Vidyāvinoda "son of Nārāyaṇa, grand'son of Vāneśvara, and great grand'son of Jaṭādhara". He is followed by AUFRECHT,<sup>10</sup> who, as already remarked elsewhere<sup>11</sup>, calls the author Vidyāvinodācārya. I had utilized the Oxford MS. as the Saṃkṣiptasāra had, by then, not been printed.<sup>12</sup> The introduction, that RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA has published on the basis of a MS. that is better than that of AUFRECHT, seems to suggest that at the end of the different chapters and in the colophon the author calls himself Vidyāvinodācārya and admits that he has annotated upon an older writing of Nārāyaṇa, son of Bāneśvara, who was a son of Jaṭādhara, and perhaps whose brother's name was Sumeru. Nārāyaṇa had written a bigger work, but that was destroyed by a wicked man: the work that is before us is an abridgement of the work of Vidyāvinoda.<sup>13</sup> It has nowhere been mentioned in the work itself that the Prākṛtapāda is a commentary on Kī. In the subscripts the author always calls himself Vidyāvinodācārya<sup>14</sup> and his work Prākṛtapāda; thus it is still doubtful if the edition of RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA is authentic. The author follows Vr. most closely, but his work is devoid of any of his merits.

1. BB. 5, 26.—2. ZACHARIAE, BB. 5, 26. At the end of the eighth Pāda Kī. treats briefly Metrics and Rhetorics.—3. ZACHARIAE, BB. 5, 58.—4. PETERSON, Śubhāsitāvalī p. 91.—5. cf. RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part first. Grammar. (Calcutta 1877) p. 75; BHĀNDĀRĀR, JBoAS. 16, 250.—6. This note does not belong to the book proper, rather it contains a number of Prākṛit words quoted from Vr., Mrcch., Sak., Vikr., Mālav., Ratn., Vepīs., Mālatīm, Uttar., Mahāv., Cait., Piṅgala, and Sāhityadarpaṇa.—7. LASSEN, Inst. p. 15; ZACHARIAE, BB. 5, 22 f.; AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 684.—8. LASSEN, Inst. p. 16; AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 684.—9. Notices of Sanskrit MSS. 4, 162 ff. (Calcutta 1878).—10. Cat. Cat. 1, 684.—11. Cat. Oxon. p. 181.—12. De gr. Pr. p. 19—13. The introduction is very much obscure, and it is doubtful if the foregoing explanation is correct. Cf. AUFRECHT, Cat. Oxon. p. 181. In the Cat. Cat. 2, 212, AUFRECHT has the explanation quoted by me, and that clearly in following PETERSON's Ulwar Catalogue that is not available. The work is there designated simply as Prākṛtavṃyākaraṇa.

§38. Fully depending on Hc. is Trivikramadeva in the commentary to his Prākṛtavṃyākaraṇa. He was a son of Mallinātha and grand'son of Ādityavarman. I have utilized two MSS. of his work, the one, a transcription of the Tanjore MS. preserved in the India Office Library, Burnell

Collection. No. 84 in Grantha, and the other, a Devanāgarī transcription of the Tanjore MS. No. 10006 collated in the Sūtra with 10004<sup>1</sup>, that BURNELL had arranged to be prepared for me, besides the printed edition in the Granthapradarśanī Series, Nos. 1-32. It extends up to the end of the first adhyāya only. In his grammar<sup>2</sup> Triv. has employed an especial type of technical terms that he has explained in the beginning of the work.<sup>3</sup> From 1,1,17 he, in his Vṛtti to the Sūtras, has everywhere verbally followed Hc. whom in the introduction he mentions as his authority, so much so that I have referred to him very rarely. In my edition of Hc, I have sometimes quoted the corresponding rules from his grammar in the margin. His special contributions are the topics 1, 3, 106; 1, 4, 121; 2, 1, 30; 3, 1, 132 and 3, 4, 71 in which he has collected together the words that cannot be regulated according to the rules of grammar and, in a great measure, belong to the category of Deśī; thus for instance in 3, 4, 71 they are expressly designated deśyāḥ. I have published and reviewed the first two chapters in BB. 325 ff.; 6, 84 ff.; 13, 1 ff. The age of Trivikrama has been determined to the extent that he lived after Hc. (+1172 A. D.) and before Kumārasvāmin, the son of Kolācala Mallinātha inasmuch as he in his commentary on Pratāparudriya of Vidyānātha (ed. Madras 1668) refers to him by name in 218, 21 and without naming in 62, 19 ff.; 201, 21; 214, 4<sup>4</sup> Pratāparudra II, to whom Vidyānātha dedicated his work, reigned from 1295 to 1323 A. D.<sup>5</sup> In 123, 1 ff. Kumārasvāmin describes the coronation of Pratāparudra as having taken place long ago (*purā kila*). His father Kolācala Mallinātha cites Bopadeva,<sup>6</sup> who lived in the court of Mahādeva of Devagiri,<sup>7</sup> who ruled from 1260 to 1271 A. D.<sup>8</sup> Thus we see that the hypothesis of AUFRECHT that Mallinātha could not have lived before the 14th century A. D.<sup>9</sup> is confirmed. Therefore, Trivikrama may well be placed in the 13th century.

1. BURNELL, Classified Index 1,43.—2. Trivikrama is the author of the Sūtras as well. In De gr. Pr. p. 29, I had wrongly interpreted *nija* in *nijasūtramārgam* as referring to Trivikrama himself. The title of the work is Prākṛtavayākaraṇa and not Vṛtti as is shown by an inscription that occurs in the commentary itself.—3. Communicated by FISCHER, De gr. Pr. pp. 34-37.—4. FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 38.—5. SEWELL, A Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India (Madras 1883), p. 33.—6. AUFRECHT, Cat. Oxon. p. 113.—7. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 616.—8. SEWELL, l.c. p. 114.—9. Cat. Oxon. p. 113.

§39. Simharāja, the son of Samudrabandhayajvan, based his Prākṛtarūpāvatāra on the grammar of Trivikramadeva. Of this work, I have utilized two manuscripts belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society in London: one of them, i.e. No. 159, is a palm-leaf manuscript in the Malayālam character, and the other, i.e. No. 57, is a paper manuscript in the same character: the latter is a transcription of the former. Simharāja, following the style of Kaumudī, has arranged the grammar of Trivikrama. It begins, after a brief description of the technical terms (*saṃjñāvivihāga*, *paribhāṣāvivihāga*) and a *saṃhitāvivihāga* on the *saṃdhi* and *lopa*, immediately with declension (*subantavivihāga*; fol. 4-46), whereunder he treats the indeclinables as well; then follows the conjugation (*tiñantavivihāga*; fol. 46-59) and the appendix on *dhātuvādeśa*, to which are added the rules for Ś., Mg., P. CP. A. (*śaurasenyādivivihāga*; fol. 59-74). He provides with a paradigm for each class of noun: *vrkṣa* for the *a*-stems, *agni* for the *i*-stems, *taru* for the *u*-stems, *khalapū* for the *ū*-stems and *bhrātṛ* for the *r*-stems. He further demonstrates the method of forming Prākṛit stems from these words and teaches the endings and the process of combining them. He treats the feminine and neuter nouns ending in vowels and consonants, the pronouns *yusmad* and *asmad*, the verbs whereof he gives *has* and *sah* as paradigms in the same manner.<sup>1</sup> The Prākṛtarūpāvatāra is not an unimportant treatise for a knowledge of declension and conjugation, particularly because some-

times Sr. gives more forms than do Triv. and Hc., though it is true that many of such forms are possible in theory only, but in view of the fact that they are formed strictly according to the rules they are not devoid of interest. Following the method of Sr. on the sūtras of Triv., Raghunāthasarma has rearranged the sūtras of Vr. in the Prākṛtānandī.<sup>2</sup> Similar is the treatment of Lakṣmīdhara in Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā<sup>3</sup> and of the wholly recent writer Nāgobā in Ṣaḍbhāṣā-subantarūpādarsā, a "superficial tract"<sup>4</sup> on declension.

1. Details in FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 39-43.—2. HOERNLE, Proc. ASB. 1888o, 100 ff.—3. BURNELL, Classified Index p. 43. Cf. LASSEN, Inst. p. 11-15.—4. BURNELL l.c. p. 44.

§40. For a knowledge of the dialects other than M. J.M. AMg. JS'. important is the Prakṛtasarvasva of Mārkaṇḍeya Kavindra. I have utilized two of its manuscripts. One of them belongs to the India office and is written on palm-leaves in the Nāgarī character. It is Mackenzie MS. No. 70, foll 98. It has wooden binding whereupon was formerly inscribed Piṅgalavyākaraṇa (Nāgarī script) and Pengalē Prakrota Surva Bhala Vakaraṇaḥ (Roman script). There was also an endorsement that has by now disappeared: it read as Pengala praukrota Surva Bhausha Vyacaranum. The following line occurs on the first leaf in the Nāgarī script: *śrīrāmaḥ<sup>1</sup> piṅgalaprākṛtasarvasvabhāṣāvyākaraṇam.* The second is the Oxford MS. mentioned in AUFRECHT, Cat. Oxon. p. 181 No. 412. Both the manuscripts are of the same source and are hopelessly so much corrupt that they can be utilized only in parts. Particularly for Ś. it is deplorable that it is so in view of the fact that Mk. has given more details about this dialect than they are to be found in the grammar of any other writer and that Mk. has drawn a line of sharp distinction between Ś. and M. MK. has been referred to according to the London MS. that I could use once again at Halle through the courtesy of TAWNEY. From the colophon of the MS. that has been published by AUFRECHT, l.c. it is proved that MK. wrote this work in Orissa during the period of reign of one Mukundadeva. AUFRECHT conjectures that this refers to Mukundadeva, who, according to STERLING, ruled in 1664 A.D. But we can say nothing about his age with certainty. MK. in the introduction mentions as an authority one Vasantarāja in addition to Śākalya, Bharata, Kohala, Vararuci and Bhāmaha (§§31-33). This refers to Vasantarāja, the author of Prākṛtamañjarī, which, as assumed by COWELL<sup>1</sup> and AUFRECHT,<sup>2</sup> is not a commentary on Vr., but is an independent work that follows Vr. It has been cited by Vāsudeva on Karp. 9, 11, ed. Bombay: *taduktam prākṛtamañjūvinyām prākṛtasya tu sarvameva samskṛtam yoniḥ* (§1). That this Vasantarāja is identical with the king Kumāragiri Vasantarāja,<sup>3</sup> the brother-in-law of Kāṭeyavema<sup>4</sup>, seems to me<sup>5</sup> to be very much possible. This Kāṭeyavema is mentioned as the author of a Nāṭyaśāstra, Vasantarājiyam,<sup>6</sup> hence his occupation with Pkt. seems to be very much probable. We have the inscriptions of Kāṭeyavema dated 1391, 1414 and 1416 A.D.<sup>7</sup> If the two Vasantarājas were identical in all events the age of MK. must have been later than the first quarter of the 15th century. Vasantarāja, who wrote Śākuna, is, with HULTZSCH,<sup>8</sup> to be differentiated from the Prākṛit grammarian. MK. mentions in his work one Aniruddhabhaṭṭa, the Bhaṭṭikāvya, Bhojadeva, Daṇḍin, Hariścandra, Kapila, Piṅgala, Rājasekhara, Vākpatirāja, the Saptaśatī and the Setubandha<sup>9</sup> as well. Chronologically the youngest of the above-mentioned authors is Bhojadeva, the writer of Rājamṛgāṅka, the famous treatise on Karana. He lived in about Śaka-Samvat 964=1042-3 A.D.<sup>10</sup> MK. begins with a preamble containing an introduction on the Prākṛit dialects from which all that is essential has been detailed in the foregoing paragraphs; in the beginning

he describes M. in 8 pādas (fol. 4<sup>b</sup>—65<sup>b</sup>). This section, that is the largest one, is divided on the model of Vr., is less exhaustive than Hc. and is in many respects independent. Then follows Ś. in the 9th pāda (fol. 65<sup>b</sup>—72<sup>b</sup>) that is divided into 9 prakaraṇas Prācyā is described in the 10th pāda, Āvantī and Bāhlikī in the 11th, and Mg. with a reference to AMg. in the 12th (§3). The entire section, pādas 9-12, bears the title Bhāṣāvivecanam. It is followed in pādas 13-16 by *vibhāṣāḥ* (§3<sup>1</sup>, in 17.18 by A, and in 19. 20 by P. A portion of the 17th pāda has been anticipated in the 13th pāda, and this has not altered the numbering of the folios. Next to Saurasenī the language described most accurately is Apabhraṃśa. Unfortunately the condition of the MS. is so deplorable that it is not possible to utilize fully the valuable materials contained in it.

1. Vr. p. x f.—2. Cat. Cat. 1, 360.—3. That Kumāragiri was the name of the king and his surname was Vasantarāja shows EI. 4, 318 ff. Cf. particularly HULTZSCH, p. 327.—4. The name Kāṭeyavema was established by me first of all, GN. 18/3, 201 f. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 2, 237 changes the correct name into a wrong one, i.e. to Kātavema. The inscriptions, EI. 4, 318 ff., do not leave any doubt about the name.—5. De gr. Pr. p. 18. From the fact that Kāṭeyavema, in his commentary on the drama Prākṛta-mañjarī, does not mention this it can not be concluded that in case both the persons are identical Vasantarāja wrote his commentary after his treatise on Rhetorics and later than K.—6. De gr. Pr. p. 18; EI. 4, 327, strophe 17.—7. HULTZSCH, EI. 4, 328.—8. Prolegomena zu des Vasantarāja Śākuna nebst Text proben (Leipzig 1879) p. 29.—9. FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 17.—10. THIBAUT, Astronomie, Astrologie und Mathematik (Strassburg 1899; Grundriss III. 9) § 37.

§41. Very much similar to the grammar of Mārkaṇḍeya, particularly in the section on the dialects other than M., is the Prākṛtakalpataru of Rāmatakavāgiśa. The only known MS. of this work, the Bengali manuscript No. 1106 of the India Office, is so much mutilated that it can scarcely be utilized. LASSEN has dealt with it in Inst. p. 19-23. From p. 20 it is proved that Rv worked on the model of an earlier treatise of Laṅkeśvara, whereby is meant the Prākṛtakāmadhenu of Rāvaṇa, that is known also as Prākṛtalaṅkeśvararāvaṇa, or shortly also as Laṅkeśvara.<sup>1</sup> Of the Prākṛtakāmadhenu we have as yet found only fragments<sup>2</sup>. If this Laṅkeśvara be identical with the author of Śivastuti which has been published in the Kāvya-mālā 1, 6-8, he is older than Appayadikṣita, who in the Kuvalayānanda, 73, 1 (ed. Benares samvat 1928), cites<sup>3</sup> its fifth stanza; therefore, his age must have been earlier than the close of the 16th century A.D.<sup>4</sup> and later than that of Rāmatakavāgiśa. A worthless selection from Trivikrama is Prākṛtaśabdapradīpikā of Narasimha, whereof the beginning<sup>5</sup> has been published as Nos. 3.4 in the Grantha-pradarśanī Series. Besides the famous treatises there exist a large number of manuscripts. We know nothing about many of them except their titles and the names of the authors, or only one of the two. Śubhacandra wrote one Śabdacināmaṇi, which, according to HOERNLE<sup>6</sup> contains two adhyāyas, each of which has four pādas, and essentially follows Hc. Like the South Indian Trivikramadeva and Simharāja (§38. 39) he begins his grammar with a number of Saṃjñāsūtras. Perhaps it is this very work that is referred to by RAJENDRALĀLA MITRA<sup>7</sup> as Audāryacināmaṇi and is ascribed to one Śubhasāgara.<sup>8</sup> An incomplete work in verses with a prose commentary is the Prākṛtacandrikā of Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita alias Śeṣakṛṣṇa, from which PETERSON, Third Report p. 342-348, has given extracts. According to 343, 5 his teacher was Nṛsimha, or according to 348, 21 Narasimha, whereby perhaps the author of Prākṛtaśabdapradīpikā is to be understood. According to 343, 6 it was written for children (*śiśuhitam kurve prākṛtacandrikām*), according to 343, 19 he seems to hold Aṛṣam to be identical with M., because he does not mention them there notwithstanding the fact that



he treats them all separately. The illustrative examples quoted by him show that he had utilized Hc. thoroughly well. His quotations from different dialects and their assignment to individual characters, pp. 346-348, are in the greatest measure taken word for word from earlier authors, like Bharata and Bhojadeva. Recent is Bhāradvāja p. 348. A Prākṛtacandrikā was written by Vāmanācārya, who calls himself Karañjakavisārvabhauma and is the author of a commentary on the Prākṛtapiṅgala as well.<sup>9</sup> A compendium for beginners is Prākṛtamanidīpa of Appayadikṣita,<sup>10</sup> the polyhistor, who lived in the second half of the 16th century. He mentions Trivikrama, Hemacandra, Lakṣmidhara, Bhoja, Puṣpanātha, Vararuci, a Vārtikārnavabhāṣya and also Appayajan (§32) as his authorities. In fact, however, his work is nothing better than an all incomplete extract from Trivikrama devoid of all of its merits; a small portion of it, i.e. up to 1, 4, 99 has been published as Nos. 3. 5. 6 8-10. 13 in the Granthapradarśani Series. Elsewhere are referred to Prākṛtakaumudī,<sup>11</sup> a Prākṛtavayākaraṇa of Samantabhadra<sup>12</sup>, etc. A Bhāṣārṇava was written by Candraśekhara, the father of Viśvanātha, according to Sāhityadarpaṇa 174, 2: Candraśekhara refers to one Prākṛtasāhityaratnākara in his commentary on Śakuntalā 175, 24, ed. FISCHER, where under 180, 5 he quotes one Bhāṣābheda, which perhaps was a work on Prākṛit. From Deśīprakāśa, quotes Pṛthvīdhara on Mṛcch. 14, 5 p. 244, ed. STENZLER=40, 5 p. 503, ed. GODABOLE: *kāṇḍī kanyakāmātā*. In the works of the scholiasts are found here and there Prākṛit Sūtras whereof it is not possible to trace the source.

1. To me this seems to be a reasonable statement. In RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA. Notices 9, 239, No. 3157 the author is explicitly mentioned in the introduction as Rāvaṇa, and the colophon reads as *iti rāvaṇakṛtā prākṛitakāmadhenuḥ samāptā*. In No. 3158 in the colophon the author calls it Prākṛitalaṅkeśvararāvaṇa. LASSEN, Inst. p. 9, considers according to COLEBROOKE, Prākṛitalaṅkeśvara to be the name of the work, which according to him is different from Prākṛitakāmadhenu, whose authorship, he, in agreement with LEYDEN, ascribes to Vidyāvinoda. In Rāmatarkavāgīśa (LASSEN, Inst. p. 20) the author is said to be Laṅkeśvara. The author of Śivasūti and Kālāgnīudropaniṣad (AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 542) is also so named. It is clearly a synonym of Rāvaṇa. That this Rāvaṇa "is obviously distinct from the ten-headed monster" as he is usually believed to be can with RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA be easily accepted. 2. The Nos. 3157 and 3158 of the Notices 9, 238 f. clearly contain different parts of the same work, which, according to 239, 5, 6, seems to be a selection from a larger work. The first section seems to be treating the Apabhraṁśa of Piṅgala—3. DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB, Kāvyaṁālā 1, 7, note 1.—4. Kāvyaṁālā 1, 91 note 1; EI. 4, 271.—5. According to AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 2, 81 it could be considered that the work existed in a complete form. Up till now only 8 pages have been printed.—6. IA. 2, 29.—7. Proc. ASB. 1875, 77.—8. Cf. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 952.—9. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 337, 360, 564. From RĀJENDRALĀLA MITRA, Notices 4, 172, No. 1608 it is proved that Prākṛitacandrikā is an earlier and more voluminous work.—10. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 22; 2, 5, who has erred in respect of time. HURZSCH, Reports on Sanskrit Manuscripts in Southern India 1, 67, No. 265 assigns the work to Cinabhōmmabhūpāla, as is proved also by the Colophon. Cf. also the printed edition pp. 21, 27.—11. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 360.—12. AUFRECHT, Cat. Cat. 1, 361.

§42. With regard to the merit of the native grammarians of Prākṛit BLOCH has arrived at a quite wrong decision that he has summarized in four sentences: "1) Since we do not possess any manuscript of so earlier a time and presumably because we shall never come by any of them we alone can utilize the grammarians of Pkt. for our purpose 2) The only means to check the correctness of their statements are our MSS. 3) In places where our MSS. differ from their statement it is the latter that is to be considered wrong till a verification is made with the help of some good MSS. 4) We should not admit that such forms of our MSS. as they pass over in silence did not exist in their time. The argumentum ex

silentio is not valid for any of the Pkt. grammarians.” It is only the fourth hypothesis that is partly correct, the other three are basically wrong. The grammarians are not to be corrected with the help of the MSS ; but the MSS. are to be improved upon with the help of the grammarians. In this connection I may refer to the remarks made above (§§ 22-25) with regard to Ś. Mg. Śākāri and Dhakki. Only with the help of the statements of the grammarians we shall be able to draw an outline sketch of these dialects: the manuscripts are mostly disappointing. According to BLOCH<sup>2</sup>, for example, the circumstance that Rohasena, the son of Cārudatta, speaks Mg. in Mṛcch., according to Pṛthvidhara, but Ś. in STENZLER, should prove how little the scholiasts are to be relied upon. But it has already been shown above (§ 23, note 2) that such vestiges in the MSS. are not contributions of the scholiasts. Up to the time of publication of my edition of the Śakuntalā it was accepted that Sarvadamana, pp. 155-162 spoke Ś. if no notice was taken of 155, 15 ; 158, 15 ed. CHEZY. The critical notes in my edition show the vagueness of these vestiges of Mg., and notwithstanding this, nobody doubts to-day that against the majority of the MSS. Mg. has to be reconstructed here. CAPPELLER<sup>3</sup>, therefore, had quite correctly drawn a parallel between Sarvadamana and Rohasena. Surely it is true that the teachings of the grammarians require a detailed examination and further elaboration<sup>4</sup>. Besides, I do not find any reason to revise my opinion on Hc.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, we should never forget that up to the present time only a small portion of the literature that the grammarians had before them has come to be known and that works like those of Hc. are based upon several earlier works. The few specimens of JŚ. (§21) make forthwith so much of disclosure for us regarding the sources from which Hc. came by the forms, in the section on Ś., that were not known to the older grammarians and were not found in the dramas. LASSEN, in 1837, could cover an endless number of forms from the grammarians alone, the forms that, to-day in a great measure, are abundantly found in literature, and I think that in course of time we, in our turn, shall have the same experience about ourselves. It is true that through carelessness the grammarians had committed monstrous blunders that have been corrected in the exegesis of the Veda with the help of tradition and in the case of Sanskrit-lexicography with the assistance of the native lexicographers. It is necessary that, instead of undervaluing them, efforts should be made to bring out critically edited texts as much as possible.

1. Vr. und Hc. p. 48.—2. Vr. und Hc. p. 4.—3. Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1877, 124.—4. JACOBI, GGA. 1888, 71—5. Hc. 2, p. vi.

§ 43. HOFFER was the first scholar to handle the grammar of Pkt. in *De Prakrita dialecto libri duo*, Berolini 1836<sup>1</sup>. Almost about the same time appeared LASSEN's *Institutiones linguae Pracriticae*, Bonnae ad Rhenum 1837, based on richly more abundant materials. A supplement thereto, *die Radices Pracriticae* was published by DELIUS, Bonnae ad Rhenum 1839. Up to that time none of the native grammars had been published and of the entire Pkt. literature there had appeared only a small number of dramas, the Mṛcch., Śak., Vikr., Ratn., Prab., Mālatim., Uttara., Mudrār, besides Kāvya prakāśa and Sāhityadarpaṇa, all in very bad uncritical editions. Therefore, LASSEN was able to describe in detail Ś. only, M. in accordance with the statements of the grammarians and Mg. on the basis of Mṛcch., Śak., and Prab. Under the conditions, LASSEN's work is an admirable performance. He effected improvements in a very large number of places

in the corrupt texts, correctly utilized them and planned the ground work on which the edifice of later research could be raised up. These he did with great acumen and in an excellent manner. In spite of all such qualities up till now he has found no follower. The works of WEBER on M.A. Mg., of EDUARD MÜLLER on AMg., of JACOBI on JM. are devoted to individual dialects : they will be referred to in appropriate places. COWELL, A short Introduction to the Ordinary Prākṛit of the Sanskrit Dramas, with a list of common irregular Prākṛit words, London 1875 is based upon Vr.; it is all elementary and does not go a long way towards attainment of its goal<sup>2</sup>. RISHIKESH (rather more correctly Hṛṣīkeśa) SASTRI, A Prakṛita Grammar with English translation, Calcutta 1883, attempts to re-arrange the indigenous grammars on European pattern. But as he has used very defective texts and retained the forms he found in the manuscripts without working at them critically his grammar is not at all usable, especially because he has quoted only the well known rules. All new are his extracts from the Prākṛitakalpalatikā that is almost unknown. HAAG, in his Vergleichung des Prakrit mit den Romanischen Sprachen, Berlin 1869, discusses a number of phonetical phenomena that are common to the known languages. HOERNLE<sup>3</sup> has given a general survey of the history of Prākṛit—Philology and WEBER<sup>4</sup> of the recent publications (1870-1881).

1. Cf. BENARY, Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik 1836, 863 ff.—2. Cf. FISCHEL, Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1875, 794 ff.—3. A Sketch of the History of Prakrit Philology, Calcutta Review, October 1880. Cf. Centenary Review of the ASB. Calcutta 1885) II, p. 157 ff.—4. Hala<sup>2</sup> (Leipzig 1881) p. vii f. with note.

§44. In this grammar an attempt has been made for the first time to treat the different Prākṛit dialects beside one another and to utilize the entire available materials. Subsequent to LASSEN, we have come to know of AMg. JM. and almost the whole of M., and as a matter of that, all the most important dialects with correlated literature. I have introduced all new Dh. D. Ā. JŚ. whereof we have up till now come by a few textual specimens. Ś. and M. have undergone a thorough revision. As already remarked above (§§19. 20. 23), most of the texts in AMg. Ś. Mg. have not as yet been critically edited and published; therefore, a greater part of them is not useful for the purpose of grammar. Hence the main task, at least with regard to Ś. and Mg., has been to collect trustworthy materials, and for this purpose I have utilized three to four different editions of many dramas, a task that has been tedious, painful and not always fruitful. But this has not been possible for AMg., and as it respects this dialect, the critical remarks will later require many improvements. Nevertheless I hope to have paved the way, in spite of the materials being very often faulty. As already remarked above, although Sanskrit is not the only source of Prākṛit a complete description of the latter has to be independently based upon it. Pāli, the Aśokan dialects, the Leṇā dialect and the modern Indian languages have been quoted very sparingly for the purpose of comparison, though I have had plenty of materials in hand as the present volume, which exceeds much beyond the scope of the scheme of the Grundriss, would have become still bigger. Consequently linguistic hypotheses have been scrupulously avoided. In the first place it provides a sure philological grounding, and I think that I have succeeded in my efforts for most of the dialects. Necessary quotations have been amply furnished. But the knowledge of Pkt. and its literature is limited to such a small circle of scholars that to me it appears wistful to shift the evidences accurately

in support of the rules and to make at the same time a beginning of a lexicon.

## II. PHONETICS.

§45. The phonetic system of Pkt. differs from that of Classical Skt. to the extent that there exist in Pkt.  $e^{\check{}}$ ,  $o^{\check{}}$ ,  $la$  (§226), and dialectically also the independent  $\ddot{n}$  (§237),  $lha$  (§242) and the composite sounds  $\ddot{n}na$  (§282),  $yca$ ,  $yja$  (§217),  $yha$  (§331),  $lha$  (§330),  $\check{s}ka$ ,  $\check{s}kh$ ,  $\check{h}ka$  (§§302.324),  $\check{s}ta$  (§310),  $\check{s}ta$ ,  $\check{s}t\check{h}a$  and  $\check{s}ta$  (§303), and that on the contrary in all the Pkt. dialects the sounds  $r$ ,  $l$ ,  $ai$ ,  $au^2$ ,  $\check{s}a$  except in Mg.  $ci\check{s}thadi = ti\check{s}t\check{h}ati$  (§303),  $h$ , voiceless non-conjunct consonants are wanting, besides most of them do not have  $r$ ,  $na$ ,  $ya$ ,  $\check{s}a$  and conjunct consonants of non-homogeneous types. Generally conjunctions of homogeneous consonants occur only when the first member is a nasal.<sup>3</sup> In places of consonants that drop inside a word, between two vowels, there develops as a glide sound  $ya$ , that is written in all the dialects in Jaina manuscripts, and it is a distinctive feature of AMg., JM. and JŚ. (§187). In this grammar it has been transcribed by  $ya$ .

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT denies the existence of  $e^{\check{}}$  and  $o^{\check{}}$ , Prākṛtica p. 28 ff. Against that JACOBI, KZ. 25, 292 ff.; FISCHEL, GGA., 1880, 325—2. In Pkt.  $ai$  has been retained only in the interjection  $ai$ : see §60.—3. C. 2. 14p. 18. 44; Hc. 1,1; Triv. and Sr. in FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 34 ff.; Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita in PETERSON, Third Report 344, 1 ff.; Kalpacūṛṇi in LEUMANN, Av. 6, Note 4; Lakṣmīnāthabhaṭṭa on Piṅgala 1, 2, p. 3, 4 ff., where read in the fifth line  $bha$  for  $ma$ , besides  $saārapu\check{s}the hi ba vi$ , and in the sixth line something like  $pāue natihī$  for  $pāque na huavanti$  because very often  $atthi$  stands for the plural  $santi$  (§498). Neither  $huavanti$  nor  $hōnti-bhavanti$  fits in metrically. In line 6 read  $bha$  for  $ma$  and in line 7 read  $au aḥ ba ya$ . Accordingly  $ba$  as well should be wanting in Pkt. On this see §201.

§46. The accent-system of M. AMg. JM., of poetical A. and presumably also of JŚ. corresponds to that of the language of the Vedas essentially. In Pkt. takes place weakening, dropping as well as raising of vowels; besides there occurs doubling of consonants in certain cases; therefore, it could not be purely musical, on the other hand it must have been preponderantly expiatory. In Ś. Mg. Dh., besides, the system of accent is the same as that in Classical Skt. which mostly corresponds to that of Latin.<sup>1</sup> The relevant paragraphs furnish the details.

1. FISCHEL, KZ. 34, 568 ff.; 35, 140 ff. Besides JACOBI, ZDMG. 47, 574 ff.; KZ. 35, 578 ff.; GRIERSON, ZDMG. 49, 395 ff.

## A. SONANTS AND VOWELS

### 1. SONANTS

§47.  $r$  was retained just dialectically only in A. (Hc. 4, 329; Ki. 5, 16; Nāmīśādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷāṅkāra 2. 12, p. 15, 9);  $\check{r}ṇu = \check{r}ṇam$  (Hc. 4, 329; Nāmīśādhu l.c.);  $sukṛdu$  (Hc. 4, 329),  $sukṛdam$  (Ki. 5, 16) =  $sukṛtam$ ;  $grṇhāi = grṇhāti$ ,  $grṇhanti = grṇhanti$ ,  $grṇhēppṇu = *grṇhētṛvām$  (§588) =  $grṇhētṛvā$  (Hc. 4, 336. 34.; 2. 394. 438, 1)  $kṛdantāhō = kṛtāntasya$  (Hc. 4, 370, 4). In most of the Apabhraṃśa dialects  $r$  is unknown as in all the Prākṛit languages. CP.  $kṛṛta = gṛṛta$  in Ki. 5. 102 may be an incorrect reading for  $khata$ , as  $taḥhāḥitapaka = dṛdhahṛdayaka$  (5, 102) shows. In LASSEN Inst. p. 441 the example does not occur. As a sonant  $r$  might be pronounced with a tinge of  $a$ —,  $i$ —and  $u$ —<sup>1</sup>. Like the consonantal  $r$  (§287-295) the sonantal  $r$  is assimilated to the preceding consonant, so that only the vowel remains. Thereafter,  $r$  following a consonant is transformed into  $a$ ,  $i$ , and  $u$ . On initial  $r$ , see §56. 57, and on  $e^{\check{}}$  for  $r$ , §53.

1. MAHLLOW, Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Litteratur 24, 10. Cf. JOHANNES SCHMIDT, Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vocalismus 2, 2 f.; Kritik der Sonantentheorie p. 175 ff.; BECHTEL, Die Hauptprobleme der indogermanischen Lautlehre seit Schleicher p. 128 ff. Further literature in WACKERNAGEL, Alt. gram. 28, shows that the original pronunciation was a  $r$ -vowel.

§48. As the vowel pronounced with *r* was not determined it was weakened in the same words not only in different dialects but even within the same dialect. The native grammarians consider the change of *r* to *a* as usual and they have enumerated under *gaṇas* the words that show a change of *r* into either *i* or *u* (Vr. 1, 27-29; Hc. 1, 126-139; Ki. 1, 27.30. 32; Mk. fol. 9. 10; Pkl. p. 31 ff.; no classification in C. 2, 5 p. 15. 43) in stead of into *a*. Generally the texts illustrate their statements with examples taken from M., and they are to be reviewed accordingly. The examples, as far as possible, have been given in the following pages in confirmity with the practice adopted by the grammarians.

§ 49. *a* develops for *r*, e.g. in M. *ghaa*=*ghṛta* (H. 22 ; read so with the variant reading), AMg. JM. *ghaya* (C. 2. 5) [read so with the variant reading] ; Hc. 1, 126 ; Pāiyāl. 123 ; Āyār. 2, 1, 4, 5 ; 2, 6, 1, 9. 12 ; 2, 134 ; Vivāhap. 910 ; Uttar. 170. 432 ; Kappas. ; Āv. 12, 12 ; T. 6, 4. 7 ; Erz.), but Ś. Mg. *ghida* (Mṛcch. 3, 12 ; 117, 8 ; 126, 5 [read so for *ghia*]).—PG. *taṇa*=*trṇa* (6,33, likewise M. (Bh. 1, 27 ; Hc. 1, 126 ; Ki. 1, 27 ; G. H. R.), AMg. (Āyār. 1, 1, 4, 6 ; 1, 6, 3, 2 ; Sūyag. 129. 810. 812 ; Vivāhap. 120. 479. 500. 645. 658. 1245. 1250 ; Uttar. 106. 219. 371. 582. 695. 1048 ; Jiv. 356. 464. 465 ; Pannav. 33. 43 etc.), *taṇaga*=*trṇaka* (Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 18 ; Dasav. 623,1), *taṇailla* (fatty ; Jiv. 355) ; JM. (KI. 12 ; Dvār. 502, 31 ; 504, 13 ; Erz.), Ś. (Śak. 106. 13), A. (Hc. 4,329. 334. 339) ; but also AMg. *tiṇa* (Vivāhap. 1526), JM. (Erz.), JŚ. (Kattig. 399, 313), Ś. (Vikr. 15,11), A. (Hc. 4, 329. 358, 2.—M. *kaa*=*kṛta* (Bh. 1, 27 ; Hc. 1, 126 ; Pāiyāl. 77 ; G. H. R.) ; PG. *adhikate*=*adhikṛtān* (5, 5), *kaḍa* (7, 51) ; AMg. *kaya* (Uvās ; Ovav.) and *kada* (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 11 ; Sūyag. 46. 74. 77. 104. 106. 133. 136. 151. 282. 368. 465 ; Nirayāv. ; Bhag. ; Kappas.), also in compounds, such as in *akada* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 3. 5, 6), *dukkada* (Āyār. 1, 7, 1, 3 ; Sūyag. 233 f. 275. 284. 359 ; Uttar. 33), *uḡada*, *viyada* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 7 ; Sūyag. 344 ; Uttar. 53), *sukaḍa* (Āyār. 1, 7, 1, 3 ; 2, 4, 2, 3 ; Uttar. 76), *saṃkhaya*=*saṃskṛta* (Sūyag. 134. 150 ; Uttar. 199), *purekada*=*puraskṛta* (§ 306. 345), *āhākaḍa*=*\*yāhākṛta* (§335) ; JM. *kaya* (Erz. ; Kk.), *dukkaya* (Pāiyāl. 53 ; Erz.) ; JŚ. Ś. *kada* (Pav. 384, 36 [Text *kaya*] Mṛcch. 3, 19 ; 41, 18 ; 52, 12 ; Śak. 36, 16 ; 105, 15 ; 140, 13 ; Vikr. 16, 12 ; 21, 9 ; 23, 8), Mg. *kada* (Mṛcch. 40, 5 ; 133, 8 ; 159, 22) and *kaḍa* (Mṛcch. 17, 8 ; 32, 5 ; 27, 23. 24 etc.), *kala* (Mṛcch. 11, 1 ; 40, 4) ; P. *kata* (Hc. 4, 322. 323) ; A. *kaa* (Hc. 4, 422, 10), *kaaū*=*kṛtakah*=*kṛtah* (Hc. 4, 429, 1). But in Ś. Mg. the best texts and MSS. have very often *kida*, e.g. Ś. (Mṛcch. 2, 21 ; 36, 4 ; 63, 12 ; Śak. 124, 7 ; 154, 9 ; 161, 5 ; Vikr. 33, 11 ; 35, 6 ; 72, 16 ; 84, 21), Mg. (Mṛcch. 112, 16 ; 121, 6 ; 165, 2), a form, that is correct perhaps only for these dialects and in any case that must remain in cases where *kṛta* constitutes the second member of compounds, thus Ś. *siddhikida* (Mṛcch. 6, 11. 13 ; 7, 5), *purākida* (Śak. 162, 13), *paccaḅkḅhikida* Vikr. 72, 12), Mg. *duskida* (Mṛcch. 125, 1. 4). So also M. in *duhāia*=*dvidhākṛta* (Hc. 1, 126 ; R. 8, 106), *dohāia* (R.), whereas elsewhere *ka* in M. is incorrect. A. has also *i* beside *a* for *r* : *akia*=*akṛta* (Hc. 4, 396, 4), *kiaū*=*kṛtakam*=*kṛtam* (Hc. 4, 371), *kidu* (Hc. 4, 446). Cf. § 219.—*vasaha*=*vṛsabha* (Bh. 1, 27 ; C. 2, 5 p. 43 ; 3, 13 ; Hc. 1, 126 ; Pāiyāl. 151) ; So. M. (G. R.) ; AMg. Vivāhap. 225 ; Uttar. 338 ; Kappas. § 4. 32. 61 ; Nāyādh. § 47), also *vasabha* (Āyār. 2, 10, 12 ; 2, 11, 7. 11 ; Vivāhap. 1048 ; Pannav. 122 ; Anug. 502 ; Kappas. § 114. 118) ; JM. *vasaha* (Dvār. 498, 24 Kk., Erz.) and *vasabha* (Erz.) ; JŚ. *vasaha* (Pav. 382, 26. 43) ; but Ś. always has *vasaha* (Mṛcch. 6. 7 ; Mālav. 65, 8 ; Bālar. 73. 18 ; 93, 10 ; 287, 15 ; Pras.

44, 13), which occurs wrongly also in M. (H. 460. 820 ; in the first place in the variant reading and in the Bombay ed. there occurs correctly *va*<sup>o</sup>).—AMg. *ghaṭṭha*=*ghṛṣṭa* (Hc. 1, 126 ; Āyār. 2, 2, 1, 3 ; 2, 5, 1, 3 ; 2, 10, 5 ; Paṇṇav. 96, 110 ; Jiv. 439. 4+5. 447. 449. 453. 483 ff. ; Ovav.).—AMg. JM. *maṭṭijā*, Ś. *maṭṭiā*=*mṛttikā* (Āyār. 2, 1, 6, 6 ; 2, 1, 7, 3 ; 2, 3, 2, 13 ; Vivāhap. 331. 447. 810. 1253. 1255 ; Thāṇ. 321 ; Paṇhāv. 419. 494 ; Uttar. 758 ; Nāyādh. 621 ; Rāyap. 176 ; Uvās. ; Ovav. ; Erz. ; Mṛcch. 94, 16 ; 9, 8. 9 ; Śak. 79, 1 ; 155 ; 10 ; Bhartṛharinirveda 14, 5).—AMg. *vaṭṭa*=*vṛtta* (round ; Hc. 2, 29 ; Āyār. 1, 5, 6, 4 ; 2, 4, 2, 7. 12 ; Sūyag. 590 ; Thāṇ. 20 ; Vivāhap. 942 ; Uttar. 1022 ; Paṇṇav. 9 ff. ; Uvās. ; Ovav. ; Kappas.).—AMg. *vanhi*=*vṛṣṇi* (Uttar. 666 ; Nāyādh. 1262), *andhagavanhi*=*andhakavṛṣṇi* (Uttar. 678=Dasav. 613, 33 ; Vivāhap. 1394 ; Antag. 3).

§ 50. In all the dialects *r* is most frequently represented by *i*, which corresponds today to *ri*, the most usual pronunciation of *r* in India. Such words are grouped under the *ṛṣyādi* class in Vr. 1, 28 ; Ki. 1, 32 ; Mk. fol. 9 f. ; Pkl. p. 31 and under the *krpādi* class in Hc. 1, 128, without an attempt to enumerate them exhaustively. Thus: M. AMg. Ś. *kīśa*=*krśa* (Hc. 1, 128 ; H. ; Uttar. 750 ; Uvās. ; Śak. 53, 9).—M. AMg. Ś. Mg. *kivina*=*krpaṇa* (Hc. 1, 128 ; G. H. ; Kappas. ; Kāleyak. 26, 1 [text °*va*<sup>o</sup>] ; Mṛcch. 19, 6 ; 136, 18. 19).—AMg. *giddha*=*grdhra* (greedy ; Sūyag 105 ; Vivāhap. 450. 1128 ; Uttar. 593 ; Nāyādh. 433.606) ; JM. Ś. Mg. (vulture ; Vr. 12, 6 ; Mk. fol. 9 ; Erz. ; Vikr. 75,11 ; 79,15 ; 80,20 ; Mālav. 28,12 ; Śak. 116,3).—AMg. *giddhi*=*grddhi* (Hc. 1, 128 ; Sūyag. 363.371.406 ; Uttar. 933.939.944. 954 etc.), *giddhiya*=*grddhika* (Paṇhāv. 150).—M. AMg. JŚ. Ś A. *diṭṭhi*=*drṣṭi* (Bh. 1,28 ; Hc. 1,128 ; Ki. 1,32 ; Mk. fol. 10 ; G. H. R. ; Bhag. ; Uvās. ; Erz. ; Kk. ; Pav. 388,5 ; Mṛcch. 57,3.10.17 ; 59,24 ; 68,22 ; 152,25 ; Śak. 53,8 ; 59,7 ; 77,10 etc. ; Hc. 4,330,3).—M. *vimchua* (Bh. 1,28 ; H. 237), *vimcua* (C. 2,15 ; Hc. 1,128 ; 2,16.89 ; Ki. 2,68 [text *viñcao*, ed. Rāj. *viccuo*]), *vimchia* (Hc. 1, 26 ; 2,16) ; *vicchua* (Mk. fol. 10), AMg. *vicchuya* (Thāṇ. 311.312 ; Paṇhāv. 47.537 ; Nāyādh. 755 ; Vivāhap. 522 ; Jiv 257), *vicchiya* (Uttar. 1064)<sup>1</sup>=*vṛṣṭika*.—M. *siāla*=*srṅāla* (Bh. 1,28 ; Hc. 1,128 ; Ki. 132 ; Mk. fol. 9) ; AMg. JM. *siyāla* (Āyār. 2,1,5,3 ; Sūyag. 296 ; Paṇṇav. 49.367.369 ; Jiv. 356 ; Kk.), *siyāлага* (Nāyādh. 511), *siyālāṭṭā* (Thāṇ 296), *siyāli* (Paṇṇav. 368) ; Ś. *siāla* (Mṛcch. 72,22 ; Śak. 85,9) ; Mg. *siāla* (Mṛcch. 22,10 ; 113,20 ; 120,12 ; 122,8 ; 127,5 ; Śak. 116,3), *siāli* (Mṛcch. 11,20).—M. AMg. JM. A. *siṅga*=*srṅga* (Hc. 1,130 ; Pāiyal. 210 ; G.H. ; Vivāhap. 326.1042 ; Uvās. ; Ovav. ; Kappas. ; Erz. ; Hc. 4,337), according to Hc. 1,130 also *saṅga*.—M. Ś. Mg. A. *hīaa*=*hrdaya* (Bh. 1,28 ; Hc. 1,128 ; Ki. 1,32 ; Mk. fol. 10 ; G. H. R. ; Mṛcch. 17,15 ; 27,4.19.21 ; 37,16 etc. Mg. Mṛcch. 29,21 ; 128,2 ; 169,6 ; Prab. 63,15 [so read with M.] ; Hc. s. v.) ; AMg. JM. *hiyaya* (Bhag. ; Uvās. ; Nāyādh. ; Kappas. ; Ovav. ; etc. Erz. ; Kk.) ; Mg. mostly *haḍakka* (§ 194), also *haḷaka*, *haḷaa* (§ 244) ; P. *hitapa*, *hitapaka* (§ 191).

1. It will be possible to determine accurately in individual cases the correct form of this word when more critical editions will come into existence.

§ 51. We find *u* for *r* preferably before a labial consonant, or (§ 57) when there is *u* in the following syllable. All the grammarians group together the words which have *u* under the *ṛvādi* class. Thus: M. *nihua*=*nibhria* (Hc. 1, 131 ; Deśin. 5, 50 ; Mk. fol. 10 ; H.R.) ; AMg. JM. *nihuya* (Pāiyal. 15 ; Uttar. 627 ; Ovav. ; Erz.) ; Ś. *nihuda* (Śak. 53, 4. 6 ; Mudrār. 44, 6 ; Karnas 18, 19 ; 37, 16).—M. *nivvua*=*nivṛta* (Bh. 1, 29 ; Hc. 1, 131 ; G.H. R. ; Śak. 96, 2) ; AMg. JM. *nivvuya* (Kappas. ; Erz.) ; Ś. *nivvuda* (Śak. 70, 4 ; 98, 7 ; Vikr. 53, 1 [read so with the South Indian recension 651, 2

ed. PISCHEL]; Mudrār. 103, 7). Cf. §219.—M. AMg. JM. *pucchāi* = *prcchati* and other forms of the root (Hc. 4, 97; H. R.; Uvās.; Bhag.; Kappas.; etc.; Erz.); Ś. *pucchadi* (Mṛcch. 27, 17; 105, 8; 142, 9; Vikr. 18, 8); Mg. *puścadi* (Hc. 4, 295), *puścāmi* Prab. 51, 1; 62, 6); A. *pucchimi* (Vikr. 65, 3), *pucchahu* (Hc. 4, 364. 422. 9).—M. *puhai*, *puhavi* = *prthvi* (§115. 139; Bh. 1, 29; C. 3, 30 p. 50; Hc. 1, 131; Ki. 1, 30; Mk. fol. 10; G. H. R.); AMg. JŚ. *puḍhavi* (Thān. 135; Uttar. 1034. 1036; Sāyag. 19. 26. 325. 332; Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 2, ff.; Vivāhap. 920. 1099; Paṇṇav. 742; Dasav. 630, 17; Uvās.; etc.; Kattig. 401, 346); so also JM. (Erz.); Ś. (Śak. 59, 12) beside *puhavi* (Erz.; Kk.; Dvār. 501, 23; Vikr. 11, 4; Prab. 39, 6); as Mg. (Mṛcch. 38, 7) and A. (Piṅgala 1, 30; Vikr. 55, 18) also have.—AMg. *phusai* = *sprśai* (§486).—M. AMg. Ś. A. *muṇāla* = *mṛṇāla* (Bh. 1, 29; Hc. 1, 131; Ki. 1, 30; Mk. fol. 10; G. H. R.; Śak. 88, 2; Jiv. 290; Rāyap. 55; Ovav.; Mṛcch. 68, 24; Śak. 63, 2. 15; Karp. 41, 1; Vṛṣabh. 50, 1; Hc. 4, 444, 2).—M. *muṅga* = *mṛdaṅga* (Hc. 1, 46. 137; Mk. fol. 10); AMg. JM. *muṅga*, *muyiṅga* (Paṇhāv. 512; Thān. 481; Vivāhap. 797 [also the commentary]. 920; Rāyap. 20, 231; Jiv. 251; Paṇṇav. 99. 101; Erz.); Ś. *midāṅga* (Mālav. 19, 1; v. l. *miāṅga*); according to Hc. 1, 137; Mk. fol. 10 also *muṅga*; Mg. *midāṅga* (Mṛcch. 122, 8; variant reading *mudaṅga* and also GODBOLE 337, 7).—JM. Ś. *vuttanta* = *vṛttānta* (Bh. 1, 29; Hc. 1, 131; Erz.; Kk. Śak. 43, 6; Vikr. 52, 1; 72, 12; 81, 2).—AMg. JM. *vuṭṭhi* = *vṛṣṭi* (Hc. 1, 137; Pāiyā. 227; Vivāhap. 331; Kappas.; Erz.); M. also *viṭṭhi* (Hc. 1, 137; Ki. 1, 32; H. 261); *vuṭṭha vṛṣṭa* (Hc. 1, 137); M. *uvuṭṭha* (G. 375); AMg. *silāvuṭṭha* (Dasav. 630, 21); Ś. *pavuṭṭha* Śak. 139, 15).—M. JM. A., sporadically in AMg., *kuṇai* JŚ. *kuṇadi* = \**kṛṇāti* = Vedic \**kṛṇoti* (§508). On *mūsā*<sup>o</sup>, *mosā*<sup>o</sup>, beside *musā*<sup>o</sup> = *mṛṣā*<sup>o</sup> see §78.

§52. The vowel varies in the same words in many other cases as well as in those mentioned above. So M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *dadha* and JŚ. Ś. A. *didha* = *dr̥ḍha* (§242).—*dhatṭha* (Hc. 1, 130) and *dhiṭṭha* = *dhr̥ṣṭa* (Hc. 1, 130; C. 1, 24 p. 41).—M. *niatta* = *nivṛtta* (Hc. 1, 132; G. H. R.) and *niutta* (Hc. 1. 132).—AMg. JM. *maccu* = *mṛtyu* (Hc. 1, 130; Sūyag. 45; Paṇhāv. 401; Dvār. 501, 25; Erz.) and Ś. *miccu* (Hc. 1, 130; Mālav. 54, 16; Karṇas. 32, 17).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *masina* = *masṛna* (Hc. 1, 130; Ki. 1, 32; Mk. fol. 10; Pāiyā. 261; G. H. R.; Ovav.; Erz.; Uttarak. 11, 8; 163, 4) and *masaṇa* (Hc. 1, 130).—AMg. Ś. *mu* = *mṛdu* (Vivāhap. 943. 949; Ovav.; Kappas.; Vṛṣabh. 13, 13 [Text *midu*]), but always M. *maia* AMg. *maūya* = *mṛduka* (Hc. 1, 127); H. R.; Vivāhap. 943. 954; Uttar. 1022; Jiv. 350. 549); (Aṇuog. 268; Nāyādh.); AMg. *maūga* (Jiv. 508); M. *maūia* = \**mṛdukita*, *maūi* = *mṛdvi* (G.)—*vandāraa* (Hc. 1, 132) and *vundāraa* = *vṛndāraaka* (Hc. 1, 132; Ki. 1, 30).—AMg. *vaga* = *vṛka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Vivāhap. 282. 484 [text *vagga*, commentary *viga*]; Paṇṇav. 367), *vagi* = *vṛkī* (Paṇṇav. 368) and AMg. *viga* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 12 [cf. the variant reading]; Nāyādh. 344), Ś. *via* (Uttarak. 105, 12). Cf. §219. According to Hc. 2, 110. *kṛṣṇa* in the sense of “black” becomes *kasana*, *kasiṇa*, *kaṇha* and as a proper name it becomes only *kaṇha*, according to Bh. 3, 61 in the sense of “black” it always becomes *kasana*, in the sense of “Kṛṣṇa” it becomes *kaṇha* only; according to Kalpal. p. 33 as a proper noun it becomes *kaṇha* and *kiṇha*; Mk. fol. 29 and Ki. 2, 56 make no distinction between *kasana* and *kaṇha*. In the sense of “black” it occurs as M. Ś. *kasana* (G. H. R.; Pracandap. 47, 4; Mṛcch. 2, 21; Vikr. 21, 8; 51, 10; 67, 18; Ratn. 311, 21; Mālatim. 103, 6; 224, 3; Mahāv. 98, 4) Venis. 61, 10), AMg. JM. *kasina* (Paṇṇav. 101; Paṇhāv. 285; Sūyag. 282; Uttar. 644; Ovav., Bhag.; Dvār. 503, 6; Erz.; R̥ṣabhap.), also probably wrong, in M. (G. 563, the variant reading excepted), and Ś. (Mallikām. 122, 6); M. AMg. Ś. *kaṇha* (G.; Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 18; Paṇṇav. 496 ff.; Jiv. 320; Candak. 86, 8. 9.

10 [in *kanhāhi*; text *kahna* and *kahva*], AMg. also *kinha* (Āyār. 2, 5, 1, 5; Vivāhap. 1033; Rāyap. 50. 51. 104. 120. 126. 228; Panhāv. 285 (beside *kasina*) Paṇṇav. 496 ff. [always interchanging with *kaṇha*]; Jiv. 255. 272. 453. 457); as a proper noun M. AMg. JM. Ś. *kanha* (H.; Āyār. p. 126, 1; Paṇṇav. 61; Nirayāv. §2, where also in the proper nouns *sukanha*, *mahākanha*, *vīrakanha*, *rāmakāṇha* *senākāṇha*, *māhāsenākāṇha*; p. 80; Ovav.; Kappas.; Dvār. 497, 6, 33; 498, 34; 499; 37, etc. caīt. 75, 14; 77, 3; 78, 10; 79, 6. 4; 92, 13 [mostly printed as *kanha*, °*da*, *kahna*]; Vṛṣabh. 9, 4; 18, 15; 23, 18 etc. (mostly printed as *kanha*]). Wrong is *kisaṇa* (Bālar. 141, 3; Karp. 50, 12 ed. Bomb., where the variant reading in Konow p. 48 has only *kasana*) and *kinha* (Nirayāv. 79). Cf. also *kasaniya*=*krṣṇāyita*. *kasanaṇapakka*=*krṣṇapakṣa* (Pāiyāl. 198. 268), *kasanasia*=\**krṣṇasita* “the black-white”=Balabhadra (Deśin. 2, 23).—*vṛddhi* in the sense of “growth” becomes *vuddhi* (Hc. 1, 131; 2, 40; Mk. fol. 24; AMg. Uvās. §50), and in the sense of “interest” it becomes AMg. *vaḍḍhi* (Uvās). There are found also M. *parivaddhi* (Mk. fol. 24; R. 5, 2) and JM. *viddhi* (growth : Ki. 20). Cf. §53.

§53. Sometimes dialectically the three vowels occur even in the same words. Thus: *prākṛta* becomes *pāyaya* in AMg. (Hc. 1, 67; Nāyādh. §145; variant reading *pāyaya*), *pāyaya* in JM. (Erz., 2, 28) and *pāyaya* (Hc. 1, 67); Kalpacūrṇi on Āv. 6, 29, *pāia* in M., *pāiya* in JM. (cited under Hc. 1, 181; Vajjalagga 325, 2 Pāiyāl. 1) and *pāua* in M. (H. 2 [v l. *pāia*, Vajjalagga 324]. 698; Karp. 5, 3), *pāuda* in Ś. (Karp. 5, 1; Mudrār. 82, 2. 5; Viddhas. 25, 8 [read so everywhere], *pākida* in Mg. (Venis. 34, 20).—*prṣṭha* becomes in M. *paṭṭhi* (Hc. 1, 131; G.), *puṭṭha* (Bh. 4, 20; R.), *puṭṭhi* (Bh. 4, 20; H. R.; Karp. 57, 6), in AMg. *piṭṭha* (Hc. 1, 35, Sūyag. 180. 285. 286; Nāyādh. §65; p. 938 958. 959. 964. 1107; Uttar. 29, 69; Uvās.; Ovav.), *piṭṭhi* (Hc. 1, 35. 129. Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 5; Nāyādh. 940; Dasav. 632. 24), *puṭṭha* (Nirayāv. §17), *puṭṭhi* (Sūyag. 292), in JM. *piṭṭha*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi* (Erz.), in Ś. D. *piṭṭha* (Vikr. 39, 3; Mālav. 33, 2; 59, 3; 69, 9; Mallikām. 145 21; 191, 5; Mudrār. 254, 1; Mṛcch. 105, 25), *piṭṭhi* (Kamsav. 57, 9), *puṭṭha* (Pras. 44, 14; Ratn. 316, 22), *puṭṭhi* (Bālar. 238, 10), in Mg. *piṣṭha* (Mṛcch. 99, 8; 130, 1; Venis. 35, 5. 10), *piṣṭi* (Mṛcch. 165, 9 and in A. *paṭṭhi*, *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi* (Hc. 4, 329). According to Hc. 1, 129, in *prṣṭha*, *r* is changed to *a*, only, when the word occurs at the end of a compound. So M. JM. *mahivaṭṭha* (Hc. 1, 129), Pratāpar. 214, 9 [°*pa*°]; Āv. 12, 23); Ś. *dharanivaṭṭha* (Uttarar. 63, 12; Bālar. 248, 5; 287, 16); however, also, probably wrong is JM. *dharaniviṭṭha* (Sagara 7, 12), Ś. *dharanipiṭṭha* [text. °*nipiṭṭha*; Bālar. 245, 15). The printed text and the MSS. of Venis. 64, 18 oscillate between *kālapuṭṭha*, °*vuṭṭha*, °*piṭṭha*.—*bṛhaspati* forms *bahapphai*, *bihapphai*, *buhapphai* (C. 2, 5 p. 43; Hc. 1, 138; Sr. fol. 36) and a number of other forms with a similar variation in vowels (§212). Here a mention should be made of AMg. *bahassai* (Sūyag. 709 [text *va*°], Ṭhāp. 82; Paṇṇav. 116 [text *va*°]), *bihassai* (Aṇuog. 356 [text *vi*°]. Ovav. §36 [text *vi*°]); Ś. *bahapphai* (Mallikām. 57, 3; 184, 3 [text *va*°]); *bihapphadi* (Ratn. 310, 29).—In all the dialects *vṛddha* is changed to *vaḍḍha* (C. 2, 5; 3, 16 p. 49; 3, 26; Hc. 1, 131; 2, 40. 90; Mk. fol. 24; H.; Āyār. 2, 2, 3, 24; Ovav.; Erz., Ś. Mṛcch. 44, 4; 69, 20; 71, 22; Anarghar. 156, 5; Mg. Mṛcch. 117, 23; 120, 9; 124, 4 etc.), according to Bh. 1, 27 also to *vaddha*, and according to Hc. 1, 128; 2, 40 also to *viddha*.—*vinṭa* forms AMg. *viṅṭa* (Hc. 1 139, Samav. 98); Paṇṇav. 40 [text *bi*°], *tālaviṅṭa* (Panhāv. 33), *pattaviṅṭa* (Jiv. 681); commonly also *venṭa* with change of *i* to *e* before a double consonant (§ 119); so M. *venṭa* (Hc. 1, 139; 2, 31; Mk. fol. 26; H.; Sak. 119, 6), *tālaveṅṭa* (Karp. 82, 2); AMg. Jiv. 329 [text *be*°]; Paṇṇav. 40 [text *be*°], *tālaveṅṭa* Nāyādh. § 136), *pattaveṅṭa* (Jiv. 549 [text *be*°]); Ś. Viddhas. 14, 13), *tālaveṅṭa* (Vikr. 75;



10; Uttarar. 16,7; Viddhaś. 61, 1; Veniś. 92, 22 [so it is to be read]; Bālar 131, 13 [so it is to be read], *tālavēṅṭaa* (Mṛcch. 38, 4; 59, 7; Mg. (Mṛcch. 21, 16). Hc. [1, 67] has *talavēṅṭa* also by the side of *tālavēṅṭa* (2, 31), Bh. (10) has *talavēṅṭaa* by the side of *tālavēṅṭaa*. Further Hc. 1, 139 teaches also *vōṅṭa* 1,67; he has *tālavōṅṭa* along with *talavōṅṭa* i.e., with the change of *u* to *ō* before a double consonant (§ 125). In AMg. abundant is *tāliyaṅṭa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 5; Paṅhāv. 236 533; Anuttar. 10; Nāyādh. 277; Vivāhap. 807. 831. 964; Ovav. § 52 [so it is to be read]; Dasav. 616, 38; 626, 3) *tāliyaṅṭaka* (Paṅhāv. 488 =\**tālivṛnta* with a change of *r* into *a*, as in Pāli *vaṅṭa*).

§ 54. BOLLENSSEN' has propounded the law of assimilation, according to which, for example, only *miatiṅṭhiā* or *maatanṅhiā*=*mṛgatṛṣṇikā* has to be declared as the correct form. PAUL GOLDSCHMIDT<sup>2</sup>, in his turn, has postulated dissimilation in cases like *mianka*=*mṛgānka* beside *maindu*=*mṛgendra*, *visaṅkhalā*=*viśṅkhalā* beside *siṅkhalā*=*śṅkhalā* (§ 213). Taking into consideration the great divergence between statements of the grammarians and the manuscripts it is not possible to frame any accurate rule. In M., they say *maatanṅhā* (R.) *maatanṅhiā* (Sarasvatik. 172, 18), besides *mudhamiā*, Ś. *miatanṅhā* (Dhūrtas. 16, 6; v. l. *maatinṅhā*), *miatinṅhā* (Anarghar. 60, 4), *maatanṅhiā* (Vikr. 17, 1), *maatinṅhiā* (Viddhaś. 47, 9; but ed. Calc. 36, 1 *miatanṅhiā*), *miatiṅṭhiā* (Viddhaś. 115, 5); further, indeed M. *mainda* (G. R.), and M. Ś. *maalañchana*, JM. *māyalañchana*=*mṛgalāñchana* (H.; Karp. 65, 10; 105, 7; Mṛcch. 169, 14, Vikr. 43, 11; 45, 20<sup>3</sup>, Pāiyāl 5, Dvār. 500, 18, Erz), but beside *maanika* (Hc. 1, 130; also in A. 4, 396, 1), JM. *māyānka* (Erz), in M. D. Ś. Mg. common *mianka* (Hc. 1, 130, G. H. R.; Karp. 60, 1; 84, 8; D. Mṛcch. 101, 11, Ś. Vikr. 58, 10; Viddhaś. 109, 5; Karp. 105, 7; Mg. Mṛcch. 37, 25); JM. has also *miyānka* (Erz). Beside Ś. *maa*=*mṛga* stand *miaā*=*mṛgayā* (Śak. 29, 2. 3) and M. Ś. *mai*=*mṛgi* (Śak. 85, 2, Prab. 67, 12); Ś. *maavahū*=*mṛgavadhū* (Śak. 86, 4), beside Ś. *sāhāmia*=*sākhāmṛga* (Mṛcch. 69,11, Vikr. 81,13), AMg. *iḥāmīya* (Jiv. 481. 492. 508; Nāyādh. 721; Rāyap 58 [°ga]); likewise AMg. generally only *miga*, *miya* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 2, 5, 1, 5; Vivāhap. 119 ff; Uttar. 338. 412. 499. 595 601; Dasav. N. 649, 7; Sūyag. 52. 54. 56. 317, Ovav. §37) *miyasirāo*=*mṛgasirāḥ* (Ṭhān. 81) *migavva*=*mṛgavya* (Uttar 498), speak against JM. *māya* (Dvār. 501, 13), *māyaccḥi*=*mṛgākṣi* (Rṣabhap. 26), M. *maacchī* (Karp. 65, 4). In compounds it is the euphony that has undoubtedly assisted in the choice of vowels.

§ 1. On vikr. 17, 1, p. 216.—2. Specimen des Setubandha (Göttingen 1873) p. 83 on 2, 2.—3. The v. l. has *mia*° and the same occurs in Viddhaś. 63,4 also.

§ 55. The *r* of nouns ending in *r* is changed into *u*, before the suffix *-ka*, and also when such a noun is the first member of a compound (Hc. 1,134); PG. *jāmātukasa*=*jāmātrkasya* (6,14), *bhātukāna*=*bhrātrkāṅām* (6,18); M. *jāmāua*=*jāmātrka* (Bh. 1,29; Hc. 1,131; Mk. fol. 10; H.); JM. *jāmāuya* (Erz.); Ś. *jāmādua* (Mahāv. 27,22; Mallikām. 209,22); *jāmādusadda*=*jāmātrśabda* (Mallikām 209,1); JM. *bhāuvaccchala*=*bhrātrvatsala* (Dvār. 503, 38; 507,30), *bhāughāyaga*=*bhrātrghātaka*, *bhāuya*=*bhrātrka* (Erz.); Ś. *bhādusaa*=*bhrātrśata* (Venīś. 59,3); Ś. *bhādua* (Vikr. 75,8); Mg. *vañcidabhāduka*=*vañcitabhātrka* (Mṛcch. 129,6); AMg. *puttanattupariyāra*=*putranapṭipariyāra* (Vivāhap. 482). *ammāpiusantie* (Āyār. 2,15,15), *ammāpiusūsaga* (Vivāhap. 60), *māupiusujāya* (Sūyag. 585; Ovav § 11), *māuōya*, *piusukka*=*mātrojaḥ*, *piṭṛsukra* (Sūyag. 817.822; Ṭhān. 159; Vivāhap. 111), *māuya* (Nāyādh. 1430); Ś. *mādughara* (Mṛcch. 54,4); Mg *mādukā* (Mṛcch. 122,5); M. *piuvaha*=*piṭṛvadhā* (G. 484), JM. *nattuya*=*nātrka* (Āv. 8,31); AMg. *nattui*=*nātrki* (Kappas. § 109). How-

ever, *i* as well, does not occur rarely: *M. nattia=nap̄ṭṛka* (Hc. 1,137; Sarasvatik. 8,13), *taṭṭhighaḍaṇā=tvastṛghaṇā* (G. 704), *māihara* (Hc. 1, 135); AMg. *māimaraṇa, bhāimaraṇa* (Sūyag. 787), *māirakkhiya* (Ovav. § 72); Ś. *mādivacchala* (Śak. 158,12); AMg. *peiya=paṭṛka* (Vivāhap 113); JM. *bhāivacchala, bhāighāyaya* (Dvār. 501, 3. 38), *bhāivahaga=bhrātṛva-dhaka* (Erz. 14,28; 23,19), *bhāisoga=bhrātṛsoka* (Erz. 53,11); AMg. *am-māp̄isamāna, bhāisamāna* (Thān. 284); A *p̄imāimosana=p̄im̄m̄t̄rmoṣana* (Erz. 158,3); AMg. *bhaṭṭidārāja=bhartṛdāraka* (Paṇnav. 366), *S. bhaṭṭi-dāraa* (Mahāv. 28,2;32,22); Ś. *bhaṭṭidārā* (Lalitav. 560, 9; 561, 6. 12; 562,22; 563,5; Mālatim. 72, 2.4.8; 73,5; 85,3; Nāgān. 10,9.13; 12,5.10; 13,4, etc.) In declension, the masculine nouns are inflected like *a-*, *i-* and *u-* stems, the feminine ones, like *ā-* stems; and *māṭṛ* also is declined like *i-* and *ū-* stems (§ 389—392).

§ 56 Generally the initial *r* becomes *ri* (Vr. 1,30; C. 2,5; Hc. 1, 140; Kī. 1,28; Mk. fol. 11), and *li* in Mg. So M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. A. *riddhi=r̄ddhi* (Pāiyāl. 62; G. H; Sūyag. 954; Ovav.; Kī. 12; Erz.; Kk.; Ṛṣabhap.; Kattig. 400, 325; 403, 370; M̄rcch. 6, 4; 2<sup>1</sup>, 7; 77, 10; 94, 19; Hc. 4,418,8).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rikkha* (Hc. 2.19; Pāiyāl. 96; H.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Bālar. 221,5; 250,18) and M. AMg. Ś. *riccha=r̄kṣa* (Vr. 1, 30; 3, 30; Hc. 1, 140; 2, 19; Pāiyāl. 128; R.; Rāyap. 124; Śak. 35, 9; Anarghar 156, 5).—M. JM. *riṇa*. (Bh. 1, 30; C. 2, 5; Hc. 1, 141; Mk. fol. 11; H.; Kk.); Ś. *ariṇa=ar̄ṇa* (M̄rcch. 64, 22; Śak. 24, 13; 141, 10); Mg. *liṇa* (M̄rcch. 21, 19) with metrical lengthening of *i* (§ 73).—AMg. *riu=r̄tu* (Hc. 1, 111. 209; Pāiyāl. 208; Samav. 119; Nirayāv. 81); Ś. *riḍu* (Bālar. 131,12).—AMg. *riuvveja=rgveda* (Thān. 166; Vivāhap. 149. 787; Nirayāv. 44; Ovav. § 77 [so to be read]; Kappas. § 10).—M. AMg. *risaha=r̄ṣabha* (C. 2, 5 v. 43; Hc. 1, 141; R. [as a proper noun]; Paṇhāv. 270; Vivāhap. 10; Ūvās.; Ovav.), AMg. Ś. also. *risabha* (Thān. 266 [as a proper noun]; Śak. 95, 7).—Ś. *ricāim=r̄caḥ* (Ratn. 302, 11).—AMg. JM. Ś. *risi=r̄ṣi* (Hc. 1, 141; Pāiyāl. 32; Sūyag. 202; Erz.; M̄rcch. 326, 14 [interpolation]); Mg. *liṣi* (Prab. 46, 15. 16; 47, 1); AMg. *mahārisi* (Sūyag. 203; Nāyādh. 1475). In cases, like AMg. *rāyarisi=r̄ājarsi* (Vivāhap. 908.915.916; Nāyādh. 600 ff. 1022; Uttar. 279 ff. 563), *māhaṇarisi=brahmaṛsi* (§ 250; Nirayāv. 48, 50 ff.), JM. *māharisi=mahar̄si* (Erz.) Ś. *sattarisi=saptar̄si* (Viddhaś. 49, 4.6.8), JM. *divāyaṇarisi=dvīpāyaṇar̄si* (Dvār. 496, 7. 38; 497, 3) the existence of a separation—vowel (§ 137) has to be accepted; all these forms, therefore, directly go back to Sanskrit.

§ 57. An initial *r* develops, not rarely, into *a, i, u*, besides into *ri*. So M. AMg. JM. Ā. A. *acchāi P. acchati=r̄cchali* (§ 480).—AMg. *accha=r̄kṣa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Vivāhap. 282.484; Nāyādh. 345, by the side of *riccha*; Paṇnav. 49.367), *acchī* (Paṇnav. 368); cf. Skt. *acchabhalla*.—AMg. *ana=r̄na* (Hc. 1, 141; Paṇhāv. 150).—AMg. JM. *iḍḍhi=r̄ddhi* (Thān. 80.178; Uttar. 116.666; Vivāhap 55.221; Nāyādh. 990; Ovav. § 33. 69; Ūvās.; Kappas.; Nirayāv. § 16; Dasav. 635.38; 640,5; Dasav. N. 652, 28). As LEUMANN rightly remarks (Aup. S. s. v. *riddhi*) *iḍḍhi* is the form that occurs in older texts and *riddhi*, in later texts. The same holds good for AMg. as well in the case of other forms with *ri*° that are found by the side of such as have some vowel.—AMg. Ś. *isi=r̄ṣi* (Vr. 1, 28; C. 2, 5; Hc. 1, 141; Kī. 1, 32; Mk. fol. 10; Paṇhāv. 448 [suṣi]; Uttar. 375. 377. 630; Vivāhap. 795.851; Śak. 41, 1; 61, 11; 70, 6; 79, 7; 98, 8; 155, 9; Vikr. 80, 17; Uttarar. 123, 10; Unmattar. 3, 7 etc.); in proper nouns AMg. *isigutta, isiguttiya, isidatta, isipāliya* (Kappas.), and in compounds like AMg. Ś. *mahesi=mahar̄si* (Sūyag. 74.137; Uttar. 717.720.815; Anarghar. 151, 10; Unmattar, 4, 18); M.Ś. *rāesi=r̄ājarsi*

G.; Śak. 19, 5; 20, 12; 21, 4; 50, 1; 52, 16; 57, 12; Vikr. 6, 13, 16; 7, 2; 8, 14; 10, 2.4.14 etc.).—AMg. *uu*=*rtu* (Hc. 1, 131.141.209; Vivāhap. 423.798; Paṇhāv 464.534; Nāyādh. 344.912 916.918; Aṇuog 242.432; Dasav. 627, 11; Dasav. N.648, 14); Ś. *udu* (Śak 2, 8). Cf. § 157. On the likely M. *uu* see § 04.—AMg. Ś. *ujju*=*rju*, (Hc. 1, 131.141; 2, 98; Paṇnav. 847; Aṇuog. 541.542 552 633; Uttar. 698.698; Ovav.; Kāmsav. 57,20), AMg. *ujjukada*=*rjukṛta* (Āyār. 1,1,3,1); usually found *ujju*=*rjuka* (Vr. 3, 52); so M. (H.R.); Ś. (Mṛcch. 88, 18; 90,21; Śak. 30, 4; 130, 5; Ratn. 302, 19; 308, 7; Mudrār. 192, 13; Anarghar. 113, 9; Kāṇas. 20, 13, etc.), *adinujju* (Ratn. 309, 24; Priyad. 43, 15); AMg. *ujjuga* Paṇhāv. 381; Uvās.), *ujjya* (Pāiyāl. 175; Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; 2, 3, 2, 14, 16; Uttar. 170; Ovav.; Kappas.), *anujjya* (Uttar. 990).—*usaha*=*ṛṣabha* (C.2, 5 p. 43; 3,34 p. 51; Hc. 1, 131.133); AMg. *usabha* (Āyār. 2,15,21; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *usabha* (Hc. 1, 24; Kappas.; Āv. 46, 21; Erz.); JM. *usabhaya* (Āv. 46, 21), AMg. *usabhadatta* (Āyār. 2, 15, 2; Kappas.); AMg. *usabhasena* (Kappas.).—According to Kī. 1, 31 *ṛṇa* always becomes *uṇa*. A mention ought to be made of *riṇa* (§ 56) and *aṇa* (§ 57) only.

1. So it is to be read; cf. FISCHER on Hc. 2, 98. GODABOLE 249, 9; 256, 1 writes *ujja*, what the scholiast translates by *ujjala* and *udya*.

§ 58. Corresponding to the development of *y* into *i*, *u*, in the declension of *r*-stems, *r̄*—develops into *i*, *ū*: AMg. *ammāpīṇān*, *ammāpīṇān* (§ 391. 392). Skt. *ir* and *ūr* originating from earlier *r̄* are regularly treated according to the phonetic law of Pkt: M. JM. *tirai*, *tirae* *tūyate* (§ 537); M. *pāṇṇa*=*prakīrṇa* (G.H.R.), *viṇṇa*=*vikīrṇa* (H.), *vivaiṇṇa*=*vīprakīrṇa* (H.R.); JM. *viṇṇa*=*vītirṇa* (Erz.); M. *pūrai*=*pūryate* (§ 537); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *puṇṇa*=*pūrṇa* (H. R.); Uvās.; Kappas.; Kk.; Prab. 57, 2). By the side of M. Ś. *jīṇa*=*jūrṇa* (Hc. 1, 102; H.; Pratāp. 201, 13; Mṛcch. 93, 9), Mg. *jīṇa* ((Mṛcch. 162, 23), there is found very abundantly M. AMg. JM. Ś. *juṇṇa*=*Vedic jūrṇa*' (Hc. 1, 102; G.H.; Karp. 88, 3; Āyār. 2, 16, 9, Vivāhap. 1308; Nāyādh. 321. 983. 985. 987; Uttar. 440; Rāyap. 258f.; Aṇuog. 292; Āv. 37, 26; 40, 16; Erz.; Śak. 35, 9; Karp. 53, 5; Viddhaś. 114, 6; Mallikām. 88, 23; Hāsy. 25, 5); AMg. *parijunṇa* Āyār. 1, 7, 6, 1; Thāṇ. 540; Uttar. 63); AMg. *junṇiya* (Nāyādh. 348); JM. *junṇaga* (Āv. 41, 1). By the side of *tītha*=*tīrtha*, M. has *tūha*=*\*tūrtha* (Hc. 1, 104; H.; Sarasvatik. 44, 12); *uttūha*=*\*uttūrtha* (steep, fountain; Deśin. 1, 94); PG. *tūhike*=*\*tūrthikān*=*tūrthikān* (5, 5); AMg. *anṇātūthiya*=*\*anṇātūrthika*<sup>1</sup> (Vivāhāp. 129. 130. 137. 139. 142. 178. 323. 324 etc.; Nāyādh. 984 ff.; Thāṇ. 147; Ovav), *parātūthiya*=*\*parātūrthika*<sup>2</sup>. It is wrong<sup>3</sup> to derive<sup>4</sup> *tūha* directly from earlier *\*tītha*.

1. WEBER, IS. 16, 46. 299. Note 2; LEUMANN, Aup. S. p. 95.—2. LEUMANN Lc.—3. BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 50, 680.—4. WACKERNAGEL, Alt. Gr. 24.

§ 59. Following a consonant *l* develops into *ili*: *kilitta*=*klpta* (Vr. 1, 33; Hc., 145; Kī. 1, 33; Mk. fol. 11); *kilitti*=*klpti* (Kī. 1, 33; Mk. fol. 11). According to Kī. 5, 16, in A., it either remains or develops into *a*: *klita*, *katta*=*klpta*. Hc. (1, 145; 4, 329) accepts the presence of *l* in *klinna* "moistened" (FISCHER on Hc. 1, 145) also. The forms *klinna* and A. *kinna*, quoted by him, are explained as having originated from *klinna* (§ 136). Single *l* develops into *li* in *liāra* (Mk. fol. 11), *likāra* (Kalpal. p. 36)=*lkāra*.

## 2. VOWELS.

### a) THE DIPHTHONGS *ai* AND *au*

§60. In Pkt., *ai* has been retained as an interjection only, and that also in poetry only (Hc. 1, 169); commonly, in lieu of it, is also used M. Ś. *ai*=Skt. *ayi* (Vr. 9, 12; Hc. 1, 169 ;2, 205; H.; Mṛcch. 63,

13; 64, 25; 87, 21; Vikr. 28, 10; 42, 19; 45, 2; Mālatīm. 74, 5; 247, 1; 264, 3 etc). Some scholars, according to Hc. 1, 1=Prākṛta-candrikā 344, 5; C. 2, 14 p. 37, even in Pkt., permit *ai* in words like *kaiava*=*kaitava*, *airāvana* (Bhaṭṭikāvya 13, 33). In fact, however, the places where *ai* is found to exist the text gives an incorrect reading (PISCHEL on Hc. 1. 1). Mk. fol. 12 rejects it outright. Generally *ai* develops into *e*, and before a doubled constant, into *ē*: PG. *vijayavejayike*=*vijayavaijayikān* (6, 9).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *erāvana*=*airāvana* (Bh. 1, 35; Vr. 2, 11; Hc. 1, 148 20<sup>3</sup>; Kī. 2. 31; Mk. fol. 15; R.; Sūyag. 317; Kappas.; Erz.; Mrcch. 68, 14); A. *erāvai*=*airāvata* (Piṅgala 1, 24); cf. §246.—AMg. *esajja*=*aiśvarya* (Ṭhān. 450). JŚ. *ejagga*=*aikāgrya* (Pav. 388, 1).—Ś. *edihāsia*=*aitihāsika* (Lalitav. 555, 2).—M. *kedhaba*=*kaiṭabha* (Vr. 2, 21. 29; Hc. 1, 148. 196. 240; Kī. 2, 11; Mk. fol. 16).—M. *geria*=*gairika* (Karp. 80, 10), AMg. *geruja*=*\*gairuka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 6, 6; Sūyag. 834; Paṇṇav. 26; Dasav. 619, 41).—AMg. *neyāyua*=*\*naiyāuka*=*naiyāyika* (Sūyag 111. 361; 994 ff. [ne<sup>o</sup>]; Nāyādh. §144; Uttar. 158. 180. 238. 324; Ovav.), *aneyāyua* (Sūyag 736).—AMg. *mehuna*=*maithuna* (Āyār. 2, 1, 3, 2. 9, 1; 2, 2, 1, 12. 2, 10; Sūyag. 409. 816. 822 f. 923. 994; Bhag; Uvās.; Ovav.), JM. *mehunaya* (Erz.), JŚ. *medhuna* (Kattig. 399, 306; text °hu<sup>o</sup>).—M. *vehavva*=*vaidhavya* (G.H.R.).—AMg. JM. *vejaddha*=*vaitādhyā* (C. 2. 6; Vivāhap. 479; Ṭhān. 73; Vivāgas. 91; Nirayāv. 79; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. *sela*=*saila* (Bh. 1, 35; Pāiyāl. 50; G. R.; Mrcch. 41, 16; Karp. 49. 6; Āyār. 2, 2, 2, 8; 2, 6, 1, 2; Kappas.; Ovav.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), but CP *saila* (Hc. 4, 326).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *tella*=*taila* (§90).—M. JM. AMg. *cetta*=*caitra* (Karp. 12, 4. 9; Viddhaś. 25, 2; Kī. 19; Āyār. 2, 15. 6. Kappas.).—M. JM. *metti*=*mairi* (H. R.; Kī. 7; Erz.).—M. JM. Ś. *veṅja*=*vaidya* (Hc. 1, 148; 2, 24; H.; Āv. 16, 8; Erz.; Vikr. 47, 2; Mālav. 26, 5; Karp. 104, 7).—M. Ś. *senṇa*=*sainya* (§282).—On the development of *i* from *ai*, see §84.

§61. The grammarians permit the use of *ai* compulsorily in the case of some words and optionally in that of others in lieu of *e*. The words in which there must be *ai* have been grouped by them under the *daityādi* class (Vr. 1, 36; Hc. 1, 151; Kī. 1, 37; Mk. fol. 12; Pkl. p. 36). But common to all of them are the words M. *daicca*=*daitya* (Pāiyāl. 26, 99; G.); *vaidēha* (Kī. °hī)=*vaidēha*; AMg. *vaisāha*=*vaiśākha* (Āyār. 2, 15, 25 [beside *ve*!]; Vivāhap. 1426; Nirayāv. 10; Uttar. 768; Kappas.). Further Hc. and C. [2, 6], in addition, have *aisaria*=*aiśvarya*, wherefor AMg. has *esajja* (§60); Hc. alone has *dainna*=*dainya*, *vaijavana*=*vaijavana*; *daivaya*=*daivata*; *vaiāliā*=*vaitāliya*; *vaidabha*=*vaidarbha*; *vaiśānara*=*vaiśvānara*; *vaiśāla*=*vaiśāla*. Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl. add also *saira*=*svaira*, which Pāiyāl. 13. 15 also has; Bh. Hc. Mk. have *vāesa*=*vaidēsa*, Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl. M. *kaiava* (G. H.), *kaiyava* (Pāiyāl. 157; Erz.). Kī. and Pkl. have in addition, AMg. *vaiśsa*=*vaiśya* (Vivāsagas. 152; Uttar. 754), by the side whereof AMg. has *veṅsa* (Sūyag. 373), further *vaidēsia*=*vaidēśya* and *veśāia*=*vaiśayika*; besides Kī. alone has *vaiśamma*=*vaiśamya*, Pkl. *khaitta*=*kṣaitra*. In the case of all other words the statements of the grammarians are at variance. Vr. 1, 37 and Kī. 1, 38 permit both *ai* and *e*, side by side, only in *daiva*. Hc. 1, 153 has a special rule with regard to this word, and he knows yet others with the similar phonetic variation; besides like Pkl. p. 37 and Triv. 1, 2, 102 he includes all such words in the *vairādi* group, wherein Triv. includes also *daiva*. Mk. fol. 12 has a *daivādi* class. According to Bh. on Vr. 1, 37 the word *daiva* is pronounced as *daiva*, but according to Vr. 3, 52 the word, on account of development of *e* along with reduplication of *v*, becomes *deṅva*. Both of them are found in Kī. as well, whereas Hc. has *deṅva*, *daiva* and *daivva*; Mk., as it seems, prescribes *deṅva* and *daivva*. But *deṅva* and *daivva* are=*daivya*; A. *daiva* (Hc. 4, 331, 340,

1; 389). According to Mk. fol. 66 and Rv. (PISCHEL on Hc. 1, 153) *ai* is not used in this word in Ś. that is mainly implied by the exclusion of *ai* from Ś. by Rv. And in fact, according to the best MSS. (PISCHEL on Hc. 1, 148) *ai* in Ś. and Mg. develops into *e* only, and never into *ai*, not even in the words in which the other dialects must have only *ai*. Thus: *kedava*=*kaitava* (Śāk. 106, 6), *vesāha* (Viddhaś. 77, 7), *sera*=*svaina* (Mṛcch. 143, 15; Mukund. 70, 18. 19). In the words, showing variation between *ai* and *e*, Ś. and Mg. always have *e*. So Ś. Mg. *d'evva* (Mṛcch. 20, 24; Śāk. 60, 17; 71, 4; 161, 12; Mālav. 57, 19; Ratn. 317, 32; Mṛcch. 140, 10).—According to Bh. 1, 35 *kailāsa* becomes *kelāsa*, but according to Hc., Mk. and Pkl. it becomes *kailāsa* or *kelāsa*; Pāiyāl. 97 has *kailāsa*, M. (G.R. Bālar. 181, 14) and Ś. (Vikr. 41, 3; 52, 5; Viddhaś. 25, 9) has *kelāsa*. According to Bh. 1, 36, C. 2, 6 *vaira* becomes *vaira*, and according to Hc., Mk. and Pkl. it becomes also *vera*. So JM. *vaira* (Erz.), *vairi*=*vairin* (Erz.; Kk.) by the side of M. AMg. JM. Ś. *vera* (R.; Sūyag. 16, 359. 375. 406. 872. 891; Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 5; Bhag.; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 24, 4; 148, 1; Mahāv. 52, 18. 19; Prab. 9, 16); Mg. *vela* (Mṛcch. 21, 15. 19; 133, 8; 165, 2); M. JM. *veri*- (G.; Erz.; Kk.); JM. *veriya*=*vairika* (Kk.), A. *veria* (Hc. 4, 439, 1), Mg. *velia* (Mṛcch. 126, 6).—According to Ki. *kairava* forms *kairava*, and according to Hc. Mk. Pkl. also *kerava*. For *caitra*, Ki. prescribes *caitta*, but Hc. Mk. Pkl. have also *cē'tta*, and it is found in M. AMg. JM. (§60); for *jaitra*, Mk. has *jaitta* and *je'tta*, and for *bhairava*, Bh. Hc. Ki. have *bhairava*, and Mk. Pkl. have *bherava* as well. In M. is found *bhairavi* (G.), in AMg., JM. *bherava* (Sūyag. 129. 130; Āyār. 1, 6, 2, 3; 1, 7, 6, 5; 2, 15, 15; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), in Ś. *mahābheravi*. (Prab. 65, 4; 66, 10 [it is to be read as such]), Mg. *mahābhelava* (Prab. 58, 18 [so it is to be read]). In the proper noun *bhairavānanda* (Karp. 24, 2 ff.) mostly the MSS., as in the Bombay edition 25, 4 ff., have *bhaira*<sup>o</sup>, which was rightly corrected to *bhera*<sup>o</sup> by KONOW, as it is in Kāleyak. 16, 14. According to Bh. Ki. Mk. Pkl. *vaiśampāyana* forms *vaiśampāṇa*, according to Hc. *ve*<sup>o</sup> also; *vaiśravaṇa*, according to Hc., becomes *vaiśavaṇa* and *ve*<sup>o</sup>, and in AMg. JM. it is *vesamaṇa* (Nāyādh. 852. 853; Uttar. 677; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.). Hc. prescribes variation between *ai* and *e* also in the case of *vaitālika* and *vaiśika*, the words in which according to Bh. there is *ai*; AMg. has *vesiya* (Aṇuog.). All the gaṇas of the grammarians are akṛtgaṇas, and they are to be augmented further from literature, like AMg. *vairojaṇa*=*vairocana* (Sūyag. 306; Bhag.); *vaikunṭha*=*vaikunṭha* (Pāiyāl. 21) etc.

§61<sup>a</sup>. Like *ai*, there are some who, according to Hc. 1, 1=Prākṛtacandrikā, 344, 5; C. 2, 14 p. 37, permit also *au*: *sauaria*=*saudarya*, *kaurava*, *kaulava* (C.)=*kaurava*. Such errors of transcription are numerous in MSS. Generally—*au* develops into *o* (Vr. 1, 41; C. 2, 8; Hc. 1, 159; Ki. 1, 39; Mk. fol. 13), and into *ō* before double consonants: PG. *kolikā*=*kaulikāh* (6, 39), *kosika*=*kauśika* (6, 16); M. *kosia* (Hc.; G. 306), Ś. *kosia* (Śāk. 20, 12).—Ś. *orasa*=*aurasa* (Vikr. 80, 4).—AMg. *ovamma*=*aupamyā* (Ovav.).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *osaḥa*=*ausadha* (§223).—AMg. JM. *kouya*, *kouga*=*kautuka* (Pāiyāl. 156; Sūyag. 730; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. *komuī*=*kaumudī* (Bh. 1, 41; Hc.; Ki.; H.; Ovav.; Erz.), Ś. *komudī* (Vikr. 23, 20; Priyad. 19, 11; 40, 5).—Ś. *kosambī*=*kauśāmbī* (Bh.; Hc.; Ratn. 310, 21), Ś. *kosambīā*=*kauśāmbikā* (Ratn. 308, 29).—M. AMg. JM. *koūhala*=*kautūhala* (G.; Uttar. 631; Erz.; Kk.), Ś. *kodūhala* (Mṛcch. 68, 14; Śāk. 19, 3; 121, 10; 129, 1; Vikr. 19, 7; Mālatim. 257, 1; Mudrār. 43, 5; Viddhaś. 15, 2; Pras. 19, 4; Cait. 42, 1; 44, 12), *kodūhali* (Bālar. 168, 3); M. AMg. JM. *kouhalla*=*kautūhalya* (Hc. 1, 117. 171; 2, 99; Pāiyāl. 156; G. H.; Karp. 57, 3;

Vivāhap. 11. 12. 812), AMg. JM. also *kouhalla* (Ovav.; Kk.). On *kohala* see § 123.—M. AMg. JM. D. A. *do*=*dvau* (§ 436).—JM. *dovai*=*dyauspai* (Kk.).—AMg. *dovai*=*draupadi* (Nāyādh. 1228), Mg. *dovadi* (Mṛcch. 11, 7; 16, 23; 128, 14 [so it is to be read, as it is in most of the MSS.; *dōppadi* (129.6) is not=*draupadi*, but=*duspatihī*]).—JŚ. *dhoda*=*dhauta* (Pav. 379, 1).—M. AMg. *porāna*=*paurāna* (H.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Rāyap. 7½, 139; Hc. 4, 287), JM. *porānaya* (Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *A. sohagga*=*saubhāgya* (G. H. R.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 68, 17; Śak. 71, 8; Vikr. 32, 17; Mahāv. 34, 11; Prab. 37, 16; 38, 1, 39, 6).—M. JM. *kōthhua*=*kaustubha* (Bh.; Hc.; G. H. R.; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *A. jōvvaṇa*=*yauvana* (§ 90).—M. *dōcca*=*dautya* (H. 84).—M. Ś. *dōbballa*=*daurbalya* (G. H. R.; Śak. 63, 1).—JM. *pavōita*=*prapautra* (Āv. 8,31).—M. Ś. *mōttia*, JM. *mōttiya*=*mauklika* (G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 70,25; 71, 3; Karp. 73, 5; 82, 8; Viddhaś. 108, 2; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *A. sōkkha*=*saukhya* (Mk.; G. H. R.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kī. 9; Pav. 381, 19, 20; 383, 75; 385, 69; Kattig. 402, 361. 362. 369; Mālatim. 82, 3; Uttarak. 121, 4; Hc. 4, 332, 1), Mg. *sōkkha* (Prab. 28, 15; 56, 1; 58, 16). M. JM. Ś. *sōmma*=*saumya* (G. R.; Kī. 7; Ratn. 317, 31; Mahāv. 6, 8; Uttarak. 31, 20; 62, 8; 71, 8; 92, 8; Anarghar. 149, 9; Kānsav. 9, 2), by the side of AMg. JM. *soma* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.).—Like the development of *ai* into *ai*, a number of words show a change of *au* into *ai*. The grammarians have collected them together in the *paurādi ākṛtigaṇa* (Vr. 1, 42; Hc. 1, 162; Kī. 1, 41; Mk. fol. 13; Pkl. p. 38). But there is the difference that while the number of words that have *ai* beside *e* for *ai* is very large, the number of words that have *ai* along with *o* for *au* is very small. Bh. on Vr. 1, 42 permits *kosala* by the side of *kāūsala*, which alone is found in Hc. Kī. Mk.; Hc. 1, 161. 162. has *ko'ccheaya* by the side of *kāūccheaya*; Mk. fol. 13 permits *moṇa* by the side of *maūṇa*, which Hc. has, and *moli* by the side of *maūli*, which Hc. and Pkl. also have, even though he refers to Karp. 6, 9. According to Mk. *ai* does not occur in Ś. in *kaurava* and *gaurava*, according to Pkl., not in *paura* and *kaurava*. In lieu of *o* is prescribed *ai* in *paura* by Bh. Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl., in *kaurava* by Bh. C. Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl., in *pauruṣa* by Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl., in *saura* and *kaula* by Hc. C., in *gauda* by Hc. Pkl., in *kṣaurita* by Mk. Pkl., in *saudha* by Hc., in *kṣaura* by Mk., and in *aucitya* by Pkl. The instances met with are : M. *kāūla* (G.) and *kola* (Karp. 25, 2=Kāleyaka. 16, 21 [text *kau*°]).—M. *gāūda* (G.), but AMg. *A. goḍa* (Paṇhāv. 41 [text *gau*°, but cf. WEBER, Verzeichniss 2, 2, 510;] Piṅgala 2, 112. 138).—M. JM. *paūra*=*paura* (G.; Kī. 12; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), but Ś. *pora* (Śak. 138, 11; Mudrār. 42, 10 [text *pau*°]; 161, 1; Mālatim. 288, 3; Uttarak. 27, 3; Bālar. 149, 21; Kāleyak. 22, 5), Mg. *pola* (Mṛcch. 167, 1. 2 [edition *pau*°]); therefore, in Mṛcch. 160, 11 *paūlā* is to be corrected as *polā*.—Bh. Hc. Mk. Pkl. have *pāūrisa*=*pauruṣa*, but JM. *porisa* (Erz.), AMg. *porisī* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 4; Samav. 74; Uvās.; Kappas.), *porisīya* (Sūyag. 281), *aporisīya* (Vivāhap. 447; Nāyādh. 1113). Cf. § 124.—*maūṇa*=*mauna* (Hc. Mk.), and so in Ś. (Viddhaś. 46, 11), is certainly an error for *moṇa*, as in M. AMg. JM. (Mk.; H.; Āyār. 1, 2, 4, 4; 1, 2, 6, 3; Sūyag. 120. 123. 495. 502; Paṇhāv. 403; Erz.; Rṣabhap.).—M. AMg. JM. *maūli*=*mauli* (G.; Karp. 2, 5; Sūyag. 730. 766; Thān. 480; Ovav. § 33; Kk.) and M. *moli* (Karp. 6, 9). In Ś. there is *moli* (Karp. 112, 3; Mallikām. 183, 5; Pras. 33, 6 [text *mau*°]), but *maūli* (Vikr. 75, 11; Mālatim. 218, 1). But in the Bombay edition (1888) of Vikr. (122, 1) and as a v. l. in SHANKAR P. PANDIT (131, 4), in Mālatim., the MS. N. and the Madras edition, there is *moli*, which occurs in the Bombay 1892 edition as *mauli* (167,2). Presumably in both the places

the correct form would be *moli*. Hc. has *saiha*=*saudha*, but Ś. *sodha* (Mālatīm. 292, 4). The variation, therefore, is far more dialectical than estimated by the grammarians. For Ś. Mg. only *ho* should be correct. According to Vr. 1, 43; Hc. 1, 163; Kī. 1, 42 *gaurava* develops into both *gaurava* and *gārava*, and according to Mk. fol. 13, it develops also into *gorava*, which he alone assigns to Ś. JM. has *gaurava* (Erz.), M. Ś. *gorava* (H.; Adbhutad. 54, 10), M. AMg. JM. *gārava* (G. H. R.; Dasav. 635, 38; Paṇhāv. 307; Uttar. 902; Erz.); JM. *ya* (Kī. 6). To Pāli *garu* belongs *gārava*, Pkt. *garua*, *garuṃ*=*gunika* (§ 123), Skt. *gariyas*, *gariṣṭha*. On *u* for *o* from *au* see § 84.

### (b) LENGTHENING OF SHORT VOWELS.

§ 62. A short vowel, before *r* + consonant, especially sibilant, and sibilant+following *ya*, *ra*, *va* or sibilant, is very often lengthened and the consonant group is simplified. The cases of lengthening are more abundant in M. and, especially, in AMg. and JM. than in Ś. Mg. which often retain the short vowel and assimilate the consonants. Thus:—*r* + consonant: PG. *kātūnam*, P. *kātūnam*, AMg. JM. *kāūnam*=\**kartvānam* (§ 585. 586); VG. *kātūna*, JŚ. *kādūna* (§ 21), M. JM. *kāūna*=\**kartivāna* (§ 586); M. AMg. JM. *kāūm*, Ś. Mg. *kādūm*=*kartum* (§ 574); M. *kāava*, AMg. JM. *kāyava*, JŚ. Ś. Mg. *kādava*=*kartavya* (§ 570).—*gāyari*=\**gāgari*=*gaggari*=Skt. *gargari* (Deśin. 2, 89).—M. *dūhava*=*durbhaga* (Hc. 1, 115. 192; Karp. 86,2), and on its analogy Ś. *sūhava*=*subhaga* Hc. 1, 113. 192; Mallikām. 126, 2).—AMg. JM. *nīnei*=*nirṇayati* (Nirayāv. § 17; Uttar. 578, Erz.); JM. *nīneha*=*nirṇayata* (Dvār. 496, 5); *nīnijanta*, *nīnijamāna*=*nirṇiyamāna* (Āv. 2 4, 4; 25, 34), *nīnehii*=*nirṇeyati*, *nīnūna*=*nirṇiya* (Erz.); AMg. JM. *nīniya*=*nirṇita* (Nāyādh. 516; Erz.).—A *sāva*=*sarva* (Hc. 4, 420, 5=Sarasvatik. 158, 22). In the case of *r*+stop or nasal generally the vowel remains short and the consonants are assimilated.—AMg. *parimāsi*=*parimarśin* (Thān. 313).—AMg. JM. JŚ. *phāsa*=*sparśa* (Hc. 2, 92; Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 2; 1, 4, 2, 2. 3, 2; 1, 5, 4, 5; 1, 6, 3, 2; Sūyag. 170. 172. 257. 337; Paṇnav. 8. 10. 380; Aṇuog. 268; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Pav. 384, 47).—M. AMg. JM. *vāsa*=*varśa* (Hc. 1, 43; H.; Sūyag. 148; Vivāhap. 427. 479. 1243; Uttar. 673; Dasav. 632, 42; Samav. 166; Uvās.; Erz.); AMg. *vāsai*=*varśati* (Dasav. N. 648, 7. 13. 14), *vāsiukāma*=*varśiukāma* Thān. 155), but Ś. *vassāridu*=*varśartu* (Viddhaś. 99, 1; v. l. *vāsā°*); Mg. *vaśśadi* (Mr̥cch. 79, 9).—AMg. *sāsava*=*sāśapa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 3). In AMg. sometimes the vowel followed by *l* + consonant is also lengthened: AMg. *phāguṇa*=*phalguna* (Vivāhap. 1426) by the side of *phagguna*, *phaggumitta* (Kappas.), *phagguni* (Uvās.), M. *phaggu* (H.), Ś. *uttaraphagguni*, *phagguṇa* (Karp. 18, 6; 20, 6; Dhanamjayav. 11, 7); AMg. *vāgala*=*valkala* (Nāyādh. 1275; Nirayāv. 54), *vāga*=*valka* (Ovav. § 74; text *vāka*), but M. Ś. *vakkala* (G.; Śak. 10. 12; 27, 10; Vikr. 84, 20; Anarghar. 58, 11), M. *avavakkala*=*apavalkala* (G.), Mg. *ṇivavakkala*=*nirvalkala* (Mr̥cch. 22, 7).

§ 63. A sibilant + *ya*: AMg. *nāsasi*=*naśyasi* Uttar. 712); M. *nāsai*, *nāsanti*, *nāsasu* (H. R.); JM. *nāsai*, *nāsanti* (Erz.), by the side of AMg. *nassāmi* (Uttar. 713); AMg. *nassai* (Hc. 4, 178. 230; Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 5 [v. l. *nāsai*], *nassamāna* (Uvās.), *viṇassai* (Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 5); JM. *nassāmo*, *nassa* (Erz.); Ś. *nassadi* (Śak. 95, 8); Mg. *viṇāśśadu* (Mr̥cch. 118, 19).—AMg. JM. *pāsai*=*paśyati* (Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 2; Sūyag. 91; Vivāhap. 156, 231. 274. 275. 284. 1325 ff.; Vivāgas. 139; Nandis. 363, 371; Rāyap. 21. 240; Jiv. 339 ff.; Dasav. 643, 13 etc.; Erz.); AMg. *pāsaiyavam* na *pāsai* *pāsikāme* na *pāsai* *pāsittā* vi na *pāsai* (Paṇnav. 667), *aṇupassiyā* (absol., Sūyag. 122); *pāsa* (eye; Deśin. 6, 75; Triv. in BB. 6, 104).

AMg. *kīsanti*=*kliśyante* (Uttar. 576), but JM. *kilissai* (Erz.), Ś. *adi kilissadi* (Mālav. 7, 17).—AMg. JM. *sisa*=*śisya* (Hc. 1, 43; 4, 265; Pāiyāl. 101; Dasav. N.645, 12. 13; Kappas.; Āv. 40, 8 ff; 41, 11; Dvār. 499, 13; Erz.); *sisaga*=*śisyaka*. (Āv. 40, 22; Dvār. 498, 13), by the side of JM. Ś. *sissa* (Āv. 33, 21; Priyad. 35, 5; Hāsy. 25, 13; 27, 19; 34, 3. 6. 10; Mallikām. 156, 23; Kāleyaka. 18, 3. 9; 19, 13; 24, 14; incorrect *sisa* 16, 8; Ś. *susissa*=*suśisya* (Śak. 77, 11), *sissā*=*śisyā* (Mallikām. 219, 20); AMg. *sissanī* (girl disciple; Vivāhap. 342 [text °ssi°]; Nāyādh. 1498; Samav. 241).—M. *tūsai* (Vr. 8, 46; Hc. 4, 236; Kī. 4, 68; H.), JŚ. *tūsedī* (Kattig. 400, 335), but Ś *tussadi* (Mālav. 8, 3).—AMg. JM. *mañusa*=*manuṣya* (Hc. 1, 43; Sūyag. 180; Vivāhap. 79. 341. 361. 425; Uttar. 175; Paṇṇav. 706; Dasav. N.653, 11; Ovav.; Āv. 26, 34; Erz.), AMg. *mañūsi* (Paṇṇav. 706), but also *manussa* (Vivāhap. 362. 717; Paṇṇav. 367; Uvās.), and so also JŚ. (Kattig. 399, 308) and always M. Ś. (2, 26<sup>b</sup> p.42; Pāiyāl. 60; H.; Mṛcch. 44, 2. 3; 71, 9; 117, 18; 136, 7), Mg. *mañūssa* (Mṛcch. 11, 24; 13, 4; 17, 17; 30, 21; 125, 21; 164, 6), *mañūśśaa* (Mṛcch. 131, 10), *mañūśśaka* (Mṛcch. 113, 21).—The same lengthening takes place in Mg. in the genitive forms like *kāmāha* from \**kāmāsa*=*kāmasya*, *caṇḍālaha*=*caṇḍālasya*, etc. show subsequently shortened *a* (§ 264. 315 366); further in the genitive like A. *kāsu*, *jāsu*, *tāsu*=*kasya*, *yasya*, *tasya* (§ 425) and the forms of the future like A. *karisu*=\**karisyam*=*karisyāmi*, *pāvisu*=\**prāpiṣyam*=*prāpiṣyāmi*, *pekkhimi*=\**prekṣisyāmi*=*prekṣisyā*, *sahimi*=*sahisyē*; *karīsi*=*karisyasi* (§ 315. 520. 525. 531. 533).

§ 64. Sibilant + *ra* : M. *sāsū*=*śvaśrū* (H.), Ś. *sāsue*=\**śvaśruke* (Bālar. 153, 20).—M. *mīsa*=*mīśra* (Hc. 1, 43; 2, 170; H); AMg. *mīsajāya*=*mīśrajāta* (Ovav.), *mīśaya*=*mīśraka* (Thāp. 129 f; Kappas.), *mīsijai* (Uvās.), *mīśiya* (Kappas.); *mīsālia* (Hc. 2, 170); but *missai* (Hc. 4, 28); Ś. *mīssa* (Mṛcch. 69, 12; Śak. 18, 3), *mīssiā*=*mīśrikā* (Śak. 142, 10), *missida* (Prab. 29. 8); Mg. *mīśsa* (Mṛcch. 11, 6; 117, 8).—AMg. *visa*=*visra* (Sūyag. 753).—M. JM. *visamāi*=*viśrāmyati* by the side of Ś. *vissamādu* (§ 489).—M. *visambha*=*visrambha* (Hc. 1, 43; H.R.), but Ś. *vissambha* (Mṛcch. 74, 8 [so it is to be read with v. l. and GODABOLE's edition 213, 1]; Śak. 19, 4; Mālatim. 105., [So AD.]; 210, 7 [So N.])—Ś. *ūsā*=*usrā* (Lalitav. 555, 1).—AMg. *ūsaveha*=*ucchrāpayata* from \**utrāpayata* (Vivāhap. 957, *ūsaviya*=\**ucchrāpita* (Ovav.; Kappas.): AMg. JM. *ūsiya*=*ucchrīta* (Sūyag. 771. 958 [text u°]; Paṇḥāv. 287; Nāyādh. 481; Uttar. 664; Nandis. 63. 68; Ovav.; Kappas.; Eṛz.), but AMg. *ussiya* (Sūyag. 309), *samussiya* (Sūyag. 275) beside °*ūsi*° Sūyag. 281), *ussaviya* (Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 1), Ś. *ussāvedī*=*ucchrāpayati* (Uttarar. 61, 2).—Sibilant + *va* : M. AMg. JM. *āsa*=*aśva* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 43; R.; Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3; Vivāhap. 503; Vivāśag. 61; Uttar. 195. 217. 336. 500. 501; Nāyādh. 731. 780. 1233. 1266. 1388. 1456; Paṇṇav. 367; Aṇuog. 507; Nirāyāv.; Ovav., Āv. 35, 12. 13. 16. 21. 24; Erz.; Kk.), beside *assa* (Bh. 1, 2; Āyār. 2, 10, 12; 2, 11, 11. 12; 2, 15, 20; Sūyag. 182; Uttar. 617; Āv. 11, 18 ff.), as Ś. always has (Mṛcch. 69, 10; Bālar. 238, 8).—M. *nīsāsai*; AMg. *nīsasanti*; JM. *nīsasiūna*=*nīśśvāsyā* (Erz.); Ś. *nīsasadi*, Mg. *nīśśadu*; M. *ūsasāi*, AMg. *ūsasanti*; Mg. *ūśśadu*; M. *visasai*; AMg. *visase*; Ś. *visasadi*; also AMg. *ussasai*, *nissasai*, from *śvas*, preceded by *nīḥ*, *ud*, *vi* (§ 327<sup>a</sup>. 496).—AMg. JM. Ś. *śasattha*=*viśvasta* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 99, 24; 100, 4; 105, 1; Śak. 70, 9; Vikr. 8, 8; 23, 6; 47, 1). A. *sāha*=*śaśvat* (Hc. 4, 366. 422, 22), equated to *sarva* by Hc.—Sibilant + sibilant, originating through the process of assimilation in Pkt., in Skt.=*ḥ*+sibilant : M. AMg. JM.



Ś. *ūsava*, *ūsaa*=*utsava* from \**ussava*, \**ussaa* (§ 327<sup>a</sup>).—M. *ūsua*=*utsuka*, by the side of AMg. JM. *ussujā*, Ś. *ussua* (§ 327<sup>a</sup>).—M. *visaria*=\**vismarita*=*vismrta*, JŚ. *visariya*, beside JM. *vissariya* (§ 478).—M. *ṛisaṅka*=*niṣāṅka* (G.H.), AMg. *nīsaṅka* (Āyār. 1, 5, 5, 2), A., with metrical shortening, *ṛisaṅka* (Hc. 4, 396, 1; 401, 2) by the side of JM. *nissāṅka* (Erz.).—M.Ś. *ṛisaha*=*niṣaha* (Hc. 1, 4, 3; G. H. R.; Uttarar. 92, 10) by the side of *nissaha* (Hc. 1, 13).—M. JM. Ś. A. *dūsaha*=*duṣaha* (Hc. 1, 13, 115; Kī. 2, 113; Pāiyāl. 234; H. R.; Āv. 12, 31; Karp. 32, 7; Mālatim. 79, 2; Vikr. 60, 18), Ś. *dūsahattana*=*duṣahatva* (Mālatim. 81, 2) by the side of Ś. *dussaha* (Hc. 1, 13, 115; Kī 2, 113; Prab. 44, 1) and poetical M. *dusaha* (Hc. 1, 115; G. H.).—AMg. *tejākamma*=*tejahkarman* (Ovav).—*manāsilā*=*manahśilā* (Hc. 1, 26, 43) by the side of *maṇṣilā*, *maṇsilā* (§ 347) and *maṇamsilā* (§ 74).

§ 65. In other cases the lengthening of vowels is exceptional, partly just dialectical. AMg. JM. *gāyūya*=*ga'vyūta* (§ 80).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *jīhā*=*jihvā* (Vr. 1, 17; Hc. 1, 92; 2, 57; Kī. 1, 17; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyāl. 251; G. H. R.; Āyār. p. 137, 7, 9; Vivāhap. 943; Paṇṇav. 101; Jiv. 883; Uttar. 943 (by the side of *jibbhā* § 332); Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 403; Vikr. 15, 3; 16, 12; 18, 10; Karp. 66, 5; Vṛṣabh. 20, 9; Caṇḍak. 17, 3; Mallikām. 90, 23; Kāmsav. 7, 17); Mg. *yīhā* (Mṛcch. 167, 3).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *dāhina* from \**dākhina* (§ 323)=*dakṣina* (Hc. 1, 45; 2, 72; G. H. R.; Ratn. 293, 3; Āyār. 1, 7, 6, 2; 2, 1, 2, 6; Jiv. 345; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 97, 15; 117, 18; Venis. 61, 6; Bālar. 249, 7); AMg. *dāhinilla* (Thān. 264 ff.; 358; Vivāgas 180; Paṇṇav. 102 ff; Vivāhap. 218, 880, 1288 ff. 1331 ff. 1874.; Nāyādh. 333, 335, 867, 1349; Jiv. 227 ff. 345; Rāyap. 72, 73); AMg. *āyāhina*, *paṇyāhina*=*ādakṣina*, *pradakṣina* (Sūyag. 1017; Vivāhap. 161, 162; Nirayāv. §4; Uvās.; Ovav. (text *ādā*°)], *pāyāhina* (Uttar. 302); by the side of PG. *dakhina* (6, 28), M. AMg. JM. Ś. Ā. *dakkhina* (Hc. 1, 45; 2, 72; G. H. R.; Pratāpar. 215, 19; Sūyag. 574; Erz.; Mṛcch. 9, 9; 155, 4; Vikr. 20, 2; 31, 5; 45, 2; 76, 17; Bālar. 264, 4; 278, 19; Mṛcch. 99, 19), Mg. *dakkhina* (Mṛcch. 130, 5; 164, 7; 168, 18; Caṇḍak. 64, 9; 66, 13; 71, 9), Ś. *dakkhina* (Caṇḍak. 3, 16); AMg. *dakkhinilla* (Samav. 144; Nāyādh. 866, 921, 929, 930, 1350).—PG. *dūda*=*dugdha* (6, 31).—M. *dhūā*, AMg. JM. *dhūyā*, Ś. Mg. *dhūdā* (daughter)=\**dhuktā*, \**dhūtā*, with a march over to the *ā*-declension (§ 212, 392).—AMg. JM. *bhāsa*=*bhasman* (Thān. 589; Paṇṇāv. 507; Antag. 68; Vivāhap. 171, 1033, 1232, 1247, 1254, 1281, 1282; Kappas.; Sagara 4, 9), but Ś. *bhassa* (Hāsy. 27, 19; 41, 4).—*rāyagāi* (leech; Deśin. 7, 5) from \**rātagati*=\**raktagati*.

§ 66. As described under § 119, 122, 125, *e*, *o*, that developed from *i*, *u*, *ī*, *ū*, whether original or going back to *r*, before consonant-groups are, in certain dialects, lengthened, and in such cases the consonant-groups are simplified. AMg. *koḍha* from \**koṭṭha*=\**kuṭṭha*=*kuṣṭha* (Nāyādh. 1046, 1047, 1177; Uvās. § 148; Vivāgas. 33, 34 [text *koḍḍha*]. 198), *koḍhi*-(Paṇṇāv. 523) from and by the side of *koṭṭhi*-Āyār. 1, 6, 1, 3), *kuṭṭhi*-(Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 1)=*kuṣṭhin*, *koḍhiya*=\**kuṣṭhika* (Vivāgas. 177).—AMg. *gahi* (greed) from \**ge ddi*=*giddhi* (§ 50)=*griddhi* (Āyār. 1, 6, 2, 2; Sūyag. 97, 321, 348; Paṇṇāv. 147, 148, 323; Samav. 83, 113; Vivāhap. 1026; Uttar. 217).—*nelaccha* (eunuch; Pāiyāl. 235; Hc. 1, 174; Deśin. 4, 44) from \**neṭlaccha*, \**ṇillaccha*=*nirlakṣa* (BÜHLER, Pāiyāl. s. v.), however, *lakṣa*=*lakṣaṇa* "sex mark".—AMg. *dehai* (Uttar. 571)=*dekkai* from \**dikkhai*=\**drkṣai* (§ 554), *dehe*=\**drkset* (Dasav. 631, 22), *dehae*=\**drkṣate* (Sūyag. 52), *dehamānī* (Vivāhap. 794 f.); A. *drehi* (glance; Hc. 4, 422, 6).—AMg. JM. *sedhi* (series), from \**seṭṭhi* for

\**siṭṭhi* = *ṣiṣṭi* (Ṭhān. 464. 546. 588; Paṇhāv. 271. 272; Samav. 220; Vivāhap. 410. 481. 991. 1308. 1669. 1675 ff. 1870. 1875 ff. Rāyap. 49. 90. 258; Jiv. 351. 456. 707. 709; Anuog. 218. 221 ff. 245 ff. 381 etc; Paṇnav. 396. 398. 401 ff. 627. 847; Nandis. 165. 371; Uttar. 829. 882. 887; Ovav.; Erz.); AMg. *sedhija* (Paṇnav. 846; Ovav.), *anusedhi* (Vivāhap. 1680 f. 1877 ff.), *paredhi* (Rāyap. 49. 90), *visedhi* (Vivāhap. 1680 f.; 1877 ff.; Nandis. 373)<sup>1</sup>.—M. *soṇāra* (H. 191) from \**so ṇṇāra* = *sunṇāra* (v. l. to H. 191) = *svarnakāra*<sup>2</sup>.—*ohala* (mortar; Hc 1, 171; Mk. fol. 8) from *o'kkhala* (Vr. 1, 21; Hc. 1, 171; Kī. 1, 24) = AMg. *ukkhala* (Deśin. 1, 30; Mk. fol. 9; Paṇhāv. 34), AMg. *ukkhalaḡa* (Sūyag. 250) = *udūkhala*, which occurs also as *udūhala* (Āyār. 2, 1, 7, 1) in AMg. and *uūhala* (Hc. 1, 171) in M<sup>3</sup>. The long vowel in M. AMg. JM. *chūḍha* = *ksubdha* (Hc. 2, 19. 92. 127; H. R.; Paṇhāv. 201; Dasav. 641, 15; Uttar. 758; Āv. 14, 18; 18, 13; 25, 4; 41, 7; Erz.) and in the compound words M. AMg. *uchūḍha* (Hc. 2, 127; H. v.l.; Paṇhāv. 268; Nāyādh. § 4. 46; Uvās.; Ovav.); AMg. *paliucchūḍha* = *paryutksubdha* (Ovav. p. 30, 3 [so it is to be read]); AMg. JM. *nicchūḍha* (Vivāgas. 84. 143; Nāyādh. 825. 833. 1174. 1313. 1411; Paṇnav. 828. 835; Nandis. 380; Paṇhāv. 151; Āv. 16, 1; 21, 5 [so it is to be read in accordance with the MSS.]), M. *paricchūḍha* (Deśin. 6, 25; R.), M. *vicchūḍha* (Pāiyal. 84; G. R.), M. *vicchūḍhāvā* (R.) are to be explained as having developed due to analogy with *ūdha*, *gūḍha*, *mūḍha*, *rūḍha*. AMg., in fact, has *bha* in the root in words like *chubhanti* (Paṇhāv. 56; text \**bhh*<sup>3</sup>), *chubhejja* (Dasav. 652, 24), *chubhītā* (Uttar. 499), *ucchubhai* (Nāyādh. 325), *ucchubha* (Paṇhāv. 59; cf. the commentary), *nicchubhai* (Nāyādh. 1411; Vivāhap. 114; Paṇnav. 827. 832. 834), *nicchubhanti* (Nāyādh 516; Vivāgas. 84), *nicchubhāvei* (Nāyādh. 823. 824. 1313; Vivāgas. 86. 143), *nicchubhāvija* (Nāyādh. 823; Vivāgas. 87), *vicchubha* (Paṇhāv. 59; cf. the commentary), and it is occasionally found in JM. also, as in *chubhai* (Erz.) and in the passive *chubhāi* Āv. 2, 3), *nicchubhāi* (Āv. 42, 35), but JM. has also *chuhāmi*, *chuhāi* (Erz.), M. has throughout *vicchuhāi* (H. R.), *vicchuhire*, (Hc. 3, 142), and wherefrom is deduced the root *chuh*, from which the participles are formed on analogy<sup>4</sup>. The normal development of Skt. *ksubdha* is into *chuddha* (Bh. 3. 30). Cf. *jaḍha* § 67. 565.—*mūsala* (mallet; Hc. 1, 113), by the side of the normal *musala* (H. R.), is derived from the present stem *muṣya-*, *muṣya-* (Dhātupāṭha, 26, 111, *muṣa*, *muṣa khaṇḍane*) and, therefore, = \**muṣyala*<sup>5</sup>.

1. *sedhi* is without exception, explained by the commentators as *śreṇi* and has been taken also as *średhi* (Hc. Liṅgānuśāsana, 2, 25, Uṇādiganaśūtra 631), *średhi* (B.R. s.v.) into Skt.—2. Thus more correctly than KZ. 34, 573; *u* is to be explained according to §152, and the contraction, according to §167.-3. Mk. fol. 8f. has *uḍkhala*; cf. §148.—4. S. GOLDSCHMIDT contests the association of *chuhai* and *ksubh*, Prakritica p. 20 on insufficient grounds. Cf. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. *uchūḍha*; FISCHER, BB. 15, 123f. and §120.-5 Cf. Puruṣottama, Dvirūpakoṣa 3 with v. l.

§ 67. In contrast to *e*, *o* before consonant-groups becomes sometimes *a* and is not lengthened even when the consonant-groups are simplified. In such cases the accent originally fell on the ending. M. *marāḍhī* = NIA. *marāṭhī* = *māhāraṣṭri* (Karp. 10, 5; cf. § 354.)—*jaḍha* (forsaken), AMg. *vijaḍha*, *viḡpaḡaḍha* for \**jāḍha*, from the root *jaḡ*, inferred from the present form *jahāi* = *jahāti* of the root *hā* (§ 565).—AMg. *aḍha* = *aṣṭa*' (8), AMg. JM. *aḍhāyālisam*, AMg. *aḍhāyāla* (48), *adhasaṣṭim* (68), A *aḍhāisa* (28), *aḍhāalis* (48), AMg. *aḍhārcsama* (18.) (§ 442. 449).—In compound words formed with *ṣṛṣṭa*', from *ṣṛj* : AMg. *ūsaḍha* = *utsṛṣṭa*, "separation", "selection", "expelled", "isolation", (Āyār. 2,

2, 1, 7), "exquisite", "preferable" (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 6. 16; Dasav. 623, 13); AMg. *visaḍha=visṣṣṭa* (Nāyādh. 1276); M. *visaḍha=visṣṣṭa*, "released" (R. 6, 66), "given up" (R. 11, 89), "unequal", "uneven" (Hc. 1, 241; Pāyāl. 207), "non-violent" or "healthy", (Deśin. 7, 62)<sup>1</sup>; AMg. JM. *samosaḍha=samavasṣṣṭa* "what has occurred", "what has arrived" (e.g. Vivāhap. 211. 257. 622; Nāyādh. 558. 567. 619. 671. 874. 967. 1331. 1446. 1454 f. etc.; Vivāgas. 103; Nirayāv. 41. 43. 74; Dasav. 624, 21; Uvās.; Āv. 16, 20; Dvār. 497, 27)<sup>2</sup>.

1. Hc. traces the word in the sense of "uneven" to *viṣama*; S. GOLDSCHMIDT in R. assigns to it the meanings "self-released", "tried" and explains it as = \**viśratha=viślātha*. 2. The Indian editions mostly write *samosaḍha* (e.g. Vivāhap. 511. 514. 788f. 912. 934. 971. 978. 988. etc.; Vivāgas. 160. 200. 214. 248; Nāyādh. 973. 982. 1018. 1025 etc.), also *saṣṭa* (Rāyap. 12. 232) and *ṣadda* (Rāyap. 233). Cf. 235.

§ 68. In AMg., before the enclitic *eva*, on account of which the preceding word becomes more prominent, the *a* of the syllable *am* of such a preceding word very often undergoes lengthening and thereby, against § 348, *m* gets retained: *evāmeva* (Vivāhap. 162; Uvās. § 219); *khūppāmeva=ksiṣṭameva* (Āyār. 2, 6, 2, 3; p. 130, 1; Vivāhap. 106. 154. 241; Samav. 100; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.); *bhogāmeva* (Āyār. 1, 2, 4, 2); *puvāmeva=pūvameva* (Āyār. 2, 1, 2, 4); *juttāmeva=yuktameva* (Vivāhap. 503. 790; Uvās.; Nirayāv.); *saṃjāyāmeva=samjātameva* (Āyār. 2, 1, 1, 2. 4, 4. 5, 2. 4. 6 etc.). This takes place also before pure Prākṛit *m*, that is changed into *m*, as in *tāmeva jāṇappavaram=ladeva yānapravaram* (Uvās. § 211), and also before the first secondary *anuvāra*, which also is changed into *m*, as in *jeṇāmeva cāuggaṇṭe āsarāhe teṇāmeva uvāgacchāi=yenava caturghanṭo 'svaratḥ tenaivopāgacchati* (Nāyādh. § 133); *jeṇāmeva rāyagihe nāyare jeṇāmeva guṇasilae ceie teṇāmeva uvāgacchāi* (Nāyādh. 373); *jeṇāmeva sohamme kappe...teṇāmeva uvāgacchāi* (Kappas. § 29). In this case the original *ā* remains, against § 83: *jāmeva disam pāubbhūyā tāmeva disam paḍigayā=yāmevadisam prādurbhūtāstāmeva disam pratigatāḥ* (Vivāhap. 190; Vivāgas. 38 [where there is *disim*]), more often in the feminine = <sup>o</sup>*bhūtā*, <sup>o</sup>*gatā* (Vivāgas. 4; Uvās. § 61. 211. 249; Nirayāv. § 5; Ovav. § 59; Nāyādh. § 5); cf. further Sūyag. 1012; Ovav. § 60. 61; Kappas. § 26; *tāmeva pāsējjam=tāmeva patisavyām* (Ovav. § 72). The same lengthening takes place also in AMg. before *avi*: *kisāmavi=krīsamapi* (Sūyag. 1); *taṇāmavi=ṭṇamapi* (Uttar. 219); *annaṇāramavi=anyataramapi*, *anudisāmavi=anudisamapi* (Dasav. 625, 15. 37).

§ 69. A short vowel is lengthened in declensional forms before the ablative sing. forming suffixes Skt.—*tas*, Pkt.—*hi*, *-hiṃto*, and *i* as well as *u* is lengthened in such cases even before a plural ending beginning with a consonant (§ 365. 379. 381). In derivative words used adverbially original short *a* remains mostly before. *tas*: AMg. JM. *aggao* (Hc. 1, 37; Nāyādh. 1107; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), *S. aggado* (Mrcch. 40, 14; 151. 18; 327, 1; Śak. 37, 7; 131, 10; Vikr. 25, 15; 33, 4; 41, 11; 42, 18; Ratn. 317, 12. 14), Mg. *aggado* (Mrcch. 119, 3. 6; 121, 10; 126, 14; 132, 3; 136, 21).—*S. Mg. D. anṇado=anyataḥ* (Śak. 17, 4; Mrcch. 29, 33; 96, 25; 102, 18).—Used as pure abl. AMg. *piṭṭhāo=prṣṭhāt* (Nāyādh. 938. 964) and *piṭṭhāhi* (Nāyādh. 958. 959), but in an adverbial sense *piṭṭhāo* (Sūyag. 180. 186. 204. 213; Nāyādh. § 65; p. 1107; Uttar. 29. 69; Uvās.; Ovav.); likewise JM. *piṭṭhāo* (Erz.), *S. D. piṭṭhādo* (Mālav. 33, 2; 59, 3; 69, 6; Mallikām 145, 21; Mudrār. 254, 1; Mrcch. 105, 25), *S. piṭṭhādo* (Ratn. 316, 22), Mg. *piṭṭhādo* (Mrcch. 99, 8; 130, 1; Venis. 35, 5. 10).—AMg. *dappao khetāo kālao bhāvao guṇao=dravyataḥ kṣetrajāḥ kālajāḥ bhāvato guṇajāḥ* (Vivāhap. 203, 204; and without *guṇao* 157; Uttar. 1014; Ovav. § 28; Kappas. 118);

*davvao vaṇṇao gandhao rasao phāsao* (Vivāhap. 29), *soyao ghāṇao phāsao* = *śrotro* *ghrāṇataḥ sparsataḥ* by the side of *cakkhūo*, *jibbhāo*, *jihāo* = *cakṣustah*, *jihvātaḥ* (Āyār. 2, 15, 5, 1-5).—*Ś. jammado* = *janmataḥ* (Ratn. 298, 11).—But always *Ś. kāraṇādo*, *Mg. kālaṇādo* = *kāraṇataḥ* (Mṛcch. 39, 14, 22; 55, 16; 60, 25; 61, 23; 74, 14; 78, 3; 147, 17, 18 etc.; *Mg.* 133, 1; 140, 14; 158, 21; 165, 7); *JM. dūrāo* (Erz.), *Ś. dūrādo* (Hc. 4, 276), *P. tūrāto* (Hc. 4, 321), but *Mg. dūlado* (Mṛcch. 121, 11); *M. pacchao* (R.), commonly found *pacchā* (G. H. R.) = *paścāt*, but *Ś. pacchādo* (Mṛcch. 71, 22). In Mṛcch. 9, 9 occur *dakkhūṇādo*, *vāmādo* in connection with the abl. of the feminine *chāā* = *chāyā*; besides there occurs *Ś. Mg. vāmado* (Mṛcch. 14, 8; 13, 25; 14, 7). On the shortening of vowels in pure ablative see § 99.

§ 70. A final short vowel is sometimes lengthened in formation of a compound. It so happens in AMg. JM. before the suffixes—*māya*, *-\*mayika*. Thus: AMg. *rajājāmāya* = *rajatāmāya* (Uvās.), *phaḷiharajāṇāmāya* = *sphaṭikaratnamāya* (Vivāhap. 253); AMg. JM. *savvarājāṇāmāya* (Vivāhap. 1322. 1323. 1448; *Jiv.* 483; *Kappas.*; *Ovav.*; and *°māya* (Thāp. 266); AMg. *vairāmāya* = *vajramāya* (Vivāhap. 1441; *Jiv.* 494. 563. 883; *Samav.* 102. 132; *Rāyap.* 63. 69 105; *Ovav.*), *riṭṭhāmāya* = *ariṣṭāmāya* (*Jiv.* 549; *Rāyap.* 105), *veruliyāmāya* = *vaidūryāmāya* (*Jiv.* 494; *Rāyap.* 105), *savvaphāḷiyāmāya* = *sarvasphāṭikāmāya* (Pannāp. 115); *āgāsa-phāḷiyāmāya* = *ākāśasphāṭikāmāya* (Samav. 97; *Ovav.*). But JM. *rayaṇāmāya* (Erz.) by the side of *°nā* (T. 5, 12); AMg. *nānāmaṇāmāya* (*Jiv.* 494), *āhāramāya* (Dasav. 631, 24), *purāṇuvvittimāya* (Dasav. N. 661, 5); *JŚ. puggalamāya*, *uvaogamāya*, *poḅḅgaladavvamāya* = *\*puḅḅgalamayika*, *uḅḅvayogamāya*, *puḅḅgaladravyāmāya* (Pav. 384, 36. 49. 58), *asumāya* (Kattig. 400, 337); *vārimā* by the side of *vārimā* = *vārimāyī* (Hc. 1, 4); *M. nehamāya* = *\*snehamayika* (H. 450). Lengthening takes place, further, in compounds with numerals for 5, 6, 7 and 8: *pañcā*, *chā*, *sattā*, *atthā* (§ 440ff.), likewise with *aiṇā* = *agūṇā* and *addhā* = *ardhā* (§ 444. 450); similar is the case with the final vowel of the prefixes, especially of *pra*, in which already in Skt. the quantity of the vowel underwent variation, as in *pradeśa*, *prādeśa* (Puruṣottama, Dvirūpakośa 25). So *M. paāda* (G.) and *M. Mg.*, *pāāda* = *prakāṭa* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; *Ki.* 1, 1; *Mk.* fol. 4. 5; *G. H. R.*; *Vajjāl.* 325, 23; *Mṛcch.* 40, 6); *JM. payāda* (Erz.; *Kk.*); *AMg. pāgaḍa* (*Ovav.*; *Kappas.*); *M. pāādia* = *prakāṭita* (H.); *AMg. pāgaḍiya* (*Ovav.*).—*M. pāroha* = *praroha* (Hc. 1, 44; *G. H. R.*).—*M. pasutta* and *pāsutta* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; *Ki.* 1, 1; *Mk.* fol. 4, 5; *G. H. R.*), However, *Ś. pasutta* (Mṛcch. 44, 18; 50, 23).—*M. pasiddhi* = *prasiddhi* (G.) and *pāsiddhi* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; *Ki.* 1, 1; *Mk.* fol. 4. 5).—*AMg. pāvayaṇa* = *pravacana* (Hc. 1, 44; *Bhag.*; *Ovav.*); *Uvās.*—Also *M. pāsijjai* = *prasvidyate* (H. 771) and *AMg. pāsavaṇa* = *prasravaṇa* (Uvās.) may more appropriately be put here than under § 64—*AMg. abhū* = *abhijit* (*Kappas.*), *vūvāittā* = *\*vyātivrajitvā* (*Ovav.* § 63), *vūvayamāṇe* (Uvās. § 79; so it is to be read; see § 151). In many cases the lengthening is purely metrical, as in *M. diṭṭhipahammī* = *drṣṭīpathe* (H. 456), *nāhikamala* = *nābhikamala*, *arāvilāsa* = *arāvilāsa* (G. 13. 111; *AMg. girivara* (Sūyag. 110); *JM. veruliyamaṇimōlla* = *vaidūryamaṇimauliya* (Erz. 29, 28). So also *pāihara* = *paighara* (Hc. 1, 4) by the side of *pāihara*, *Ś. paighara* (Mālatim. 243, 4); *velūvaṇa* by the side of *veluvaṇa* = *veṇuvana* (Hc. 1, 4). In the dialect of Śākāra in Mṛcch. a appears to have sometimes been lengthened before the suffix—*ka*: *cāḷudattāke* (127, 23; 128, 6; 149, 25); *cāḷudattākam* (127, 25; 166, 18); *cāḷudattākēna* (133, 1; 137, 1; 151, 23); *vāsudevākam* (121, 16); *guḍāha* = *guḍaka* (116, 25; cf. § 206); *saputtākam* = *saputrakam* (166, 18). The same lengthening is found also in *AMg. muhuttāga* = *muhūrtaka* (Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 6), *pūlāga* = *pūṭaka* (Sūyag. 208), *khuddāga*, *ya* =

*ksudraka* (Vivāhap. 1851ff.; Ovav.; Āyār. 2, 1, 4, 5; cf. § 294), and in the frequent AMg. *anādiya*, *anāiya*=*anādika* (Sūyag. 84. 867; Ṭhān. 41, 129; Panhāv. 302; Nāyādh. 464. 471; Vivāhap. 39. 848. 1128) by the side of *anādiya*, *anāiya* (Sūyag. 787; Uttar. 842; Vivāhap. 160), also JM. (Erz. 33, 17; cf. v. 1); JŚ. *ādiya* (Kattig. 401, 353); PG. *ādika* (5, 4; 6, 34). Cf. Vedic *jāhāka* by the side of *jahaka* (Ved. Stud. 1, 63) and § 73. 97.

§ 71. Final vowels used in the voc. sing. and in the particles employed in calling somebody from a distance are lengthened (pluti): *re re capphalajā*, *re re nigghñajā*, *he hari*, *he gurū*, *he paḥū* (Hc. 3, 38); AMg. *ānandā* (Uvās. § 44. 84), *kālāsā* (Vivāhap. 132), *gojama* (Hc. 3, 38; Vivāhap. 34ff 1311. 1315. 1416; Ovav. § 66ff.; Uvās. etc.), *kāsavā* (Hc. 3, 38; Vivāhap. 1237f.), *camarā asurindā asurarāyā appatthiyāpatthiyā*=*camara asurendra asurarāja aprārthyaprārthika* (Vivāhap. 254<sup>+</sup>, *hantā mandiyaputtā* (Vivāhap. 268), *puttā*=*putra* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.), *hantā*=*hanta* (Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.); *subuddhī* (Nāyādh. 997. 998. 1003), *maharīsī* (Sūyag. 182), *mahāmuṇī*=*mahāmune* (Sūyag. 419), *jambū* (Uvās.); Ś. *dāsīeuttā*=*dāyāh-putra* (Mṛcch. 4, 9; 80, 13. 23; 81, 12; 82, 4; 108, 16), *are re kaṇḍisudā rāsālasamsthānā*=*ussamkhala*=*kaṇḍisuta rājasāyālasamsthānaka ucchṛṅkhalaka* (Mṛcch. 151, 16f.); Mg. *haṇḍe kumbhila*=*haṇḍe kumbhila* (Śak. 113. 2), *le gaṇḍhiśceda*=*re granthicchedaka* (Śak. 115, 4), *le calā*=*re cara* (spys. Lalitav. 566, 14, 18), *puttakā haḍakkā*=*putraka hrdayaka* (Mṛcch. 114, 16); and so the *a*-stems always in Mg. according to Vr. 11, 13 to which, however, the texts do not conform; *vāsū* (girl? Mṛcch. 9, 24; 17, 1; 127, 7); Ā. *are re pavahanāvāha* (Mṛcch. 100, 17); Dh. *vippalambhā*=*vipralambhaka*, *paḷiveidaṅgā*=*parivepitāṅgaka*, *khalanta*=*skhalan*, *kalēntā*=*kurvan* (Mṛcch. 30, 6ff.); A. *bhāmarā*=*bhramara* (Hc. 4, 387, 2), *mittadā*=*mītra* (Hc. 4. 422, 1), *haṁsā* (Vikr. 61, 20), *hiadā*=*hrdaya* (Hc. 4, 357, 4. 422, 12. 23. 439, 1). In this place a mention should be made also of the lengthening of the final *a* in the imperative in cases like AMg. *kuvuhā*=*\*kurvata*=*kuruta* (Āyār. 1, 3, 2, 1), *pāsahā*=*paśyata* (Āyār. 1, 6, 5, 5; Sūyag. 144. 148.), *sambujjhahā*=*sambudhyadhvam* (Sūyag. 335). After dropping of the final consonant the lengthening takes place in cases like JM. *dhī*=*dhik* (Dvār. 501, 33); S. *haddhī* *haddhī*=*hādhik* *hādhik* (e.g. Mṛcch. 12, 6; 16, 6; 50, 23; 170, 3; Śak. 27, 1; 62, 5; 72, 7; Vikr. 25, 14; 75, 10). See also § 75. Frequent is the lengthening of *u* of *hou*=*bhavatu* before the enclitic *nam* in AMg. *hou nam*=*bhavatu nanu* (Nāyādh. 1884. 1228. 1351; Ovav. § 105).

§ 72. After the dropping of *h*, *i* and *u* of the endings *-ih* and *-uh* of the nom. are always lengthened in the sing. of masculine and feminine words ending in *-i* and *-u*. M. *aggī*=*agnih* (H. 163), AMg. *aganī* (Sūyag. 273. 281. 291), Mg. *lośaggī*=*rośāgnih* (Mṛcch. 123, 2); M. AMg. *asī*=*asih* (G. 239; Sūyag. 593), Mg. *asī* (Mṛcch. 12, 17); JM. *sahī*=*\*sakhih*=*sakhā* (KI. 14); Ś. *pidī*=*prūih* (Mṛcch. 24, 4); M. JŚ. Ś. *diṭṭhī*=*drṣṭih* (H. 15; Pav. 388, 5; Mṛcch. 57, 10); D. *seṇāvai*=*seṇāpatih* (Mṛcch. 101, 21); M. JM. *tarū*=*taruh* (Hc. 3, 19; H. 913; Erz. 4, 29); AMg. Ś. *bhikkhū*=*bhikṣuh* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 3; Mṛcch. 78, 13); JM. *gurū*=*guruh* (KI. 14), *bindū*=*binduh* (Āv. 15, 18); JM. D. *viṅhū*=*viṅṣuh* (Āv. 36, 41; Mṛcch. 105, 21). Some grammarians, according to Hc. 3, 19, permit even nasalization of the vowel instead of its lengthening (§ 178): *aggim*, *ṇihim* *vāum*, *vihum*. In the instrumental plural in *-bhīh*, and, along with it, in all the dialects other than A., in the abl. plur. in *-bhyah*, which dropped with it, the lengthening never takes place after the elision of *h*, but there develops by the side of the short vowel

also a nasal vowel :—*hi*, *-hiṁ*, *-hĩ*, (§ 178), A. in the abl.-*hu*, *-hum*, *-hū* (§ 368. 369. 381. 387 etc.). In Ś. Mg. is used *-hiṁ* only.

§ 73. A short vowel is lengthened in a large number of cases exclusively on account of metrical consideration in medial and final syllables, especially in AMg. and in A. Thus: M. *aṁsū*=*aśru* (H. 153); AMg. *dhīmao*=*dhr̥timataḥ* (Āyār. 2, 16, 8), *maimam*=*matimān* (Sūyag. 397), *maimajā*=*matimatā* (Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 16), Sūyag. 373), *amāimajā*=*\*amatimatkāḥ* (Sūyag. 213), *pañjalio*=*prāñjalikāḥ* (Dasav. 634, 23), *jā-jārāmaranehiṁ*=*jātijārāmaranaiḥ* (Sūyag. 156), *ḥavvaie*=*ḥavrajitaḥ* (Sūyag. 495), *mahiddhiyā*=*maharddhikāḥ* (Āyār. 2, 15, 18, 4); *soñiam*=*soñitam* (Āyār. 1, 7, 8, 9), *sāhiyā*=*sādhikā* (Ovav. § 174); Mg. *line*=*r̥nam* (Mṛcch. 21, 19). Particularly frequent are the cases of lengthening of the final *i* in verbal forms, especially at the end of a half verse or of a complete verse: AMg. *sahai*=*sahate* (Āyār. 1, 2, 6, 3), *sarai*=*smarati* (Sūyag. 172; Uttar. 277), *kuvvai*=*\*kuvvati*=*karoti* (Dasav. 623, 33), *bhāsai*=*bhāṣate* (Sūyag. 106), *marai*=*\*marati*=*mriyate* (Uttar. 207), *kiccāi*=*kṛtyate* (Sūyag. 106), *bajjhāi*=*badhyate* (Uttar. 245), *karissai*=*karisyati* (Dasav. 627, 24), *jānantī*, *aṇuho nti*=*jānanti*, *anubhavanī* (Ovav. § 179. 188), *acchehi*=*atyeḥi* (Sūyag. 148); AMg. JM. *bhuñjai*=*bhunakti* (Sūyag. 133; Āv. 8, 4, 24); Mg. *ovaggadī*=*apavalgati* (Mṛcch. 10, 5). Further, very often in AMg. and JM. the final *a* of the absolute in *-ya* is lengthened in poetry. AMg. *paḍilehiyā*=*pratilekhyā*, *munīyā*=*jñātāvā*, *sāpehiyā*=*saṁprekṣya*, *vihūñiyā*=*vidhūya* (Āyār. 1, 7, 8, 7. 13. 23. 24); AMg. JM. *pāsīyā*=*\*paśya* (Uttar. 361; Erz. 38, 35); AMg. *viyāñiyā*=*viññāya* (Dasav. 637, 5; 642, 12) etc. (§ 590. 591). Lengthening of final vowels occurs in many sporadic cases like AMg. *jagāi*=*jagati* (Sūyag. 104), *kei*=*kecit* (Ovav. 63, 20); JM. *kajāi*=*kadācit* (Āv. 8, 7; 37, 37).

§ 74. In lieu of a lengthened vowel there comes in a short nasal vowel before one of the simplified consonants of a consonant group. This prevails upon the rules § 62-65. The grammarians (Vr. 4, 15; Hc. 1, 26; Mk. fol. 34; Pkl. p. 10) enumerate together such words under the *vakrādi* or (Ki. 2, 122) *aśvādi* group. Thus: *kāmkoda* (Hc.), M. *kāmkola* (Śukasaptati 123, 2; text °*la*) and M. AMg. *kakkola* (G. 582; Paṇḥāv. 527; text °*la*)=*karkoṭa* (cf. § 238).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś.A. *daṁsaṇa*=*darśana* (Bh. Hc. Ki. Mk. Pkl.; G. H. R.; Sūyag. 312, 314; Bhag.; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Kappas. etc.; Erz.; Kk.; Ṛṣabhap.; Pav. 379, 2; 380, 6; 387, 13; 389, 9, 4; Kattig. 400, 328. 329; Lalitav. 554, 7. 8; Mṛcch. 23, 14. 21; 29, 11; 97, 15; 169, 14; Śak. 50, 1; 73, 9; 84, 13; Vikr. 16, 15; 19, 3 etc.; Hc. 4, 401, 1), Mg. *daṁsaṇa* (Mṛcch. 21, 9; 37, 10; Prab. 52, 6; 58, 16); likewise in *daṁsi*=*darśin* (Vikr. 8, 11), *daṁsai*, *daṁsei* (§ 554) and in others.—M. Ś. *phāmsa*=*sparśa* (Bh. Ki. Mk. Pkl.; G. H. R.; Vikr. 51, 2; Mālatīm. 217, 5; 262, 3; Uttar. 92, 9; 93, 7; 125, 7; 163, 4; Viddhaś. 70, 10; Bālar. 202, 9), Ś. *pariḥphāmsa* (Bālar. 202, 16), Mg. *sphāmsa* (Prab. 58, 8); *phāmsai* (Hc. 4, 182).—*paṁsu*=*parśu* (Hc.)—M. *niḥāmsa*=*nigharṣa* (G.), *niḥāmsaṇa*=*nigharṣaṇa* (G.R.).—A. *baṁhīṇa*=*barhin* (Vikr. 58, 8).—*l*+consonant in *sumka*=*=śulka* (Mk.), AMg. *usumka* (Kappas. § 102 [so it is to be read]. 209; Nāyādh. § 112; p. 1388 [so it is to be read]. Vivāgas. 230 has *sukka*.—Sibilant+*ya*: AMg. *namaṁsai*=*namasyati* (Āyār. 2, 15, 19; Nāyādh. § 7; p. 292; Uvās.; Bhag.; Kappas.; cf. Ovav. § 20. 38. 50 etc.), JŚ. *namarī-sittā*=*\*namasyitvā* (Pav. 386, 6.). JM. *niyāmsaha*=*nivasata* (Erz. 59, 30) from *\*nivasata*, presupposes a similar in the present, wherefrom are derived the causative forms AMg. *niyāmsei* (Jiv. 611), *niyāmseha* (Vivāhap. 1262), *niyāmsittā* (Jiv. 611), *niyāmsāvei* (Āyār. 2, 15, 20), and

from such a form of the present are derived the substantives M. *niāmsaṇa* (Mk. H.), *viñiamsaṇa* (H.), AMg. *niyāmsaṇa* (Paṇṇav. [so it is to be read with the commentary]; Rāyap. 81; Ovav. § 35); *viāmsaṇa* (Mk.); *paḍiñiamsaṇa* (night-dress; Deśin 6, 36).—M. *vaamsa*=*vayasya* (Hc. Mk. Pkl. *vaamsi*=\**vayasyi* (Karp. 46, 8), JM. *vayaṃsa* (Erz.), A *vaamsiahu*=\**vayasyikābhyah* (Hc. 4, 351), by the side of M. *vaassa* (H.), so always in Ś. (e.g. Mṛcch. 7, 3. 14. 19; Śak. 29, 3; 30, 6; Vikr. 16, 11; 18, 8).—Sibilant + *ra* : M. JM. A. *amsu*=*asru* (Bh. Hc. Ki. Mk. Pkl.; G. H. R.; Karnas. 44, 20; Erz.; Dvār. 501, 32; Pingala 1, 61<sup>a</sup>), but Ś. *assu* (Venjś. 66, 7; Subhadra. 17, 3; Mukund. 15, 1), and thus probably is to be read for *amsu* in Vikr. 83, 13 [see v. 1.; ed. Bomb. 133, 2; ed. PANDIT 150, 12., ed. FISCHER 666, 3]; Mudrār. 260, 3 [see v. 1.]; Viddhās. (79, 6; 80, 2).—AMg. *maṃsu*=*śmaśru* (Bh. Hc. Ki. Mk.; Pāiyal. 112; Āyār. 1, 8, 3, 11; 2, 8, 5; Pañhāv. 351; Bhag.; Ovav.), *nimmamsu*=*niḥśmaśru* (Aṇuttar. 12; text \**sa*); JŚ. *maṃsuga*=*śmaśruku* (Pav. 386, 4). Cf. § 312.—M. AMg. *tamsa*=*tryasra* (Bh.; Hc.; Mk.; Karp. 37, 7; 40, 3; Āyār. 1, 5, 6, 4; Sūyag. 590; Ṭhān. 445. 493); AMg. *caūraṃsa*=*caturasra* (Āyār. 1, 5. 6, 4, Sūyag. 590; Ṭhān. 20. 493; Uvās.; Ovav.), *chalaṃsa*=*śaḍasra* (Ṭhān. 493), *chalaṃsiya*, *aṭṭhamsa*=*śaḍasrika*, *aṣṭāsra* (Sūyag. 590).—Sibilant + *va* : *amsa*=*aśva* (Bh.) and so AMg. *amsu* *ttha*=*aśvattha* (Vivāhap. 1530), but *asso* *ttha* (Ṭhān. 555), *āso* *ttha* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 7; Paṇṇav. 31), *āsatttha* (Samav. 233).—M. *maṇamsi*=*manasvin* (Hc. Mk. H.), *maṇamsiṇi*=*manasvini* (Bh. Ki. Pkl.) and M. Ś. *māṇamsiṇi* (Hc.; H.; Bālar. 142, 3; 242, 4). Likewise in other adjectives ending in *-vin* in AMg., as in *ojamsi*=*ojasvin* (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 2; Nāyādh.; Ovav.), *jassamsi*=*yaśasvin*, *tejamsi*, *tejamsi*=*tejasvin* (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 2; Nāyādh.), *vaccamsi*=*varcasvin* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.).—*hamsa*=*hrasva* (Bh.; see § 354).—Visarga + sibilant : *maṇamsilā*=*maṇasīlā* (Hc.) by the side of *maṇāsīlā*, *maṇasīlā*, *maṇasīlā* (§ 64. 347). Besides in AMg. this phonetic law comes into force sometimes also when one of the conjunct consonants is a sibilant. Thus in the case of *s+k* in *samkuli*=*śaskuli* (Āyār. 2, 1, 4, 5; Pañhāv. 490), by the side of *sakkuli* (Ṭhān. 259 [commentary *samkuli*]; Ḍasav. 621, 2); in the case of *s+m* in *pāṇamsi*=\**pāṇismin*=*pāṇau*, *leḷamsi*=\**leṣṭusmin*=*leṣṭau* (§ 312. 379) and that in *s+m* in *amsi*=*asmi* (§ 313. 498), and in the pronominal locative singular and in the nominal locative singular formed on the analogy thereof, like *kamsi*, *jamsi*, *taṃsi*=*kasmin*, *yasmin*, *tasmin*; *logamsi*=*loke*; *tārisagamsi* *vāsagharamsi*=*tādṛśake vāsaghare* (§313. 366<sup>a</sup>. 425ff.); in the case of *k+s* in *pilamkhu*=*plakṣa* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 7, for which is printed *pilakkhu* (Vivāhap. 609. 1530 <sup>ka</sup>), *pilukkha* (Paṇṇav. 31), *pilumka* (Samav. 233), also the v. l. in Āyār. has *pilakkhu*; further in *paṃkha*=*pakṣa* (Uttar. 439), *paṃkhi*=*pakṣin* (Rāyap. 235), *paṃkhiṇi*=*pakṣiṇi* (Uttar. 445); in the case of *t+s* in *digimchā*=*jighatsā* (Uttar. 48. 50; commentary *dighaṅchā*), *vitigimchā* (Āyār. 1, 3, 3, 1; 1, 5, 5, 2), *vitigimchāi* Sūyag. 727 f.), *vitigimchīya* (Vivāhap. 150)=*vicikitsā*, *vicikitsati*, *vicikitsita* (§ 215. 555); in the case of *p+s* in *dugamchā*=*jugupsā* (Ṭhān. 151; Vivāhap. 110; Uttar. 960), *dugamchā* (Pañhāv. 537), *dugamchāṇa* (Āyār. 1, 1, 7, 1; Uttar. 628 [°ga°]), *dogamchī*=*jugupsin* (Uttar. 51. 219 [°gu°]), *dugamchāṇija* (Uttar. 410), also JM. *dugamchā* (Pāiyal. 245; Erz.), AMg. *dugamchāi*, *duumchāi*, *dugumchamāṇa*, °gu° (§ 215. 555), *paḍidugamchī*=*pratijugupsin* (Sūyag. 133). So also in the case of *s+t* in *gamṭhi* (Mk.), *gimṭhi* (Hc.), *gumṭhi* (Bh.)=°grṣṭi, but Ś. *giṭṭhi* (Mṛcch. 44, 3), that is reported by Hc. also. The cases in which a nasal vowel has developed without one of the consonants being *r* or a sibilant are : *gumcha*=*guccha* (Hc.), but Ś. *guccha* (Ratn. 300, 18); M. *pincha*=*piccha* (G. R.), but also M. AMg. Ś. *piccha* (Karp. 46, 12, Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Aṇuog. 507;

Uvās.; Vikr. 32.7); *puṁcha*=*pucca* (Hc. Mk. Pkl.), but AMg. *pucca* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5), Mg. *puśca* (Mṛcch. 10, 4).—In AMg. JM. *sanāṁkumāra*=*sanātkumāra* (Thān. 90. 200; Samav. 9. 16. 18; Paṅhāv. 314; Paṅnav. 123. 124; Vivāhap. 241. 242; Ovav.; Erz.) the anusvāra is to be assumed according to § 75. In AMg. *mahamāsa*=*mahāśva* (Vivāhap. 830; Ovav.) *maham*, in unison with LEUMANN, is to be explained as having developed from the original stem *mahant*, which was pronounced as *mahanṭa* also. Cf. therewith § 182. AMg. JM. *mimjā*=Pāli *mimjā*=Skt. *majjā* with *i*, according to § 101 (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Sūyag. 771; Thān. 186. 431; Paṅhāv. 26; Paṅnav. 40; Vivāhap. 112. 113. 280. 926; Jiv. 464; Uvās.; Ovav., Erz.), *mimjyā* (Paṅnav. 529; Vivāhap. 448) may be going back to the original form *\*majjā*, *\*majjikā*. In formation and in meaning *bum̐dha*=*budhna* corresponds to Latin *fundus* and is, therefore, correctly written as *bundha*. M. AMg. JM. A. *vaṅka*=*vakra'* (Vr. Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl.; H.; Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 3; Paṅnav. 479 482; Nirāyāv.; Erz.; Kk., Piṅgala 1, 2; Hc. 4, 330. 3. 356. 412), along with M. *vaṅkia*=*vakrita* (R.), M. A. *vaṅkima* (Viddhaś. 55, 7 [so it is to be read with v. 1.]; Hc. 4, 344), A. *vaṅkuḍaa* (Hc. 4, 418, 8) is connected to Vedic *vaṅku* and to the root *vaki kauṭilya*, (Dhātup. 4. 14) and, therefore, it is to be written as *vaṅka*. Ś. *vakka* (Ratn. 302, 19; 308, 7; Vṛṣabh. 24, 7; 26, 9; Mallikām. 233, 12; Kāmsav. 7, 18), *vakkadara* (Pras. 140, 1), *vakkida* (Bālar. 246, 14), *anuvakka* (Mālav. 48, 19) are formed from *vakra*. AMg. *vakkoya*=*vakra* (Ovav.). The use of *vaṅka* in Ś. (Kāras. 22, 19) is wrong. The feminine *vaṅkuṇī* from *vaṅkuṇa* has been used in Pras. 46, 5, and is found in the proper noun *ivaṅkuṇī* (Kāmsav. 55, 11)<sup>2</sup> as well. Cf. § 86. On *vim̐chua*, *vim̐chua*, *vim̐cua* see § 301.

1. Aup. S. s. v.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 1, 26; GELDNER, Ved. Stud. 2, 164. 258.

§ 75. In the final syllable, besides in the case of pluti (§ 71), after the dropping off of the final consonant, sometimes dialectally lengthening alternates with anusvāra (cf. § 181. AMg. JM. *visā* and *visam*=*\*vim̐sat*=*vim̐sati*, *tisā* and *tisam*=*tr̐m̐sat*, *cattālisā*, and *cattālisam*=*catvārim̐sat*, A., with shortening of the final vowel, *visa*, *caūālisā*, *coālisā* by the side of *tisā* (§ 445); AMg. *tirijā*-*iriyak* (Hc. 2, 143) by the side of *tiriyam* (Āyār. 1, 1, 5, 2; 1, 5, 6, 2; 1, 7, 1, 5; 1, 8, 4, 14; Sūyag. 191. 273. 304. 397. 428. 914. 931; Uttar. 1031; Paṅnav. 381; Kappas.), also in compounds like *tiriyam̐vāya*=*tiryagvāta*, *tiriyam̐bhāgi*=*tiryagbhāgin* (Sūyag. 829); AMg. *samiyā*=*samyak* (Sūyag. 918; Āyār. 1, 4, 2, 6; 1, 5, 2, 2, 5, 3) by the side of AMg. *samiyam* (Āyār. 1, 5, 5, 3; Sūyag. 304), and AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *sammam*. (Hc. 1, 24; Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 5; 1, 5, 5, 1, 6, 1; Sūyag. 844. 958. 994. 996; Thān. 243; Vivāhap. 163. 165. 238; Uttar. 450; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 389, 3; Kattig. 399, 308. 309; Kāleyak. 21, 15; 24, 18); AMg. also *samiyāe* (Āyār. 1, 3, 3. 5). Cf. § 111. In poetry in AMg. is found *jamsī* by the side of *jamsi*=*yasm̐n* and *yasyām* (Sūyag. 137. 273. 297), in A., *jahī* by the side of *jahim*=*yasm̐n* (Piṅgala 2, 135. 277) and *kī* by the side of *kim*, *kī* (Piṅgala 2, 1 8). Perhaps these forms go back directly to *jassim*, *jahim*, *kim*, but seemingly the lengthening is purely prosodical.

§ 76. A short nasal vowel is sometimes, before an immediately following *ra* or a sibilant or *ha*, lengthened, accompanied with elision of the nasal element. Thus: AMg. *visā*, *visam*=*\*vim̐sat*, *vim̐sati*, *tisā*, *tisam*=*tr̐m̐sat*, *cattālisā*, *cattālisam*=*catvārim̐sat*, and others; A. *visa*, *tisā*, *caūālisā*, *coālisā* (§ 75. 445).—Pāli *dāḥhā*, CP. *tāḥhā* (Hc. 4, 325), M. AMg. Ś. *dāḥhā*=*dam̐strā* (Vr. 4, 33; C. 3, 11; Hc. 2, 139; Kī. 2, 117; Mk. fol. 39; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5; Jiv. 883; Anuog. 507; Uvās.; Kappas., Mālatim. 251, 5; Candak. 17, 8; Bālar. 249, 8; 259, 17;



270, 6; AMg, Ś *dādhi*—=*damṣṭrin* (Aṇuog. 349; Venis. 24, 7 [so it is to be read]).—M. AMg. JM. A *siha*=*siṃha* (Vr. 1, 17; Hc. 1, 29, 92, 264; Kī. 1, 17; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyāl. 43; G. H. R.; Āyār. 2, 15, 21; Sūyag. 225, 414, 748; Paṇṇav. 367; Rāyap. 114; Uttar. 338; Dasav. N. 647, 36; Erz.; Kk., Hc. 4, 406, 1; 418, 3), AMg. *sihi*=*siṃhī* (Paṇṇav. 363), by the side of *siṃghr* (§ 267) and *siṃha*, as in Ś. (Bilar. 209, 11 *siṃharāda*; 23†, 8 *narasiṃha*; Cīṇḍak. 17, 1 *vanasiṃha*), in compounds correspondingly Hc. 1, 92 has *siṃhadattu*, *siṃharā*, so also Mg. *siṃhasāva*=*siṃhasābka* (Śak. 15†, 6), but AMg. *sihaguḥā* (Nāyādh. 1427 ff.). In Bālar. 50, 11 in Ś. there occurs *sihasiṃhā* [sic.; read °*saṃghā*]; Mallikām. 143, 14 in *sihamuḥa* 144, 3 but *siṃghamuḥa* [sic]=*siṃhamuḥka*.—*kesu* from \**keṃsu* (§ 119)=*kiṃsua* (G. H.; Karp. 10, 7)=*kiṃsuka* (Hc. 1, 29, 86), Sindhī *kesū*.—*pisai*, Ś. *pisedi*=\**pimsati*=*pinasti* (§ 506; Hc. 4, 185; Mrcch. 3, 1, 21); AMg. *piṣana*=\**pimsana* (Paṇḥāv. 77).—AMg. *vūhae* from \**vumhae*=*vr̥mhayet* (Sūyag. 894), *aṇuvūhai* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.), *duppādivūhana*, *paḍivūhana* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 4, 5). Specially frequent are the cases of lengthening of *a* in the prefix *sa* in AMg. in words like *sārakkkaṇa*=*amrakṣaṇa* (Ṭhān. 556), *sārakkhaṇayā*=*saṃrakṣaṇatā* (Ṭhān. 333), *sārakkhi*=*saṃrakṣin* (Ṭhān. 313), *sārakkhamāṇa* (Āyār. 1, 5, 5, 1; Uvās.; Nirāyāv.), also in JM. *sārakkhanijja*, *sārakkhantassa* (Āv. 28, 16, 17); AMg. *sārohi*=*saṃrohin* (Ṭhān. 314); *sāharai*=*saṃharati* (Kappas.), *sāharejjā* (Vivāhap. 1152), *sāharanti* (Ṭhān. 155) *sāhattu*=\**saṃhartu* (§ 577), *paḍisāharai* (Paṇṇav. 841; Nāyādh.; Ovav.); *sāhannti*, *sāhanittā* (Vivāhap. 137, 138, 141). Thus is explained also M. *sakkaa*, AMg. JM. *sakkaya*, Ś. *sakkada*=*saṃskṛta* (C. 2, 15 p. 18; Hc. 1, 28; 2, 4; Mk. fol. 35; Karp. 5, 3; Vajjāl. 325, 20; Mrcch. 44, 2; Karp. 5, 1), AMg. JM. *asakkaya* (Paṇḥāv. 137; Vajjāl. 325, 20); further *sakkāra*=*saṃskāra* (Hc. 1, 28; 2, 4; Mk. fol. 35; R. 15, 91), JM. *sakkāriya*=*saṃskārita* (Erz.) The route is *saṃskṛta*, \**saṃskṛta*, \**sākkaa*, *sakkaa*. Cf. § 306. Following Mk. fol. 35 and Vāmanācārya in Rishikesh p. 12 note, a mention should here be made also of *sathhua*=*saṃstuta* and *sathava*, *sathāva*=*saṃstāva*, *saṃstava*. But AMg, *saṃthuja* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 1). Cf. *kohaṇḍi*, *kohaṇḍa* § 127.

### c.) ELEVATION OF VOWELS.

§ 77. The first vowel of a prefix is sometimes elevated in synthetic formations in Skt. *abhiyāti* and *ābhiyāti*; *pariplava* and *pāriplava*; *prati-veśya* and *prāti-veśya*. Pkt. exhibits the same phenomenon (Vr. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; Kī. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 4, 5; Pkl. p. 19). *ahijāi* and M. *āhijāi* (H.), *āhiāi* (R.)=*abhiyāti*; M. *paḍivaā*=*pratiḥpad* (H.) and *pādivaā*; M. AMg. *pādieḥka*--*pratyeka* (§ 163); *paḍipphaddhi*- and *pāḍipphaddhi*=*pratisparāḍhin* (Hc.; Kī. 1, 1; 2, 101); *paḍisiddhi* and *pāḍisiddhi*=\**pratiḥiddhi* (competition; also 2, 174; Deśin. 6, 77; Ś. Karp. 18, 1; 21, 5; 44, 9); *paḍisāra* and *pāḍisāra*=\**pratismāra* (cunning; Deśin. 6, 16); M. JM. *samidhi* (G. H.; Rṣabhap.) and M. *sāmidhi*=*saṃiddhi* (H.); AMg. JM. *ajjhovavanna*, \**vaṇna*=*adhyupapanna* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 6; 2, 1, 7, 2; Sūyag. 185, 210, 751, 923; Nāyādh. 1069, 1387, 1461, 1469; Vivāgas. 87, 92; Uvās.; Āv. 26, 25; 30, 26; Erz.), *ajjhavavajjha*, *ajjhovavajjai* (Nāyādh. 841, 1390), *ajjhovavajjihū* (Ovav.); AMg. *abbhovagamīyā*=*ābhyupagamikā* (Bhag.; cf. Aup. S. s. v. *āhevacca*). The final vowel of a prefix appears to have been elevated in M. *veāriṃ*, *veārijjasi*=*vitārayitum*, *viṭārayase* (H. 286, 909); *veāria* (expanded; hair; Deśin. 7, 95); AMg. *āhevacca*=*ādhipatya* (Samav. 134; Nāyādh. 257, 310, 329, 481, 529, 1417, 1507; Vivāgas. 28, 57 [a°]; Paṇṇav. 98, 100, 103; Antag. 3 [a°]; Ovav.; Kappas.). In cases like AMg. *aṇovāhaṇḍa*, \**ya*=\**aṇupāhanaka* (Sūyag.

759; Vivāhap. 135; Ovav.); AMg. JŚ. *aṇovama* = *anubama* (Paṇṇav. 136; Ovav.; Pav. 380, 13); AMg. *anouya* = *anṛtuka* (Ṭhān. 369), *aṇovanīhiya* = *anupānikhīta* (Aṇuog. 228. 241. 242), *aṇovasamkha* = *anupasamkhyā* (Sūyag. 454) elevation of the vowel has not to be assumed, but as firstly shown by S. GOLDSCHMIDT<sup>1</sup> there is the negative *aṇa-* which is occurs also in AMg. *aṇāi* = *anīti*,<sup>2</sup> *anāūdaja* (Kattig. 399, 309), M. *aṇahīa* = *ahṛdaya* (H. R.), *aṇahōnta* = *abhavad* (H.); *aṇarasia* (H.), *aṇadīhara* = *adīrgha* (R.); *aṇamīliā* = *amīliā* (Deśin. 1, 44); *aṇarāmaa* = *\*arāmaka* = *arati* (Deśin. 1, 45) and others.<sup>3</sup> Cf. §70.

1. ZDMG. 32, 99ff.; KZ. 24, 426.—2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.—3. FISCHER, BB. 3, 243ff.; WEBER on H. 41. Cf. JOHANNES SCHEMIDT, KZ. 23, 271ff.

§ 78. Prākṛit shows vocalic elevation that deviates from that of Skt. in many other cases as well. Thus : *ṣarakerā* = *ṣarakiya* (Hc. 1, 44), but Ś. *ṣarakerā* (Mālav. 26, 5), *ṣarakerāa* (Śak. 96, 10), Mg. *ṣalakelāa* (Mṛcch 37, 13; Śak. 161, 7); M. *māṇarisi-*, *māṇarisiṇi* = *manasvin*, *manasvini* (§ 74); M. JM. JŚ. *sāriccha* (Bh. 1, 2; Hc. 1, 44; Ki. 1, 1; Mk. fol. 5; Pkl p. 19; H.; Erz.; Kattig. 401, 338). = *\*sādṛkṣa*,<sup>1</sup> corresponding to *tādṛkṣa*, *yādṛkṣa*; AMg. *cāuranta* = *caturanta* (Hc. 1, 44; Sūyag. 787. 789; Ṭhān. 41. 129. 512; Samav. 42; Paṇhāv. 302; Nāyādh. 464. 471; Uttar. 339. 842. 869; Vivāhap. 7. 39. 160. 848 1049. 1128 etc.), *cāukkoṇa* = *catuṣkoṇa* (Nāyādh. 1054; Jiv. 289. 478), *cāugghanṭa* (Nāyādh. § 130; p. 731. 780. 784. 826. 1060. 1233. 1266. 1456; Vivāhap. 114. 801. 802. 830; Rāyap. 231. 237. 239; Nirayāv. § 21), *cāujjāma* = *caturyāma* (Vivāhap. 135), *cāuraṅgiṇi* (Nāyādh. § 65. 100. 103; p. 538. 541; Ovav. Nirayāv.).—AMg. *teicchā* = *cikīsā* (§ 215). The secondary vowels originating from *ṛ*, either by contraction or by ablaut or by insertion, show the same elevation. Thus : AMg. *gāhāvai* = *grhapatī*, simultaneously accompanied with lengthening of the final *a* according to § 70 (Āyār. 1, 7, 2, 1. 2; 3, 3; 5, 2; 2, 1, 1 ff.; Sūyag. 846. 848. 850. 957 ff.; Vivāhap. 162. 227. 345. 346. 1207 ff.; Nirayāv. 41. 43; Uvās.; Kappas.), *gāhāvaiṇi* = *grhapatni* (Vivāhap. 1266. 1270. 1271; Nāyādh. 530; Uvās.). By the side of AMg. *musam* = *mṛsā* (Sūyag. 74. 340. 489; Dasav. 614. 29; Uttar. 116), *musāvāda* (Sūyag. 207; Uvās. § 14 [text *mūsā*]. 46 [*vāya*]), *musāvādi* (Āyār. 2, 4, 1, 8) there occurs the very frequently found *mosa* (Uttar. 373. 952. 957), *mosa*, *saccāmosa*, *asaccāmosa* (Āyār. 2, 4, 1, 4; Paṇṇav. 362; Ṭhān. 203; Ovav. § 148. 149), *taccamosa* (Ṭhān. 152; Paṇṇav. 362), *māyāmosa* (Ṭhān. 21; Vivāhap. 126; Paṇhāv. 86; Paṇṇav. 638; Kappas. § 118; Ovav.).—*rovai*, *dhovai*, *sovai* from *ru*, *dhau*, *soap* (§ 473. 482. 497); *sovaṇa* (sleep; Deśin. 8, 58); AMg. *osovaṇi* = *avasvāpani* (Kappas. § 28), *sovaṇi* = *svāpani* (Nāyādh. 1288); AMg. *vesalaga* = *vṛṣalaka* (Sūyag. 729), *sovāga* = *svāpāka* (Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 11; Uttar. 349. 371. 402. 409. 410), *sovāgi* = *svāpāki* (Sūyag. 709); AMg. *gelanna* = *glānya* (Ṭhān. 369) of *gilāna* = *glāna* (§ 136). On M. AMg. JM. *bāhūm* = *bahūh* see § 181. Elevation of the final vowel after elision of a consonant at the end of a word, takes place in AMg. *puḍho* for *\*puḍhu* = *prthak* (Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 1 2; 3, 4ff, 1, 2, 6, 2 etc.; Sūyag. 81. 123; Ṭhān. 332), *puḍhochanda* (Āyār. 1, 5, 2, 2; cf. Sūyag. 412), *puḍhosiya* = *prthaksṛita* (Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 2; 6, 3; Sūyag. 332. 468), *puḍhojīya* = *prthagjīva* (Sūyag. 46), *puḍhosatta* = *prthak-sattva* (Sūyag. 425; cf. 401). In *\*puḍhu* for *\*puḍha* the second vowel is assimilated to the first one, as in *puhuita* = *prthakiva* (Ṭhān. 212; Aṇuog. 45. 405 ff.; Nandis. 160. 163. 168 f.), for which is found also *puhaita* (Paṇṇav. 602. 744; Vivāhap) 181. 182. 1057)<sup>2</sup>, also *poḥatta* (Samav. 71; Vivāhap. 178), *poḥattīya* (Paṇṇav. 639. 640. 664) with elevation of the first *u*. Pāli *puṭhu*<sup>3</sup> shows the course of development; there is corres.

pondence between Pāli *puṭhujja* and AMg. *puḍhojaga*=*prthagjaka* (Sūyag. 104. 34.), as well as between *puṭhujjana* and AMg. *puḍhojana* (Sūyag. 166). According to Hc. 1, 24. 137. 188 *piham*, *puham*, *pidham* and *puḍham* are also used; so JM. *pihappiham* (Āv. 7, 8. 17), AMg. *pihajjana*=*prthagjana* (Ṭhān. 132).

1. At the end of a compound *sāriccha* mostly=\**sādḥkṣya* may be taken to be a substantive. That it was also an adjective is proved by instances like those found in Erz. 71, 33. Cf. § 245. 2.—That the MSS. have *puḥutta* also has been shown by WEBER, Bhag. 2, 200, Anm. 1.—3. ERNST KUHN, Beiträge p. 23; L. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 6.

#### d) SHORTENING OF LONG VOWELS.

§ 79. In M. AMg. JM. JŚ. A., and more rarely in other dialects, long vowels were often shortened and *e* was changed into *i*, when the accent originally fell on the long vowel of the preceding or following syllable. Such words as have their *ā* shortened to *a* have been classed under *yathādi* ākṛtigāṇa group by Vr. 1, 10; Kī. 1, 9; Mk. fol. 6; Pkl. p. 22; Hc. 1, 67 divides them into two groups: adverbs in general (*avyaya*) and the ākṛtigāṇa *utkhātādi*.; and in 1, 68 he further teaches that such words as are formed by the kṛta-suffix *-a'* (*ghañ*) and show vṛddhi have their *ā* shortened to *a*, as in *pravāha'*, *prahā'a'*, *prakāra'*, etc. He is followed by Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 37. 38. The words with *-ī* are grouped under *pāṇiyādi* gaṇa by Vr. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 101; Pkl. p. 28; and under the *grhītādi* class by Mk. fol. 8. Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 51 set up the *gabhīraga* gaṇa and group the words like *pāṇiya*, *alika*, *karīsa*, *upanīta*, *jivati* that show *ī* also under the *pāṇiyga* class (1, 11). Inversely Kī. groups under *pāṇiyādi* (1, 11) the words that require shortening of *ī* compulsorily and under the *gabhīrādi* class those in which it is optional (1, 12). Hc. permits general exceptions to his rule. The grammarians have not set up a *gaṇā* for the words with *ū*.

§ 80. A vowel is shortened if the accent fell on the preceding syllable: M. *ukkhāa*, JM *ukkhāya*=*ūtkhāta* (Grr.; G. R. Erz.), M. *samukkhāa* (H.) by the side of M. *ukkhāa* (H.); AMg. *kulala*=*kālāla* (an owl; Sūyag. 437; Uttar. 447; Dasav. 632, 37); M. *nisaha*=*m'hsākha* (H.); M. *varāi*=*va'rākī* (H.) by the side of the more frequent *varāa*, *varāi* (H.), *sāmaa* (Hc. 1, 71)=*śyā'māka* (Sāntanava, Phitsūtra 2, 23; 3, 18), according to Śrīharṣa, Dvirūpakośa 48 also in Skt. *śyāmaka*.—AMg. *aṇiya*=*a'nika* (Ṭhān. 357; Ovav.), *aṇiyāhivai*=*anikādhīpati* (Ṭhān. 125. 357), *pāyattāṇiya*, *pidhāṇiya*, *kuṣṭhāṇiya*, *mahisāṇiya*, *rahāṇiya* (Ṭhān. 357), by the side of *aṇiya* (Nirāyāv.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.); M. *aliya*, AMg. JM. *aliya*=*a'lika* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Vivāhap. 352. 687; Paṇhāv. 134; Uttar. 19; Dvār. 497, 19; Erz.), also Ś. (Mṛcch. 24, 25; 57, 14. 15; 95, 17; 153, 18; Vikr. 30, 21; Mālav. 41, 18; Ratn. 324, 19; Caṇḍak. 9, 17; 52, 10; 86, 10; 87, 13. 16 etc.) and Mg. (Mṛcch. 145, 16; 165, 1). But for Ś. Mg., except in poetry (Mṛcch. 145, 16; 153, 18) often *aliā* also is good; this has been partly better accredited inasmuch as *aliā* is permitted by grammarians and occurs in Ś. (Prab. 37, 6 [against *aliattaṇa* 38, 1]; Nāgān. 45, 11; 103, 3; Mudrār. 59, 1; Pras. 37, 17; 44, 11; 46, 14; 47, 11; 120, 1; Venīś 24, 4; 97, 9; 107, 4 etc.), and JM. *aliya* in Erz.; M. *osianta*=*a'vasīdat* (R.), *pasīa*=*pra'sīda* (Hc.; H.), but Ś. *paśīda* (Mṛcch. 4, 5; Prab. 44, 2; Nāgān. 46, 11; 47, 6), Mg. *paśīda* (Mṛcch. 9, 24; 131, 18; 170, 18; 176, 9); AMg. *karīsa*=*ka'rīsa* (Grr.; Uvās.), but also M. *karīsa* (G.); AMg. *vammīya* (Hc.; Sūyag. 613; cf. Vivāhap. 1226ff. [mostly °i?]) and M. *vammīa* (G.)=*va'lmīka* (Ujjvaladatta on Uṇādisūtra 4, 25); according to Puruṣottama=Dvirūpakośa 8 there occurs *vālmika* as well, and according to Śrīharṣa, Dvirūpakośa 51 *valmika* also is found in Skt.; *sirīsa*=*śī'rīsa* (Hc.), but also M. *sirīsa* (Śak. 2, 15).—M. *ulua*, AMg.

*uluga=dlūka* (Sarasvatik. 16, 10; Sūyag. 695); AMg. JM. *gāuja=ga'vyūta* (Ṭhān. 83. 88. 89; Vivāhap. 425. 1529; Jiv. 276; Anuog. 381. 385. 397. 403; Paṇṇav. 52. 601. 602; Nandis. 160. 163. 168; Ovav.; Erz.); M. Ś. *verulā*, AMg. JM. *verulīya=va'dūrya* (Hc. 2, 133; Kī. 2, 117; [text °nī°]; Mk. fol. 39; Pāiyāl. 119; G.; Mṛcch. 70, 25; 71, 3 [so it is to be read]; Karp. 33, 1; Sūyag. 834; Ṭhān. 75. 86. 514. 568; Paṇhāv. 440; Vivāhap. 1146. 1322. 1324; Paṇṇav. 26. 540; Nandis. 72; Rāyap. 29. 58. 69; Jiv. 217. 494. 549; Uttar. 629. 981. 1042; Erz.); cf. § 241.—*viruva=vr'rupa* (Deśin. 7, 63).—*cavidā, cavilā=ca'peṭā* (Hc. 1, 146. 198) by the side of M. AMg. *caveḍā* (Hc.; H.; Uttar. 596.)

§ 81. A vowel becomes short if the accent fell on the following syllable : AMg. JM. *ājariya=ācāryā* (§ 134)<sup>1</sup>; AMg. *amāvasā=amāvāsyā* (Kappas.); M. AMg. JM. *ṭhavi=sthāpa'yati* and other causatives (§ 551. 552); M. JM. *kumāra=kumāra'* (Grr.; Erz.), M. *kumārī=kumārī'* (G.; Karp. 80. 6), M. *kumaravāla=kumārāpāla* (Deśin. 1, 104, 88), by the side of M. JM. A. *kumāra, kumārī* (G. H.; Erz.; Hc. 4, 362), as always in Ś. *kumāra* (Vikr. 52. 16; 72, 15. 21; 79, 15; Mudrār. 44, 3; Pras; 35, 2. 7), *kumāraa* (Śak. 41, 2; 155, 9 [so it is to be read]; 156, 6, 14. Mudrār. 43, 5; 44, 1), *kumārī* (Mālav. 68. 10), in Mg. *kumāla* (Nāgān. 67, 1. 14 [so it is to be read]); *khaia, JM. khāiya=khādita'* (Bh. Mk. Pkl; Erz.); *khāira=khādira'* (Grr.); A. *taisa=tādrśa, jaisa=yādrśa'* (Hc. 4, 403. 404); AMg. JM. *pañjaya=paryāya'* (Āyār. 1, 3, 1, 4; 2, 15, 23; Paṇṇav. 237 ff.); Jiv. 238. 262. 450. 451; Uttar. 797. 895; Anuog. 270; Vivāhap. 128; Ovav.; Āv. 43, 4. 9), JŚ. *pañjaya* (Pav. 388, 4; Kattig. 398, 302); M. *paṇaha=praṇāha'* (Grr.; G. H. R.), by the side of M. JM. *paṇāha* (Grr.; G.; Erz.; Kk.), as in Ś. (Mṛcch. 2, 20); M. *māñjara* (§ 86) *māñjāra'* (C. 2, 15; Hc. 2, 132; H. 286), *māñjara* (Mk. fol. 6), by the side of *māñjāra* (Hc. 1, 26) and AMg. JŚ. Ś. *māñjāra* (Paṇhāv. 20. 64. 528; Nāyādh. 756; Kattig. 401, 347; Śak. 145, 9), M. Ś. *māñjārī* (Pāiyāl. 150; Deśin. 1, 98, 82; Viddhaś. 114, 6), *māñjārīā* (Karp. -53, 5); A. *sahū=sāka'm* (§ 206); M. *halia=hālīka'* (Grr.; H.).—M. JM. *gahira=gabhīra'* (Grr.; G. R.; Erz.) by the side of *gahīra* (G.); M. *niā=niṭa'* (R.), AMg. *nīya* (Uttar. 617, and the words more frequently found in compounds like *āñia=atīnīta* (Deśin. 1, 24), M. *āñia* (Grr.; G. H. R.), JM. *āñiya* (Dvār. 496, 30. 32; Erz.), M. *samāñia* (H.) M. *uñña* (R.), *uvañña* (Hc.; Mk.; R.); AMg. JM. *nīñya* (Nāyādh. 516; Erz.), by the side of M. *nīa* (H.), JM. *nīya* (Erz.); always with a long vowel in Ś. *nīda* (Mṛcch. 95, 7; Śak. 127, 9), *avañida* (Vikr. 87, 4), *paṇcāñida* (Vikr. 10, 4), *uvañida* (Mṛcch. 17, 14; 25, 14; 69, 7; Śak. 19, 7), *pañinīda* (Śak. 76, 10), *duvañinīda* (Śak. 17, 4), *aviñīda* (Śak. 135, 2; 154, 7), and in Mg. *nīda* (Mṛcch. 162, 19), *avañida* (Mṛcch. 109, 16), *āñida* (Mṛcch. 99, 2; 124, 19; 175, 15). Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 51 restrict lengthening of the vowel, in the feminine, of *āñita*. The example quoted by Triv., viz. *āñidā bhuvanābbhudē'kkañjanānī=āñitā bhuvanādbhutaikājanānī* is set either in JŚ. or in Ś.—*tuñhia=tuñhīka'* (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 99), by the side of AMg. JM. *tusiñiya* (Āyār. 2, 3, 1, 16 ff.; Āv. 25, 20); M. *vilīa=vrīḍita'* (Grr.; Deśin. 1, 20; 7, 65; R. 1, 6 v. l.; Acyutaś. 82), *vidīa* (R.), AMg. *savilīya* (Nāyādh. 958); AMg. *sarisiva=sarīrpa'* (Āyār. 2, 4, 2. 7 [so it is to be read; v. l.]; Sūyag. 105. 747; Jiv. 263. 264 [here °rī°]; also *sarisava* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 3; Sūyag. 129. 944; Samav. 98) and *sirisiva* (Sūyag. 339; Rāyap. 228 [°sa°]. 235).—M. AMg. JM. *ina=enā'* (§ 431); M. *vīaṇā, JM. vījaṇā=vedanā'* (Vr. 1, 34; Hc. 1, 146; Kī. 1, 34; Mk. fol. 11; Pāiyāl. 161; G. H. R.; Erz.).

1. Wrongly JACOBI, KZ. 23, 598; 35, 569. The separation vowel *iṣ* and the sonants have no influence on the working of the accent. Cf. § 131.

§ 82. Shortening of vowels takes place on account of the stress accent also in other cases in which we do not have the accent any more. Thus: M. *ahira*=*abhira* (H. 811); *kaḷaa* beside *kaḷāa*=*kaḷāda* (goldsmith: Triv. and Ad. 1, 2, 37 for *kālaa*=*kālaka* in Hc.); *marala* (Mk. fol. 6)=*marāla*; JM. *mahua* by the side of *mahūa*=*madhūka* (Vr. 1, 24; Hc. 1, 122; Kī. 1, 13; Mk. fol. 9; Kī. 18); AMg. *saraḍūya*=*śalātuka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 6). The double forms in Pkt. have as their basis the multitude of forms with different accents in Skt. So *khāira*=*khā'ira*, but *khāira*=*khādira'*; *devara* *iṣ*=*dēvara* (Phitsūtra 3, 18), but M. *diara* (Vr. 1, 34; Hc. 1, 146; Kī. 1, 34; Mk. fol. 11; H.), JM. *diyara* (Pāiyāl. 252)=*devara'* (Uṇādisūtra 3, 132); AMg. *pāyāya*, JM. *pāgāya*, *pāyāya*, M. *pāia*, JM. *pāiya*, M. *pāua*, Ś. *pāuda*, Mg. *pākida* (§ 53) are=*prā'kṛta*, but *paaa* (Hc. 1, 67; Triv. 1, 2, 37), *paia* (Bh. 1, 10; Kī. 1, 9; Mk. fol. 6)=*prākṛta'* (cf. *sa'mskṛta* and *samskṛta'*). *balaā* (Hc. 1, 67; Triv.; Ad. 1, 2, 37) by the side of *balāā*=*bālā'kā* presupposes the accent as in *\*ba'lākā* or *\*balākā'*, like AMg. *suhuma*=*sūkṣma* (§ 131), where the accent seems to be as in *\*sūkṣma'*, whilst in the Uṇādis. 4, 176 it is transmitted as *sūkṣma*. The ordinals *duia* (Bh. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 94. 101; Kī. 1, 11; Mk. fol. 8), JM. *duiya* (Erz.), Ś. *dudia* (Mṛcch. 51, 10; 69, 5. 6; 78, 8; Śak. 137, 2; Vikr. 5, 12; 10, 1; 19, 8; Mahāv. 52, 17 etc.)<sup>1</sup>, Mg. *dudia* (Mṛcch. 81, 5; 134, 2); M. *biia* (Hc. 1, 94; G. 1081; R.), AMg. JM. *biyya* (Sūyag. 177; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. and very often in subscriptions as in Āyār. p. 3. 8. 15. 29. 34 etc.; Erz.), M. *taia* (Bh. 1, 18; Hc. 1, 101; Kī. 1, 11; Mk. fol. 8; G.), AMg., JM. *taiya* (Ovav. § 105. 144; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas. and often in subscriptions, as in Āyār. p. 4. 10. 16. 17. 20. 24 etc.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.), Ś. *tadia* (Mṛcch. 69, 14. 15; Mudrār. 41, 7 [so it is to be read; see v. l.]), Mg. *tadia* (Mṛcch. 166, 24 [text *taia*]) do not go back to *dvitī'ya*, *trīti'ya*, but to *\*dvitīya'*, *\*trītiya'*<sup>2</sup>. In cases like M. *jiāi*=*jivati*, M. AMg. JM. *āruhai*=*ārohati* there is transition over to the 6th class (§ 482)<sup>3</sup>. On *pānia* see § 91, on *gahia*=*grihta'* § 564. Long contracted vowels, except before double consonants and in A., are never shortened: *kālāsa* from *kālāasa*=*kālāyasa'* (§ 165); *kumbhāra* from *kumbhāara*=*kumbhakāra'*, and other compound words formed with *kāra* added to them (§ 167); *cakkāa*=*cakkāa*=*cakkaāa*=*cakravāka'* (§ 167); *pāikka'* from *pādātika'* (§ 194); *bia*, *tia* from *biia*, *\*tīia*=*\*dvitīya*, *\*trītiya* (§ 165): So probably also *nārāa* by the side of M. *nārāa* (R.), Mg. JM. *nārāya* (Uvās.; Ovav. Prabandhac. 100, 7; Erz.)=*nārāca* (Hc. 1, 67)<sup>4</sup>. On AMg. *paḍina* see § 99.

1. The texts often have *dudia*, as in Mudrār. 41, 7; Mālatīm. 31, 6; 71, 3; 72, 4; 103, 8; Bālar. 174, 10; Anarghar. 61, 6; Vṛṣabh. 23, 9 etc. The v. l. in Mālatīm. has mostly the correct reading.—2. JACOBI on Kalpas. p. 103, note 28. Cf. PISCHEL KZ. 35, 144; JACOBI, KZ. 35, 570 f.—3. JACOBI objects to assumption of such a transition, KZ. 35, 569 f., of course on insufficient grounds.—4. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35, 565, note 1, the theory of contraction lacks proof as such. It is still to be proved. In F.W. the accent is shown as in *nārāca'*, probably according to Vedic *nārāci'*. In BW. the accent is rightly wanting. Perhaps there existed the double forms *nārāca* and *nārāca*. Cf. under § 79-82 in general, PISCHEL, KZ. 34, 568 ff; 35, 140 ff. Against this, wrongly JACOBI, KZ. 35, 563 ff.

§ 83. Long vowels are shortened in close syllables (Hc. 1, 84). PG. : *raṣṭhika*=*rāṣṭrika* (5, 4); *amacce*=*amātyān* (5, 5); *vattthavāna*=*vāstavyānām* (6, 8); *bamhaṇāṇām* (6, 8. 27. 30. 38); *puva*=*pūva* (6, 12. 28) etc. Sanskritisms in PG. are: *kāncīpurā* for *\*kāncīpurā*=*kāncīpurāt* (5, 1) and *ātīya* for *atīya*=*ātreya* (6, 13); faulty is also *cāttāri* for *cattāri*=*catvāri* (6, 39).—PG. M. AMg. JM. Dh. *kaṭṭha*=*kāṣṭha* (PG. 6, 33; H.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 30, 16)<sup>1</sup> M. JM. Ś. *kavva*=*kāvya*

(G. H. R.; Erz.; Vikr. 31, 11; 35, 5).—M. JM. AMg. *gatta=gātra* (R.; Ovav.; Erz.).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rajja=rājya* (H. R.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Erz.; Vikr. 75, 5).—JŚ. *uvasanta=upaśānta* (Kattig. 403, 377).—Mg. *śanta=śrānta* (Mṛcch. 13, 7).—A. *kanta=kānta* (Hc. 4, 345, 351, 357, 1; 358, 1; Vikr. 58, 9).—M. AMg. JM. A. *kitti=kīrti* (Vr. 3, 24; Hc. 2, 30; Kī. 2, 34; Mk. fol. 22; G. R.; Uvās.; Ovav. Kappas.; Erz.; Hc. 4, 335; Ś. *kittiā=kīrtikā* (Vikr. 12, 14).—AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. A. *titha=īrtha* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Pav. 379, 1; Śak. 79, 1; 105, 4; 118, 10; Hc. 4, 441, 2).—M. AMg. Ś. Mg. A. *gimha=grīṣma* (G. H. R.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mṛcch. 80, 23; Śak. 10, 1; Hc. 4, 357, 3).—M. JM. Ś. Mg. A. *uddha=ūrḍhva* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 39, 2; 41, 22; 136, 16; Hc. 4, 444, 3), AMg. JM. *uddha* JM. *ubbha* (§ 300).—M. AMg. *kumma=kūrma* (G.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. A. *cuṇṇa=cūrṇa* (G. H. R.; Āyār. 2, 1, 8, 3; 2, 2, 3, 9.; Kappas.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 68, 25; 117, 7; Hc. 4, 395, 2).—M. AMg. JŚ. Ś. *mulla=mūlya* (H.; Karp. 73, 10; Ovav.; Kattig. 400, 335; Mṛcch. 55, 15; 78, 3; 82, 15; 88, 21 ff.; Śak. 116, 12).—All the syllables that are accompanied with a nasal vowel or anusvāra are governed by the same law, whether they existed already in Skt. (Hc. 1, 72) or if this anusvāra is secondary in Pkt., having originated from *m* according to § 348: M. Ś. *kāmsatāla=kāmsyatāla* (G.; Mṛcch. 69, 24; Karp. 3, 3 v. 1.).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *pāmsu=pāmsu* (G. R.; Vivāgas. 155; Bhag.; Erz.; Mālatim. 142, 1; Mallikām. 253, 18; 336, 9).—M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *maṁsa=māmsa* (H.; Sūyag. 281; Dasav. 632, 24; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Āv. 27, 12; Kattig. 400, 328; Śak. 29, 6), Mg. *maṁsa* (Mṛcch. 10, 1; 21, 17; 117, 9; 123, 7; 126, 5; 169, 9; Venis. 33, 6; 34, 2; *maṁsae* 33, 12).—The rule frequently becomes operative in the final syllables ending in *-ām, -im, -ūm, -ān* of Skt. declensional forms, as in M. *puttānaṁ=putrāṇām, aggināṁ=agnināṁ, vāūnaṁ=vāyūnām, mālaṁ=mālām, sahim=sakhim, vahuṁ=vadhūm*; AMg. *mahaṁ=mahān, āyavaṁ=ātmavān*, etc. (§ 370 ff. 396); further in adverbs like *dānīm=idānīm* (§ 144), AMg. JM. *saddhīm=saddhīm* (§ 103). In the case of interjections the rule does not hold good: Ś. Mg. *āṁ=ām* (Mṛcch. 27, 10; Śak. 71, 13; 134, 14; Vikr. 13, 2; 35, 9; 75, 5; Mālav. 6, 3; 80, 8; Bālar. 123, 17; Mṛcch. 136, 19). In A. *kaḥām, jahām, tahām*, in the sense of *kutaḥ, yataḥ, tataḥ* (Hc. 4, 355) the lengthening is to be explained according to § 68.

1. In connection with the rules of this type, that are to be covered times without number, the examples from M. AMg. JM. have been selected from texts that are provided with word indices, as far as possible, for the sake of brevity and the examples are confined chiefly to words that possibly occur uniformly in many dialects.

§ 84. Before a consonant group *e* becomes *ē* and *o* becomes *ō*. In M. AMg. JM. sometimes there enter *i* and *u* in lieu of *ē* and *ō*. Thus: M. AMg. JM. *pe'cchāi=prekṣate* (Hc. 4, 181; G. H. R.; Ovav.; Erz.), AMg. *pe'cchaniṇṇi=prekṣaniṇṇi* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *pe'cchaga=prekṣaka* (Vivāhap. 929) and AMg. JM. *picchāi* (Kappas.; Kk.), AMg. *picchane'jja* (Jiv. 353), JŚ. *pe'cchadi* (Pav. 284, 48), Ś. *pe'kkhadi* (Śak. 13, 6; Vikr. 84, 5), Mg. *pe'škadi* (Hc. 4, 295, 297; Mṛcch. 80, 4; 112, 17); M. *ave'kkhi=apekṣin* (G.); M. *duppe'ccha=dusprekṣya* (R.), Ś. *duppe'kkha* (Mṛcch. 68, 19).—AMg. JM. Ś. A. *me'ccha=mleccha* (Ovav. § 183 [v. 1. mi°]; Āv. 39, 2; Mudrār. 229, 9; Cait. 38, 6 [text *mal'e'ccha*]; Piṅgala 1, 77<sup>a</sup>, 117<sup>a</sup>; 2, 272) and *mīliccha* (Hc. 1, 84), AMg. *miccha* (Paṇnav. 136).—M. *che'tta=ksetra* (Bh. 3, 30; Hc. 2, 17; G. H.), AMg. *chitta* (Ovav. § 1), AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *khē'tta* (Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 3; Sūyag. 628; Vivāhap. 97, 157, 203 f. 583 ff.; Uttar. 355 ff.; Dasav. N. 653, 14; Erz.; Pav. 379,

3: 387, 21; Kattig. 401, 352; Mṛcch. 120, 7; Anarghar. 261, 5), AMg. *khitta* (Uttar. 576. 1014).—M. AMg. JM. *oṭṭha=oṣṭha* (G. H. R.; Karp. 8, 3; 58, 5; Paṇhāv. 63; Āv. 41, 6; Erz.) and JM. *uṭṭha* (Erz.), AMg. *huṭṭha* (Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 5).—M. AMg. JM. *Ś. anṇoṇṇa=anyonya* (G. H. R.; Sūyag. 137; Ovav.; Erz.; Mrcch. 24, 16; 71, 1. 13; Śak. 56, 15; Vikr. 51, 16) and M. *anṇuṇṇa* (Hc. 1, 156; G.), wrongly also in Ś. Bālar. 217, 8.—M. AMg. *Ś. paoṭṭha=prakoṣṭha* (Mk. fol. 13; Karp. 47, 6; Ovav.; Mṛcch. 68, 23; 69, 5 ff.; 70, 5 ff. 71, 11. 12; 72, 1; Bālar. 80, 1; Viddhaś. 126, 3) and M. *paiṭṭha* (Hc. 1, 156; G.).—AMg. *maṇunna=manoṇṇa* (§ 276).—The rule holds good also for the secondary *e, o* that originated from *ai, au* (§ 60 ff.), by samprasāraṇa (§ 153. 154), and those that originated from *ai* and *aii* (§ 166). As *i*, from *e*, there occurs *ai* always in AMg. JM. *ikkhāga=aikṣvāka* (Āyār. 2, 1, 2, 2; Thān. 414. 458; Nāyādh. 692. 729. 1505; Paṇṇav. 61.; Uttar. 532; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 46, 19; Erz.) wrongly equated as *ikṣvāku* by LEUMANN and JACOBI: Ś. *mitteya=maitreya* (Mṛcch. 4, 22. 23; 6, 3; 17, 20; 22, 15; 53, 18; 74, 19; 150, 12), likewise Mg. (Mṛcch. 45, 1); *sindhava=saindhava* (Vr. 1, 38; Hc. 1, 149; Kī. 1, 36; Mk. fol. 12); M. AMg. *saniccara=śanaiścara* (Hc. 1, 149 with note; Paṇhāv. 312; Paṇṇav. 116; Ovav.). AMg. *śanīmcara* (Thān. 82, 399; Bhag. 2, 225), as in Triv. 1, 2, 94 in my MSS., against *saṇicchara* of the printed edition, is explained either according to § 74 or from *\*saṇiamcara*, from M. *Ś. saṇiam*, AMg. JM. *saṇiyam*, Pāli *saṇikam*, *sanim* (Hc. 2, 168; Pāiyāl. 15; G. H.; Āyār. 2, 15. 19. 20. 22; Vivāhap. 172. 173; Uvās.; Erz.; Mālatim. 239. 3; Uttarar. 32, 8; Paiyad. 17, 13; Pras. 45, 3; Mallikām. 242, 1). In Viddhaś. 120, 9 stands in Ś. *saṇiccara* except in the v. l.—Mk., fol. 12 teaches besides *saindhava* also *bhaikṣājīvika, naiyāyika* and *piṇḍapātika*. Consequently *bhikkhājīvika* can be traced back to *bhikṣājīvika, piṇḍavāia* goes back to *piṇḍapātrika*: *naiyāyika* becomes *nejāyua* in AMg. (§ 60). The words which always show *u* from *o* for *au* have been grouped by grammarians (Vr. 1, 44; Hc. 1, 160; Kī. 1, 43; Mk. fol. 13; Pkl. p. 37) under the *saundaryādi* class, which, according to Mk. and Pkl., who almost always agree with one another, is an *ākṛtigāṇa*. Triv. 1, 2, 97, who is followed by Ad., has the *ākṛtigāṇa śauṇḍaga*, and the examples are the same as those in Hc. To this *gāṇa* belong *sundera=saundarya* (M. Karp. 66, 7; Ś. Dhūrtas. 10, 9), for which Pratāp. 220, 9 has *soṇḍajja*, and Hc. teaches *sundaria*; also *uvaritṭhaa=aupariṣṭhaka* (Mk. Pkl.); *kukkheaa=kaukṣeyaka* (Bh. Kī. Mk. Pkl.), for which Hc. 1, 161 and Triv. 1, 2, 96 teach *kuccheaa* and *koṅcheaa*; *dwāria=dauvārika* (Bh. [read so for *duvā*], Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl.) is rather *dvārika*; *dussāhia=dauhsādhika* (Mk. Pkl.); *pulomī=paulomī* (Hc. Mk. Pkl.); *pussa=pausya* (Mk. [pauṣa]); Pkl. [pauruṣa]; *muñja=mauñja* (Mk. Pkl.); *muñjāna=mauñjāyana* (Bh. Hc. Kī. Mk.); *suṇḍa=śauṇḍa* (Bh. Hc. Kī. Mk. Pkl.); *suṇḍia=śauṇḍika* (Kī. Mk. Pkl.), and so Mg. *suṇḍikāgāla=śauṇḍikāgāra* (Śak. 118, 7); *suddhoṇi=śauddhodani* (Hc.).—*suvaṇṇia=sauvarṇika* (Hc.) is rather *\*suvarṇika, sugandhattaṇa=saugandhya* (Hc.) *\*saugandhatvana*.

§ 85. The *e* occurring at the end of a word, and the original as well as secondary *o* (§ 342) before the enclitics, that begin with double consonants, except in A., become *e* and *o* and not *i* and *u*, : M. *tumhē ttha=Ved. yuṣme stha* (R. 3, 3), *sāreṭti=sāgara iti* (R. 4, 39), *anurāga iti* (G. 715), *piōṭti=prīya iti* (H. 46); JM. *purisoṭti=puruṣa iti* (Āv. 13, 2), *gaōṭti=gata iti* (Āv. 17, 6), *kaloṭti=vā=kāla iva* (Erz. 71, 27. 3.); JŚ. *samoṭti=sama iti* (Pav. 380, 7). Wrong readings are AMg. *mu tti* (Āyār. 1, 1, 3, 4) for *mōṭti*, as it is correctly in the Calcutta edition, = *sma iti*, JŚ. *māyācāruva* for *māyācāroṭti vva* (Pav. 383, 44), AMg. *lohabhāruva*,

*gaṅgasowva* for °*bhāro*°*va*, °*so*°*va* (Uttar. 583), and others. See § 346. *Ś. avahito*°*mhi*=*avahito*°*smi* (Vikr. 78, 14), *bamhaṇo*°*jje*°*va*=*brāhmaṇa eva* (Mṛcch. 27, 14); Mg. *eśa*°*kku*=*eśa khalu* (Mṛcch. 40, 9), *puttake*°*iti*=*putraka iti* (Śak. 161, 7). Against this, in M. *e* and *o* are always changed into *i* and *u* in the final syllable of the case endings after long vowels, when the metre requires a short vowel : *pucchi*°*āi* *muddhāe* = *ḥṣṣi*°*āyā* *mugdhāyāḥ* (H. 15); *golāi* *tūhāim*=*godāyāstīrthāni* (H. 58); *gāmataruṇiu* *hiaam*=*grāmataruṇyo hṛdayam* (H. 546); *uahiu* *niḡgaam*=*udadhernirgatam* (G. 56) Just apparently sometime in MSS. are written *e*° and *o*° that are permitted by grammarians in Pkt. and A. (Āv. p. 6, note 4; Saṅgītaratnākara 4,55. 56; Piṅgala 1, 4), thus :—*jaso*°*ae* *cumbiam*=*yaśodāyāścumbitam* (G. 21), or *ko*°*tthuhakiraṇāntio* *kaṅhassa*=*kaustubhakiraṇāyamānāḥ kṛṣṇasya* (G. 22). The MSS. mostly waver, thus even the best manuscript of G. 44, for *harā*°*liṅgaṇalajjij*°*ae*°*ajjāe*° of the text, has °*lajjij*°*ai*°*ajjāi*° Examples of this sort are preponderant<sup>1</sup>. For AMg. JM. JŚ. as well the same rule holds good : however, in AMg. and JM. the texts, sometimes even after long vowels, have *e*° and *o*°, probably wrongly. Thus : AMg. *savvakammāvahāo* = *sarvakarmāvahāḥ* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 16), but the Calc. edition gives the correct reading °*hāu*; *levamāyāe* *samjāe* = *lepamātrāyām samyataḥ* (Dasav. 622, 13) *niḡganthaitāo*° *bhassai* = *nirgranthatāo*° *bhraṣyati* (Dasav. 624, 33); JM. *buddhiē*° *caūvviḥāe*° *juo* = *buddhyā caturvidhayā yutah* (Āv. 7, 23), *muddāe*° *aṅkio* = *mudrayāṅkītaḥ* (Āv. 8, 14), *jūhāo*° *paribhattho* = *yūihāt paribhraṣṭah* (Erz. 69, 14). In AMg. JM., even before vowels and simple consonants, *e* and *o*, in many other cases in poetry, measure short : thus in AMg. *unnāe*° *vā pase* = *unnato vā payodaḥ*, *vuṭṭhe*° *balāhāe*° *iti* = *vr̥ṣto balāhaka iti* (Dasav. 629, 31. 32), *alolo*° *bhikkhū* = *alolo bhikkṣuḥ* (Dasav. 640, 3); JM. *manne*° *esa* = *manya eśa* (Āv. 7, 30), *riō*° *ujjenim* = *nita ujjayinim* (Āv. 8, 14). In poetry, for the enclitic *me*, in AMg., is used *mi*, for *se* in AMg. JM. is used *se*°, and in AMg., *si* (§ 418. 423), in Mg. Mṛcch. 43, 6 ff., in verse there occurs *śakki* for *śakke* = *śakyaḥ* etc. (§ 64). In AMg. *utāho* becomes *udāhu* (Uvās.) or *uṣāhu* (Āyār 1, 4, 2 6). Cf. also § 346. In A. *e* and *o*, in all cases, could become either short or *i* and *u* in the final position: *pie*° *diṭṭhai* = *ḥriye*° *ḍṣṭake* (Hc. 4, 365, 1); *hiāi* = *hr̥daye* (Hc. 4, 330, 3 395, 4. 420, 3); *pie*° *pavasaniē* = *ḥriye pravāsati* (Hc. 4, 422, 12); *kalijugi* *dullahah*° = *kalijuge durlabhasya* (Hc. 4, 338); *aṅguliu* *jajjariāu* = *aṅgulyo jarjaritāḥ* (Hc. 4, 333); *dīnaaru* *khaagāli* = *dīnarakah kṣayakāle* (Hc. 4, 377); *kṛdantahō* = *kṛtāntaya* (Hc. 4, 370. 4). Cf. § 128. 130. 346. Sometimes wrongly is written *a* before double consonants in lieu of *e*° and *o*°. So M. *pamhatṭha* *mhi* for *pamhattho*° *mhi* = *prasmṛtavānāsmi* (R. 6, 12; already in Hc. 3, 105); *Ś. hadamhi* for *hadō*° *mhi* = *hato*° *smi* (Śak. 29, 9); Mg. *kadamhi* for *kade*° *mhi* (Mṛcch. 38, 15)<sup>2</sup>. Cf. § 92 ff. 392 ff.

1. 365. 375. 385; LASSÉN, Inst. p. 148, WEBER, ZDMG. 28, 352; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 29.—2. FISCHEL, GGA. 1880, 342 ff. Wrongly S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 17.

§ 86. A long vowel, before a group of several consonants, one of which is *r*, sometime become a short nasal vowel and the consonant-group is simplified: M. *maṅjara* (§ 81), *vaṅjara* (Hc. 2, 132), *maṅjāra* (Hc. 1, 26), by the side of *majjara*, AMg. JŚ. *Ś. majjāra* = *māṅjāra* (§ 81).—*mumḍha* = *mūrdhan* (Hc. 1, 26; 2, 41), a mention is to be made of only AMg. JM. *muddha*- (§ 402; Erz.) that does not appear to have been used in M. *Ś.* (FISCHEL on Hc. 2, 41).—AMg. *me*° *mḍha* (back : Thāṇ. 250), *mimḍha* (Thāṇ. 205; Sūyag. 708), *me*° *mḍhaga* (Thāṇ. 260), *mimḍhaga* (Ovav. § 107\*), *mimḍhaya* (Samav. 131) = *meḍhra*, *meḍh-raka*, that have as *meḍḍhaka*, *meḍḍha* and *meḍḍhara* crept into Skt. as well;



fem. *meṃdhī* (Deśin. 6, 138), *mimḍhiyā* (Pāiyal. 219), and according to Deśin. 6, 138 also *meṃṭhī*.

§ 87. A long vowel, that occurs before an original consonant-group, from which develops a single consonant through assimilation, or rather its phonetic substitute through elision, remains long (Hc. 2, 92). Such cases mostly occur when one of the consonants is either *r* or a sibilant. Thus: *āsa=āśya* (Hc.).—AMg. JM. *isara=iśvara* (Hc.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), Mg. *isala* (Mṛcch. 17, 4; Śak. 116, 2), by the side of *iśvara* (Bh. 3, 58).—M. JM. Ś. *iśā=īśyā* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 69, 25), but also Ś. *iśā* (Prab. 39, 2, 3), Mg. *iśā* (Prab. 47, 1).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *dīha=dirgha* (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 91; G. H. R.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 39, 2; 41, 22; 69, 8; 78, 25; Ratn. 307. 318, 26; Mālatīm. 76, 5; Mṛcch. 116, 17; 168, 20; Hc. 4, 330, 2); Ś. *dīhiā=dirghikā* (Priyad. 11, 2, 5; 12, 12; Vṛṣabh. 39, 3), AMg. JM. *dīhiyā* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 2; Ovav.; Erz.), by the side of *diggha* (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 91). Ś. *digghīā* (Ratn. 299, 12; Nāgān. 51, 6; Priyad. 8, 13; 12, 2; 19, 17; 23, 11; 24. 9. 15; Mg. Mṛcch. 134, 7).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *pāsa=pāśva* (Hc. 2, 92; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 5; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Vikr. 17, 11; 24, 4. 5; 36. 12; 75, 15; Prab. 64, 2; Priyad. 8, 14).—AMg. JM. *pehai=prekṣate* (§ 323).—M. JM. Ś. A. *bāha* (tears), by the side of *bappha* (smoke). Ś. *bappa* (tears)=*bāṣpa* (§ 305).—AMg. *lūha* by the side of *lukkha=rūkṣa, lūhei=rūkṣayati* (§ 257).—*leḍhukka=leṣṭuka* (§ 304).—AMg. JŚ. *lodha=loṣṭa* (§ 304).—M. *vedhai*, AMg. JM. *vedhei*, Ś. *vedhida=Pāli vethati, vethita=Skt. veṣṭate, veṣṭita* (§ 304). M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *śisa=śiśva* (Hc. 2, 92; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 6; Uvās.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 24, 14. 16. 17; 68, 14; 74, 5; 78, 10; Śak. 39, 4; Hc. 4, 389. 446), Mg. *śisa* (Mṛcch. 12. 18; 13, 9; 40, 6; 113, 1; 127, 12), °*śiśaka* (Mṛcch. 20, 17).—AMg. JM. *soma=saumya* by the side of M. Ś. *soṃma* (§ 61<sup>a</sup>).—Cf. § 284. In AMg., deviating from all other dialects, long vowels remain very frequently before the suffix *-tra*, that develops into *-ya* from *-ta*. So : *gāya=gātra* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 19; 2, 2, 3, 9; Thān. 289; Nāyādh. 267; Vivāhap. 822. 1257. 1261; Uttar. 61. 105. 109; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); *goya=gotra* (Āyār. 1, 2, 3, 1; 2, 2, 3, 4; Paṇṇav. 716; Uttar. 966; Ovav.; Kappas.), by the side of *gōta* (Dasav. 628, 3; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); *dhāi=dhātṛi* (Hc. 2, 81; Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 1; 2, 15, 13; Sūyag. 255; Vivāgas. 81; Vivāhap. 959; Nāyādh. § 117; Rāyap. 288; Ovav. [§ 105]); *pāya=pātra* (Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 18; 2, 6, 1, 1 ff.; Sūyag. 124; Uttar. 219; Ovav.), *pāi=pātri* (Sūyag. 783), *kāmsapāi=kāmsyapātri* (Thān. 528; Kappas.); *lohīyapūyapāi=lohītapūyapātri* (Sūyag. 281); *māyā=mātrā* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 3; Ovav.), *māyanna=mātrāñña* (Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 3; 1, 7, 3, 2; 1, 8, 1, 19; Dasav. 623, 15; Uttar. 51), *taṇamāya=taṇamātra* (Sūyag. 608); *mūya=mūtra* (Āyār. 1, 6, 1, 3); *soya=śotra* (Āyār. 1, 2, 1, 2, 5; Sūyag. 639). Only in *rātri* (Bh. 3, 58; Hc. 2, 88; Mk. fol. 28) the rule is not restricted merely to AMg. as *rāi* (Vivāhap. 936. 938), *rāibhojāna=rātriḥhojāna* (Thān. 180; Ovav.), *rāimḍīya rātriṃḍīva* (Thān. 133; Nāyādh. 347; Vivāhap. 1293; Kappas.), °*rāya=°rātra* (Kappas.), °*rāiya=°rātrika* (Sūyag. 731; Ovav.; Kappas.); but there occurs also in M. *rāi* (H.), by the side of *rattī* (H. R.; Śak. 55, 15), JŚ. *rāibhojāna* (Kattig. 399, 306) by the side of *rattim* (Kattig. 103, 374. 375), *rattīdivaham* (Kattig. 402, 364), Ś. *rādi* (Mṛcch. 93, 12. 15) by the side of the usual *rattī* (Mṛcch. 93, 6. 7; 147, 16; 148, 2; Śak. 29, 7), Mg. *latti* (Mṛcch. 21, 18), *lattim*, *lattimḍivam* (Mṛcch. 45, 21; 161, 4).

§ 88. The prefix *ā* remains often before the root *khyā*, and always before *jñā*, and the initial syllable of the roots is treated as if it were a medial one. AMg. *āgharī=ākhyān* Sūyag. 397), *āghāya=ākhyāya* (Sūyag. 375), *āghāvei, āghavemāṇa, āghaviya, āghavitīae, āghaviṅanti* (§ 551), *āghavaṇā=*

*ākhyāpanā* (Nāyādh. § 143; p. 539; Uvās. § 222); Ś. *paccākhādum*=*pratyākhyātum* (Vikr. 45, 5). Dh. *akkhanto* (Mṛcch. 34, 24) is an incorrect reading for *ācakkhanto* (§ 491. 499). But also AMg. *akkhāi*, *akkhanti*, *paccakkhāi* (§ 491). AMg. JM. *ānavai*, Ś. Mg. *ānavedi*=*ājñāpayati* (§ 551); M. AMg. JM. *ānā*=*ājñā* (Vr. 3, 55; Hc. 2, 92; Kī. 2, 109; Mk. fol. 27; G. H. R.; Samav.; 134; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 8, 17. 18; Kk.; Rṣabhap.); VG. M. AMg. Ā. Ś. Mg. *ānatti*=*ājñapti* (Bh. 3, 55; Hc. 2, 92; Kī. 2, 109, Mk. fol. 27; VG. 102, 16; R.; Nirayāv.; Priyad. 11, 10; Mṛcch. 105, 1; 166, 21; 171, 17; Veṇis. 36, 6); AMg. *ānattiyā* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Nirayāv.), *ānavaṇa*=*ājñāpana* (Hc. 2, 92; Uvās.), *ānavaṇi*=*\*ājñāpani* (Paṇṇav. 363. 369). In other cases the usage wavers: thus: M. *āsasāi*=*āsvasīti*, but Ś. *samāssasadu*, Mg. *śamaśśasadu*=*samāsvasītu* (§ 496). In Ś. *akkandāmi*=*ākṛandāmi* (Uttarar. 32, 1), *akkandasi* (Mudrār. 263, 4), Mg. *akkandāmi*=(Mṛcch. 162, 17) the printed editions (except that of STENZLER) with the majority of the manuscripts have *ākka°*, so that it could be read as *āka°* also. But M. JM. *akkamāi*, *akkanta*, *samakkanta* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.) always have the shortened vowel, which also is explained better with the help of *krand*. Besides, a long vowel remains before a consonant-group formed without *r* or a sibilant only seldom, and it is so preserved dialectically: JŚ. *āda*=*ātman* (Pav. 380, 8. 12; 381, 15. 16; 382, 23. 24. 25; 383, 70. 24), AMg. *āya*-(Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 3. 4. 5; 1, 2, 2, 2. 5, 4; Sūyag. 28. 35. 81. 151. 231. 838; Vivāhap. 76.132.283.1059 ff. [the text mostly *āta*-]; Uttar. 251).—AMg. *sāmālī*=*śālmālī* (Sūyag. 315; Thān. 88.555; Paṇhāv. 274; Anuttar. 9; Ovav. § 16; *kūdasāmālī* (Uttar. 626), dialectical *sāmārī* (Pāiyāl. 264; Deśin. 8,23.; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,259; cf. § 109).—M. AMg. A. *thāha*, “ground; bottom” (Pāiyāl. 249; Deśin. 5,30; R.; Paṇhāv. 380; Nāyādh. 904.1112.1341; Hc. 4,444,3), according to Hc. also “deep water” and “broad” by the side of *thaha* (residence; Deśin. 5,24) and *thaggha* (deep; Pāiyāl. 249; Deśin. 5,24)<sup>1</sup>; AMg. *atthāha* (groundless; deep; Deśin. 1.54; Nāyādh. 1112; Vivāhap. 104. 447) by the side of *atthaggha* (Deśin. 1,54)=*\*stāghya*, *\*astāghya*. Cf. § 333.

1. In Deśin. 5,24, the words are to be read as *thaggho* 'gādhe and *thaggho* 'gādhaḥ. The scholiasts connect it to *stāgha*. Improvement has been effected according to this GGA. 1880,334.

§ 89. Against § 83, sometimes a long nasal vowel is retained dialectically, and in such cases the nasal sound disappears: *kāsa*=*kāmsya*, *pāsu*=*pāmsu* (Hc. 1,29.70); M. *māsa*=*māmsa* (Vr. 4,16; Hc. 1,29.70; Mk. fol. 34; G. R.), *māsala*=*māmsala* (Hc. 1,29; G. R.), *māsalaanta*, *māsalia* (G.). The same thing takes place also in the case of secondary nasal vowels in Pāli *pekhuṇa*, *pe'kkhuṇa*, M. AMg. *pehuṇa*=*\*preṅkhuṇa*, *\*preṅkhuṇa*, *\*pre-khuṇa*=Skt. *preṅkhaṇa* (wandering=swing, wing; Pāiyāl. 126; Deśin. 6,58; G. H. R.; Āyār. 2,1,7,5; Paṇhāv. 33.489.533; Paṇṇav. 529; Nāyādh. 500; Jiv. 464). The derivation from *paḥsman* (CHILDERS, s. v. *pekhuṇa*; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, KZ. 25,611) or from *paḥsa* (WEBER, IStr. 3,396) is linguistically impossible. So also the accusative plural forms in *-ā*, *-ī*, *-ū*, in M. AMg. A., such as M. *guṇā*=*guṇān*, AMg. *rukkhā*=*rūksān*, A. *kuṅjarā*=*kuṅjarān*, AMg. *mallāi*=*mallakīn.*, *bahū*=*bahūn* (§ 367.381) can be traced back to the Skt. forms through *\*guṇām*, *\*guṇā*, *\*bahūm*, *\*bahū*, etc., as having developed due to gradual weakening of the nasals. Perhaps Mg. *dālam*=*dārān* (§ 367<sup>a</sup>) developed in the same manner. Cf. also *kesua* from *\*keṃsua*=*kimsuka* and *kohaṇḍi*, *kohaṇḍa* from *\*koṃhaṇḍi*, *ṇḍa*=*kūsmāṇḍi*, *ṇḍa* (§ 76,127).

§ 90. When the original word had its accent on the final syllable a long vowel preceding a simple consonant is often shortened and the

simple consonant is duplicated. Sometimes doubling of consonants takes place even after an originally short vowel (§ 194). The words in which the doubling is obligatory have been grouped under the ākṛtigaṇa *nīdādi* (Vr. 3,52; Ki. 2,111; Mk. fol. 27) and under *tailādi* (Hc. 2,98; Triv. 1,4,93; 4,93); the cases, in which lengthening is optional, are included under the ākṛtigaṇa *sevādi* by Vr. 3,58; Hc. 2,99; Ki. 2,112; Mk. fol. 27, and under the *daivaga* class by Triv. 1,4,92. Not too many examples of application of this rule, notably in Bh. and Mk., are to be found.—M. Ś. Mg. Dh. *ēvām*=*eva'm* (H.; Mrcch. 4,20;9,1;12,25 etc.; Vikr. 6,15;13,18; 8 etc.; Mg. Mrcch. 31,17;39,20;80,18 etc.; Dh. Mrcch. 30,14.18;31,19. 22;35,17) by the side of *evām*.—Ś. *kacca*=*kāca'* (Karp. 19,8).—AMg. JM. *kiddā*=*kriḍā'* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3; Sūyag. 81; Jiv. 577; Jīyak. 45; Uttar. 483; Nāyādh.; Āv. 15,13), AMg. JM. *kheḍḍa* (n.; Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3, 105=BB. 3,253; Ovav.; Erz.); A. *kheḍḍaa* (Hc. 4,422,10); beside AMg. JM. *kiḍā* (Uvās.; Erz.); AMg. *kiḷana* (Ovav.), *kiḷāvana* (Rāyap. 281; Ovav.); M Ś. *kiḷā* (G; Cait. 69.9); Ś. *kiḷāpavada*=*kriḍāpavata* (Vikr. 31, 17; Mallikām. 135,5; Adbhutad. 61,20 [text °dā°]), *kiḷānaa*=*kriḍanaka* (Śak. 155,1). Cf. § 206.240.—*khaṇṇu* by the side of *khāṇu* (Hc. 2,99; Mk. fol. 21.27)=\**skhāṇu'*, an allied dialectical form of *sthāṇu'* (§ 120.309); M. *khaṇṇua* (H.).—AMg. JM. *khatta*=*khāta'*, *ukkhatta* by the side of M. *ukkhāa*, *ukkhāa'* (§ 566).—Ś. *jeḥva*, P. Mg. *yeḥva*=*eva'*, by the side of *jeva*, *jeva'* (§ 95.335).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *jōvāna*=*yavāna'* (Grr.; Āyār. 1,2, 1,3; Sūyag. 212; Thān. 369; Paṇhāv. 288; Paṇṇav. 100; Vivāhap. 825. 827; Dasav. 641,16; Kī. 13; Erz.; Mrcch. 22,22;141,15;142,12;145,12; Śak. 11,4;13,2; Prab. 41,5; [so it is to be read]; Dhūrtas. 15,8; Mallikām. 221,2; Hc. 4,422,7; Vikr. 68,22), AMg. *jōvānaga* (Vivāhap. 946) but always *juva*—, *juva*—=*yu'van* (§ 402), and so also M. JM. *juvāi*, *juvāi*=*yuvati'*, *yuvāi'* (G. H. R.; Śak. 120,7; Ratn. 293,5; Pratāp. 218,11; Erz.), Ś. *juvādi* (Mrcch. 69,23;73,9), Mg. *yuvādi* (Mrcch. 136,13)<sup>1</sup>.—*neḍḍa*=*nīḍa'* (Grr.), by the side of M. *ṇīḍa* (G. H.)<sup>2</sup>.—M. JM. *tuṇhikka*=*tūṣṇika'* (H. R.; Āv. 38,2; Erz.), by the side of *tuṇhia*, AMg. JM. *īusṇiya* (§ 81). M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *tēlla*=*taila'* (Grr.; H.; Āyār. 2,1,4,5,9,3;2,6,1,9,12; 2,7,1,11; 2,12,4,15,20; Sūyag. 248.935; Paṇhāv. 381; Vivāgas. 235; Vivāhap. 1288.1327.1329; Rāyap. 167.175; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mrcch. 69,7.12;72,10; Śak. 39,4; Mrcch. 25,19;117,8), also AMg. *tilla* (Paṇṇav. 63; Uttar. 432.806).—*thiṇṇa* by the side of *thīṇa*=*styāna'* (Hc. 1,74), M. *thiṇṇaa*=*styānaka* (R.).—AMg. JM. *thulla* by the side of AMg. JŚ. Ś. *thūla*=*sthūla'* (§ 127).—*thōkka*=*stoka'* (Hc. 2, 125) beside the common *thova*, *thoa* (§ 230).—AMg. *dugulla*=*ḍukūla'* (Hc. 1,119; Pāiyāl. 266; Āyār. 2,5,1,4; Paṇhāv. 238; Vivāhap. 791.941.962; Jiv. 508.559; Ovav.; Kappas.), according to Vr. 1,25; Hc. 1,119; Ki. 1,25; Mk. fol. 9 also *dualla* beside M. Ś. *duūla* (Hc.; Mk.; H.; Mallikām. 68, 5;69,13).—AMg. *dhatta*=*dhmāta'* (Nāyādh. § 61).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *peṇma*=*prema'n* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Ratn. 299,18; Viddhaś. 6,3; Bālar. 122,13,16; Sūyag. 771; Erz.; Mrcch. 72,25; Vikr. 45,2;51,16; Viddhaś. 59,1; Anarghar. 297,14; Vṛṣabh. 9,1;29,6;43,8; Mallikām. 225,1; Hc. 4, 395.3.423,1; Vikr. 64,4), also AMg. JM. *pimma* (Rāyap. 252; Erz.) and AMg. *pema*—(Sūyag. 923.958; Dasav. 631,19; Uvās.; Ovav.).—*mukka* beside *mūa*=*mūka'* (Hc. 2,99).—M. *lajjā*=*lājā'h* (H. 814).—AMg. *viḍḍā*=*viḍā'* (Hc. 2,98; Deśin. 7,61; Nirayāv. § 13). Cf. § 240.—*seḥva*=*sevā'* (Grr.), beside M. JM. *sevā* (G. H.; Erz.). The same accent is seen in AMg. *pājattā*=*pādāta* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.).

1. According to Ki. 2,111 *va* in *yuvan* also doubled. The texts do not attest it, and it is against the rule. JACOBI, KZ. 35,565 considers that it is strange that in *yavāna*, it is not *na*, but *va*, that is doubled. But this, however, takes place with the

consonant that occurs immediately after a long vowel! The entire polemic of JACOBI, KZ. 35,575 ff. against FISCHER, KZ. 35, 140 ff. does not alter in the least the situation, which may be explained by stating that a consonant is often reduplicated before a tonic syllable.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 1,106.

§ 91. The same rule holds good in the optative in—*jjā*,—*jja*,—*ējjā*,—*ējja*,—*ijjā*,—*ijja* in AMg. JM., as in *kujjā*=*kuryā't*; *dējjā*=*deyā't*; *hōjjā*=*bhūyā't*; *bhuñjējjā*=*\*bhuñjyā't*=*bhuñjyā't*; *jāñijjā*, *jāñējjā*=*janīyā't*, a flexion that even the verbs of the first conjugations have (§ 459 ff.); and further in the passive in—*ijja*,—*jja* in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. D. A., in—*yya*,—*yya* in P., so in words like M. JM. A. *dijjā*, JŚ. *dijjādī*, P. *iyya'te*=*dīya'te*, AMg. *kahijjā*, D. *kahijjādī*=*kathya'te* (§ 535 ff.). While Ś. *karaṇia*, *ramaṇia*, Mg. *kalaṇia*, *lamaṇia* and the similarly formed participia nec. and adjectival words are traceable to Skt. *karaṇī'ya*, *ramaṇī'ya* and so forth, the exceptional forms like M. JM. AMg. *karaṇijja*, *ramaṇijja*, and other similar ones (§ 571) presuppose forms of the type *\*karaṇyā*, *ramaṇyā*, A. *raṇaṇa* (Hc. 4, 422,11) etc., likewise the substantively used M. Ś. Mg. A. *pāṇia*, AMg. JM. *paṇiya*=*pāṇiya* (Vr. 1,18; Hc. 1,101; Ki. 1,11; Mk. fol. 8; Pkl. p. 28; H. R.; Nāyādh. 1009.1011.1013.1032.1053.1058.1375.1386; Uvās.; Ovav.; Āv. 25,3;40,6;42,7.12; Mṛcch. 45,9;77,11; Latakam. 4.12; Mg. Mṛcch. 45,7;113,21;115,1.2;136,11; Hc. 4,396,4.418,7.434,1) assume *\*pānya* or *\*pānya'*. In Ś. occurs *pāṇia* (Hāsy. 37,7), in AMg. *pāṇiya* for metrical reason (Uttar. 895).—M. *biijja* (Hc. 1,248), *tiijja* (Ki. 2,36), A. *taijji* (Hc. 4,339) are to be explained like M. *biia*, AMg. JM. *biīya*, M. *tāia*, AMg. JM. *taiīya*, Ś. Mg. *tadia* (§ 82). The words in—*eya*,—*ya* as well follow the analogy of those in—*ya*. Thus: AMg. JM. *nāmadhējja*=*nāmadhēya* (§ 252), AMg. *pe'jja*=*pe'ya* (§ 572); in such cases *e* was pronounced very weak because in a great measure the accent fell on the final syllable. (WHITNEY, Sanskrit Grammar § 1216.a): this is so also in the case of a few forms of the comparative degree like AMg. *pe'jjam*=*preyas*, AMg. JM. *bhujjo*=*bhū'yah* (§ 414). Cf. § 252.—*tiṇṇi*=*triṇṇi* (§ 438) is formed on the basis of the genitive *tiṇṇam*=*triṇṇā'm*, and on the model of *tiṇṇi* have been regulated *dōṇṇi*, *bēṇṇi*, *biṇṇi*=*dvau*, *due*; likewise *daṇṇam* is formed on the model of *tiṇṇam* (§ 436). In a number of isolated words, that appear to be exceptions to the rule, the duplication of consonants is clearly due to a different cause. So in A. *adhīṇṇa*=*adhī'na* (Hc. 4,427); the common dialectical form *ē'kka*=*ēka* beside AMg. JM. *ega* (§ 435); AMg. *kavalla*, *kabhalla*=*kapā'la* or *ka'pāla*, Pāli *kapalla* (§ 208); Pāli, M. *che'ppa*=*śēpa* (§ 211); M. *sō'tta*=*strōtas* (Bh. 3,52; Hc. 2,98; Mk. fol. 27; G. H. R.); AMg. *paḍiso'ttagāmi*=*pratisrotogāmin* (Uttar. 441), *viso'ttiyā*=*\*visrotaskā* (Āyār. 1,1,3,2), beside *soya* (Ovav.), *paḍisoja*, *vissoasiyā* (Hc. 2, 98). M. AMg. JM. *maṇḍukka* (Hc. 2,98; Ki. 2,112; Mk. fol. 27; Pāiyal. 131; Sarasvatik. 34,17; Thāṇ. 311.312; Paṇhāv. 18; Vivāhap. 552.553. 1048; Āv. 7,29), AMg. *maṇḍukkiyā* (Uvās. § 38) may be traced back to *maṇḍuka* (Śrīharaṣa, Dvirūpakoṣa 35), whereof the accent has not been transmitted, and not to *maṇḍū'ka*, that gives AMg. *maṇḍūya* (Paṇṇav. 480), Ś. A. *maṇḍūa* (Mṛcch. 9,11; so more correctly GODABOLE 25,6; Piṅgala 1,67).

1. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,575 the reduplication of *ya* in the passive goes against the rule, because except in the first person singular of the indicative present it is not the final syllable that is accented, but the *ya* that occurs before the personal ending. Evidently here the question can be only of (cf. § 90, note 1) the syllable immediately following a long vowel, therefore, of the last syllable of the stem.—2. FISCHER, KZ. 35, 142.

§ 92. A long vowel, occurring in a closed syllable and followed by an enclitic, is often shortened; when this takes place the initial consonant of the enclitic is reduplicated: M. *appaṇa ccea*=*āmanā caiva* (G. 83), *taṇha cca*=*ṭṭṇā caiva* (H. 93), *gharasāmiṇi ccea*=*gharasāmiṇi caiva* (H. 736),

*ummillanti cca*=*unmilanti caiva* (R. 12,24); AMg. *hiri cceva*=*hriścaiva* (Tṛhāp. 76); JM. *sa cceva sã* (Āv. 18, 9), *abhañanta cca*=*abhañantaścaiva* (Rṣabhap. 13), *sahasa cciya*=*sahasã caiva* (Erz. 83,37); M. *gañe cca*=*gagane caiva* (G. 319), *muo ccea*=*mryaścaiva* (H. 497), *āvāe cca*=*āpāte caiva*, *tē ccea*=*te caiva*, *sō ccea*=*sa caiva* (R. 1,58; 5,67; 6,67).—PG. *bē tti*=*due iti* (6,39), *hoja tti*=*bhūyād iti* (7,48), *kada tti*=*kṛteti* (7,51); M. *sahasa tti*=*sahaseti*, *bhikkhatti*=*bhikkṣeti* (H. 459.554), *niatti*=*nīteti* (R. 5,6), *tumhārisa tti*=*tvadrśā iti* (G. 706), *māñiñitti* (H. 807), *mahi tti* (R. 5,20), *sāre tti*=*sāgara iti* (R. 4,39), *anurāo tti*=*anurāga iti* (G. 715); AMg. *taha tti*=*tatheti* (Uvās. § 67.87.120 etc.), *cāi tti*=*iyāgīti* (Dasav. 613,18.20), *antakade tti*=*antakād iti* (Āyār. 2,16, 10.11), *tasakāo tti*=*trasakāya iti* (Dasav. 615,12); JM. *sã sã sa tti* (Āv. 16, 26), *kã esã kamalāmela tti* (Āv. 30,5), *savannu tti*=*sarvajña iti* (Āv. 16,21), *silogo tti*=*śloka iti* (Āv. 8, 56).—M. *soñāratula vva*=*suvarṇakāratuleva* (H. 191), *soha vva*, *vañamāla vva*, *kittiva*, *āñava*=*śobheva*, *vanamāleva*, *kiriñiva*, *ājñeva* (R. 1,48), *vañahatthiñiva*=*vañahastiniva* (R. 4,59), *āppahāe vva*, *antaviraśo vva*=*atiprabhāta iva*, *antavirasa iva* (H. 68); AMg. *giri vva*=*giriv iva* (Āyār. 2,16,3), *milakkhu vva*=*mleccha iva* (Sūyag. 57), *divē vva* [text *va*]=*dīpa iva* (Sūyag. 304), *ajāko tthao vva*=*ajākṣṭhaka iva* (Uvās. § 94); JM. *thambhiya vva* *lihiya vva* *kiliya vva* *tanukkariya vva*=*stambhiteva* *likhiteva* *kiliteva* *tanoktirneva* (Erz. 17,8), *janani vva*=*jananiva* (KI. 9), *taṇao vva*=*tanaya iva* (KI. 14), *cando vva*, *mahi vva*=*candra iva*, *māhiva* (Erz. 84,20); in A. *va* also occurs on account of metre in *piapabbhattha va*=*piyaprabhraṣṭeva* (Hc. 4,436). In AMg. JM. as a rule a long vowel is retained before *ceva*. In Ś. Mg. neither *ceva* nor *va* occurs. The cases where they are found are examples of error against the dialect: thus in Ś. *gosammi ccea*=*gose caiva*, *tañ cea*=*tac caiva*, *pañtam cea*=*pravrttam caiva* (Kāleyak. 2,5.17;3,12); Ś. *nāmeña vva* (Lalitav. 560,22), *bhaviḍamva* (Vikr. 26,13; ed. PANDIT 47,2 and ed. Bombay 46,2 also the incorrect *ēvva*; it is rightly wanting in BP., ed. Calc. 1830, p. 35,1; ed. LENZ. 25,10; ed. FISCHER 632, 18), *suttadhāli vva*, Mg. *suttadhāli vva* (Mṛcch. 21,9;23,21), Mg. *calē vva*=*cara iva*, *amhadēśiya vva*=*asmaddeśiyā iva*, *deśiye vva*=*deśiya iva* Lalitav. 565,8.12.14), *goṇa vva* (Mṛcch. 112,17) and so often in Indian editions.

§ 93. In AMg. a long vowel, if it is a pluti-vowel, before *iti*, and in enumeration before *iti vā*, is retained. In such cases *iti* becomes *i*<sup>1</sup> through *ti*: *ājampulā i* (Vivāhap. 1260; text *ti*); *sihā i* (Vivāhap. 1268; text *di*); *goyamā i* (Vivāhap. 1311.1315, text *di*; Uvās. § 86); *ānandā i* (Uvās. § 44); *kāmadvā i* (Uvās. § 118); *kālī i* (Nirayāv § 5, text *ti*); *ajjo i* (Uvās. § 119.174).—*māyā i vā piyā i bhāyā i vā bhayinī i vā bhajjā i vā puttā i vā dhūyā i vā suhā i vā*=*māteḷi vā piteti vā bhrāteḷi vā bhaginīti vā bhāryeti vā putrā iti vā duhiteti vā snuṣeti vā* (Jiv. 355; cf. Sūyag. 750; Nāyadh. 1110); *uñthāne i vā kamme i vā bale i vā vīrie i vā purisakkāra parakkame i vā*=*uttānam iti vā karmeti vā balam iti vā vīryam iti vā puruṣakāraparākrama iti vā* (Vivāhap. 67.68; Uvās. § 166ff.). Cf. further Sūyag. 747.758.857; Vivāhap. 41.70; Ōvav. § 96.112.165; Kappas. § 109.210).

1. The MSS. and the printed editions very often wrongly have *ti* and also *di*. Cf. WEBER, Bhag. I, 405, 2, 256 note, \* 290, note 12.

§ 94. In Mg. and Ś., before the particle *khu*, which originates from *khalu* (§ 148) under the influence of the pretone, whereby *khu* becomes *kkhu*, *e* and *o* are shortened: Ś. *asamaē kkhu*=*asamaye khalu* (Śak. 14,6), *edē kkhu* (Mṛcch. 8,2; Śak. 41,1;79,6), *maē kkhu*=*mayā khalu* (Vikr. 26,15); Ś. *mahanō kkhu* (Vikr. 45,1;73,11;81,20; Mālatim. 22,2), Mg. *mahan-tē kkhu* (Prab. 58,9)=*mahan khalu*; Ś. *kāmo kkhu* (Mṛcch. 28,1), *maṇṇō kkhu* (Vikr. 23,2); Mg. *hagē kkhu* (Śak. 113,9), wrongly *hage khu* (Lalitav. 566,6)=*aham khalu*, *dukkalē kkhu*=*duṣkaraḥ khalu* (Mṛcch. 43,4). The

other long vowels remain in all the dialects (for P. and CP. material is not available), and in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. A., after any vowel *khu* mostly becomes *hu*. In Ś. Mg. after a long vowel, other than *e* or *o*, *khu* remains, and after a short vowel it becomes *kkhu*, and only seldom and that incorrectly it is written as *hu* in all the MSS., so Ś. *ṇa hu* (Mṛcch. 60, 1. 24; 61, 23; 117, 16. 17; 150, 18; 153, 2; 327, 4), *ṇu hu* (Mṛcch. 59,22), Mg. *ṇa hu* (Mṛcch. 161,17, in the same line with *lāṇiṇo* [so it is to be read] *kkhu* !), *ṇu hu* (Mṛcch. 133, 14. 15. 22; 169, 18). Besides, in the text or in the variants there occur everywhere *ṇa kkhu* and *ṇu kkhu*; as throughout in the text in Śak., where in 50,2 only for *ṇa hu* of the text, with the best MSS., we should read *ṇa kkhu*. It is only in poetry that even in Ś. (Mṛcch. 40,25) and in Mg. (Mṛcch. 9,25;21,17.19;29,22;43,3;161,14; Śak. 114,6) *hu* is correct<sup>1</sup>. Even after a short vowel, therefore, occurs in M. A. *ṇa hu* (G. 718.864.900.908.911.1004.1135; H.; R. 3,7;6,16;7,6; Hc. 4,390; Vikr. 72,11); so also Dh. (Mṛcch. 30,17;31,1); AMg. JM. *na hu* (Uttar. 583. 743; Äv. 11,2; Erz. 79,14;81,35), but Ś. Mg. *ṇa kkhu* (Śak. 13,7;60,14. 17;72,9;156,14; Prab. 14,17; Śak. 160,10); M. *ṇu hu* (G. 183.996), but Ś. Mg. *ṇu kkhu* (Śak. 18,10;19,1;39,12;77,1;86,8 etc.; Mg. 113,7); AMg. *mā ja hu* (Äyār. 1,2,5,5.); M. AMg. JM. *vi hu* (G. 865.885.886 etc.; H.; R. 1,15;5,70;7,63; Dasav. 634,2; Erz. 80,7; Kk. 272,1;277,23); AMg. *hoi hu*=*bhavati khalu* (Uttar. 628.629); JŚ. *havadi hu* (Pav. 380, 9); but Ś. *atthi kkhu*=*asti khalu* (Śak. 127,14), *arihadi kkhu*=*arhati khalu*, *tajjāmi kkhu* (Śak. 58,13;164,5), *sumaresu kkhu*=*smara khalu*, *bhāmi kkhu*=*bibhemi khalu* (Vikr. 13,4;24,13). In Rājasekhara occurs *ṇa hu* (e.g. Karp. 22, 7; 32, 10; 33, 1) against *ṇu kkhu* (Karp. 93,4)—an error against the dialect. After long vowels: M. AMg. *mā hu* (H. 521.607; R. 8,14; Uttar. 440 [hū]. 617), but Ś *mā kku* (Mṛcch. 54,21; Śak. 153,13;159,7; Vikr. 48,3; 49,1); M. *ko kku* (Hc. 2,198), *ko hu* (H 384; v. l. *kkhu*), but Ś. *ko kkhu* (Mṛcch. 64,18); M. *so kku* (H. 401; v. l. *kkhu*, *hu*), JŚ. *so hu* (Kattig. 399,317.318;400,323), but Ś. *so kkhu* (Mṛcch. 28,20;142,10); AMg. *se hu* (Äyār. 1,1,1,7,2,6;1,2,6,2;1,6,5,6;2,16,9.10), but Mg. *śe kkhu* (Mṛcch. 12, 20). Wrong is Ś. *so kku* (Lalitav. 560.19), as in the same place occurring *aṇiruddheṇa kku* (555,1). JM. *sā hū* (Frz. 77,23); AMg. *eso hu* (Uttar. 362), but Ś. *eso kkhu* (Mṛcch. 18,8;23,19); Mg. *eśe kkhu* (Mṛcch. 40,9; Venis. 36,4); AMg. *vimukkā hu*=*vimuktiāḥ khalu* (Äyār. 1,2,2,1), *siyā hu*=*syāi khalu* (Uttar. 297; Dasav. 634,5); JM. *viṣamā hu*=*viṣamā khalu* (Rṣabhap. 17); Ś. *abalā kku* (Mṛcch. 12,21) *akkhamā kku*=*akṣamā khalu*, *bahuvallahā kku*=*bahuvallabhāḥ khalu*, *eṣā kku*=*eṣā khalu*, *rakkhaṇiā kku*=*rakṣaṇiyā khalu* (Śak. 53,2;58,1;67,1;74,8), *parihāsaṣilā kku*=*parihāsaṣilā khalu* (Karp. 40,9), *mandabhāṇi kku*=*mandabhāḡiṇi khalu* (Mṛcch. 22,25), *dūravatīṇi kku*=*dūravatīṇi khālu* (Śak. 85,7); Mg. *āadā kku*=*āgātā khalu* (Mṛcch. 99,7), *avāṣalovaṣṭhāṇiā kku* *lāāno*=*avāṣaropasarpaṇiyāḥ khalu* *rājānaḥ* (Śak. 115,10), *niadī kku*=*niyatīḥ khalu* (Mṛcch. 161,5). Accordingly in Śak. 99,16 the reading has to be emended as *daṁṣaṇiākiḍi kku*=*darṣaṇiyākṛtiḥ khalu*. In PG. *īasa kku* (7,41) and *sa ca kku* (7,47) *kku* may, according to the mode of orthography of the inscription, be allowed to remain in the place of *kkhu*. CAPPELLER, in his editions, against the manuscripts, that mostly have *kkhu*, even after long vowels, has shortened all such vowels.<sup>2</sup> Thus for example he writes *esa kkhu* for *eṣā kku* (Ratn. 292,31;295,8;297,24;300,4 etc.), *sa kkhu* for *sā kku* (Ratn. 302,2;318,11; 320,1), *ma kkhu* for *mā kku* (Ratn. 301,17;325,13), *muhara kkhu* for *muharā kku*=*mukharā khalu* (Ratn. 305,19); *maṇaṇajjarāula kkhu*=*maḡaṇajvāraturā khalu* (Hāsy. 25,25), *mahadi kkhu*=*mahatī khalu*, *puḡhavi kkhu*=*prīḡhivī khalu* (Ratn. 299,5; 328,27) etc. It is equally wrong, as sometimes it is in some other good editions of dramas, to write *kkhu* for *khu*

after anusvāra, as in Ś. *kiṃ kḥhu* (Mṛcch. 13,3), *uakidam kḥhu*=*upakṛtam khalu*, *kahim kḥhu*=*kuṭra khalu*, *amadam kḥhu*=*amṛtamkhalu* (Vikr. 8,15;9,3. 11). After anusvāra *khu* only is correct, as Mk. fol. 72 for Ś. explicitly teaches, and as M. AMg. also have: e.g. M. *tam khu*=*tat khalu* (G. 860.879; H. 142); AMg. *evam khu* (Sūyag. 95.176), *eyam khu*=*etat khalu* (Uttar. 106).<sup>3</sup> In M. AMg. and especially in JM., however, *khu* and *hu* are proportionately rarer. AMg. mostly employs *khalu* which is found also in JŚ. (Pav. 380,7;381,18.21; Kattig. 401,343), more rarely also in JM. in which occurs the combination *tam seyam khalu*=*tac chreyah khalu* (Erz. 33,18) that occurs frequently in AMg. (e.g. Nāyādh. 333. 482; Vivāgas. 218; Uvās. § 66.138.140.151; Nirayāv. § 12.14.18.20.23; Ovav. § 85.86; Kappas. § 21) and many other similar ones have been taken over into JM. Both the forms of the particle are found side by side in AMg. *appā hu khalu duddamo*=*ātmā khalu durdamaḥ* (Uttar. 19).

1. Not quite correctly LASSEN, Inst. p. 192,7; BOLLENSEN on Vikr. 11,2, p. 196.—  
2. CAPPPELLER, Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1877, p. 125. Already correctly, LASSEN l. c. and STENZLER on Mṛcch. 2.19.—3. The hypothesis that *kḥhu* should be written everywhere (PISCHEL on Śak. p. 210) already goes back to Hc. 2,196.

§ 95. As for *khu* (§ 94), the same rules hold good for Ś. *jeva*, *jēvva*, P.Mg. *ye va*, *yēvva* (§ 336) also. After short vowels and after *e*, *o*, which may become short, the initial consonant is doubled: Ś. *ajjassa jje vva*=*āryasyaiva* (Mṛcch. 4,8.12), *aireṇa jjeva*=*acirenaiva* (Lalitav. 562, 23); *idha jjeva* (*jje vva*)=*ihava* (Śak. 12,4; Ratn. 293, 25; Mg. Mṛcch. 114,21), *disadi jje vva*=*drśyata eva* (Ratn. 295,10), *sampajjadi jjeva*=*sampadyata eva* (Śak. 120,2), *samtappadi jje vva*=*samtapyata eva* (Mṛcch. 63,24); Mg. *tava yje vva*=*tavaiva* (Mṛcch. 22,4), *tena yje vva*=*tenaiva* (Mṛcch. 133, 7); P. *savassa yjeva*=*sarvasyaiva* (Hc. 4,316), Ś. *bhūmie jje vva*=*bhūmyāmeva* (Mṛcch. 45,15), *muhē jjeva*=*mukha eva*, *sujjodae jje vva*=*sūryodaya eva* (Śak. 77, 11;79,9), *ido jje vva*=*ita eva* (Mṛcch. 4,22;6,13), *jo jje vva jaṇo*.....*so jje vva*=*ya eva janah...sa eva* (Mṛcch. 57,13), *so sacco jjeva sivaṇae diṭṭho tti*=*sa satya eva svaṇe diṣṭa iti* (Lalitav. 555,1); Mg. *damśante jjeva*=*darśayann eva* (Śak. 114,11), *aṇacaskide yje vva*=*\*anācakṣita eva*, *piṣṭado yje vva*=*piṣṭhata eva*, *bhaṣṭalake yje vva*=*bhaṣṭāraka eva* (Mṛcch. 37,21;99,8;112,18); P. *tūrāto yje va*=*dūrādeva* (Hc. 4,323). Other long vowels remain before the particle: Ś. *amhasāmiṇā jjeva*=*asmatsvāminaiva*, *tadhā jjev*=*atathāiva*, *ṇikkampā jjeva*=*ṇiskampā eva* (Śak. 116,8;126,10,14;128,6); Mg. *diśanti yje vva*=*drśyamānaiva* (Mṛcch. 14,11). CAPPPELLER wrongly writes a short vowel in such cases also (cf. § 94); e.g. Ratn. 291,1;295,23,296,24 etc., as also in Lalitav. 554,5.6.21, which wrongly has *jjeva* even after anusvāra (554,4;555,18), and at 567,1 even *eva*. Wrong is also Mg. *sahasā jje vva* (Mṛcch. 96,24) for *sahasā ye vva*.

§ 96. All the final long vowels are shortened before the enclitic forms of √as (to be) beginning with a conjunct consonant. M: *ṭhia mhi*=*sthitāsmi*, *dūmia mhi*=*dūnāsmi* (H. 239.423), *asaī mha*=*asatyah smaḥ*, *khavia mho*=*kṣapātāḥ smaḥ*, *roāvīa mha*=*roditāḥ smaḥ* (H. 417.423.807), *tumhē ttha*=*yuṣṭe stha* (R. 3,3); JM. *parisāto mhi*=*parīśrānto smi* (Erz. 6,25); Ś. *uvavasida mhi*=*upoṣitāsmi*, *alamkida mhi*=*alamkṛtāsmi* (Mṛcch. 4, 6;23,25), *āatta mhi*=*āyatāsmi*, *edāvatttha mhi*=*etadavasthāsmi*, *asahāni mhi*=*asahānyasmi* (Śak. 25,3;52,8;59,11), *virahukkaṇṭhida mhi*=*virahotkaṇṭhitāsmi*, *vimharīda mhi*=*vismṛtāsmi* (Vikr. 82,16;83,20), *avaraddha mha*=*aparāddhāḥ smaḥ*, *ṇivvuda mha*=*nirvṛtāḥ smaḥ* (Śak. 27,6;58,6), *alaṅghaṇīā kada mha*=*alaṅghaṇīyāḥ kṛtāḥ smaḥ*, *uagada mha*=*upagātāḥ smaḥ* (Vikr. 23,8,14). On *e*, *o* and the incorrect forms like M. *pamhuṭṭha mhi*, Ś. *hada mhi*, Mg. *kada mhi* see § 85. The forms like M. *ve tti* for *va tti*, *sahasē tti* for *sahasā tti* (H. 885. 936), *pie tti* for *pīa tti*, *ṇisannē tti* for *ṇisanna tti*, *dhire tti* for *dhīra tti*, *pelave tti*

for *pelava tti*, *tanue tti* for *tanua tti* (R. 5,5,6,8), *vihine vva* for *vihina vva* (R. 14,16); JŚ. *mame tti* for *mama tti* (Pav. 388,27); Ś. *piadare tti* for *piadara tti*, *ve tti* for *va tti*, *paḍvādanijje tti*, *nidde tti* (Śak. ed. BÖHTINGK, 9,8;37,13;43,14;83,6), and M. *galia vva* for *galie vva*=*galita iva*, *candaa vva* for *candae vva*, *seubandha vva* for *seubandho vva* (R. 1,2;3,48;15,19),<sup>1</sup> based on Sanskritisms and found in many texts based on the readings as found in the manuscripts, are also wrong.

I. PISCHEL, De Kālidāsae Śākuntali recensionibus p. 53; GGA. 1880.325 f.; BURKHARD, Sacuntala, Glossarium p. 36, note\*; BOLLENSSEN, Mālavikāgnimitra p. XIV; cf. WEBER, IS, 14,298. Wrong: HOFER, De Prakrita dialecto p. 44; LASSEN, Inst. p. 188; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prakṛtica p. 27 f.

§ 97. In M. AMg. JM. JŚ. a final long vowel is frequently shortened in formation of a compound (Vr. 4,1; Hc. 1,4; Kī. 2,143; Mk. fol. 31). This takes place more especially in the case of stems ending in-ī, which have wholly collapsed together with the stems in-i (§ 384) and more rarely in the case of those in-ā and -ū. Ś. Mg. always retain long vowels in prose. M. *gāmañiutta*=*grāmañiputra* (H. 31); M. *ṇaiḍpūra*=*naiḍpūra*, *ṇaiṇiunja*=*naiḍnikuñja*, *ṇaiḍpene* (H. 45.218.671) beside *ṇaikaccha*=*naiḍkakaṣa* H. 416); *ṇaiḍada*=*naiḍata* (G. 407), *ṇaiḍo ita*=*naiḍsrotas* (R. 1,54); AMg. *ṇaiḍataḷāya*<sup>o</sup>=*naiḍataḍāga*<sup>o</sup> (Nāyādh. § 128) beside *ṇaiḍira* (Kappas. § 120); but Ś. only *ṇaiḍeva*=*naiḍvega* (Śak. 32,1), Mg. *ṣoṇiṇaiḍamsaṇa*=*ṣoṇiṇanaiḍarṣana* (Venis. 35,7); AMg. *ithiveya*=*striveda* (Sūyag. 234; Vivāhap. 179.180; Uttar. 960) beside *ithiveya* (Sūyag. 237); *ithibhāva* (Uvās. § 246), *ithilakkhaṇa*=*strilakṣaṇa* (Nāyādh. § 119), *ithisamsagga*=*strisamsarga* (Dasav. 633,1), beside JŚ. *ithisamsagga* (Kattig. 402,358), AMg. *ithivayana*=*strivacana* (Āyār. 2,4,1,3), *ithiviggaha*=*strivigraha* (Dasav. 632,38); *ithilola* (Āv. 16,30) beside *ithirayana*=*striratna* (Erz. 3,33;13,5); but Ś. only *ithikallavatta*=*strikalyavarta* (Mṛcch. 60,19), *ithiradana*=*striratna* (Śak. 38,5;103,6), *ithijana* (Ratn. 298,14); AMg. *puḍhavisattha*=*prthviśastra* (Āyār. 1,1,2,2,3,6), *puḍhavikamma*=*prthvikarman* (Āyār. 1,1,2,2,4,6), *puḍhavijiva* (Dasav. 620,34), *puḍhavisilāpattaya*=*prthvisilāpattaka* (Ovav. § 10; Uvās. § 164.166 170); JM. *puhavimāḍala* (Erz. 41,24), *puhavivikkhāya* (Erz. 64,23), beside M. *puhāvai*=*prthvipati* (G.); JŚ. *puḍhavitojyāṇa* (Kattig. 401,346); Ś. *puḍhaviṇāḍha*=*prthvinātha* (Śak. 59,12).—AMg. *accharagaṇa*=*apsarāgaṇa* (Paṇḍāv. 315; Paṇṇav. 96.99; Nirayāv. 78; Nāyādh. 526; Ovav. [§ 38] beside *accarakoḍi* (Vivāhap. 254); Ś. only *accharātiṭtha*=*apsarātirtha*, *accharāsambandha* (Śak. 118,10;158,2), *accharākāmu*=*apsarākāmuka*, *accharāvāvāra*=*apsarāvayāpāra*, *accharāvārahida* (Vikr. 31,14;51,13;75,10), *accharājana* (Pārvaṭip. 9, 9; 10, 2); AMg. *kiddakara*=*kriḍākara* (Ovav.); M. *jāṇuṇāḍa* beside *jāṇuṇāḍa* (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 4,1; Mk. fol. 31), *jāṇuṇāsāṅga* (G. 1053); Ś. *jamuṇāsāṅgama* (Vikr. 23,13); M. *bhiccharra*=*bhikṣācara* (H. 162); AMg. *bhikkhakāla* (Dasav. 618,17); AMg. *muttajāla*, *muttadāma*—, beside *muttajāla* (Ovav.).—M. *vahumā*=*vadhūmātā* (H. 508); *vahumuha* beside *vahūmuha*=*vadhūmukha* (Bh. 4,1, Hc. 1,4; Mk. fol. 31); but JM. *vahūahijja*=*vadhūśahāya* (Erz. 6,12); Ś. *ṇavavahūkesakālāva*=*navavahūkesakālāpa* (Mṛcch. 410). Cf. § 70.

§ 98. The vowel of the word *śrī* is shortened in all the dialects, whether it is employed as a proper noun or is prefixed to another noun as an appellative or as an epitheton ornans; it so happens also in the case of *hrī* in AMg. (Kī. 2, 57). M. *sirithaṇa*=*śrīstana* (G. 28), *sirisevia*=*śrīsevia* (R. 1,21), *siridamsaṇa*=*śrīdarṣana* (G. 514); AMg. *sirigutta*=*śrīgupta*, *sirihara*=*śrīdhara* (Kappas.); JM. *sirikantā*=*śrīkāntā*, *sirimai*=*śrīmatī* (Erz.); Ś. *śrīpavada*=*śrīparvata* (Ratn. 297,31; Mālatim. 30,2,8 [so it is to be read with v. l. to 8 of ed. LASSEN 11,6;12,2; of ed. Calc. 1866, p. 12,3; of ed. Bomb. 1892, p. 18,11;19,6; of ed. Madras 21, 9; 22, 1]).—M. *mahusiri-*



*parināma* = *madhuśrīparināma* (G. 791), *nahasirikaṅṭha* = *nabhahśrīkaṅṭha* (H. 75), *rāsiribhāna* = *rājasiribhājana* (R. 4,62); AMg. JM. *sirivaccha* = *śrivatsa* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. *sirighara* = *śrighra* (Vivāhap. 820.962), *hirisiriparivajjīya* (Vivāhap. 250), *hirisiridhūkittiparivajjīya* = *hriśridhṛtiparivarjita* (Ūvās. § 95), *sirisamudaya* (Kappas. § 42); JM. *sirisūyaga* = *śrisūcaka* (Erz. 67,32), *sirikaja* = *śrikaca* (Kk. 276,13); A. *siriānanda* (Hc. 4,401,3).—M. *sirijasavamma* = *śriyaśovarman* (G. 99), *sirihāla* (H. 698), *śrikamalāuha* (G. 798), *sirirāsehara* (Karp. 6,5); JM. *sirilakkhaṇa* = *śrilakṣmaṇa*, *siriharianda* = *śriharicandra*, *sirirajjila*, *sirināhada*, *siribhīllua*, *sirikakka*, *sirikakkuja* (KI. 2.3.4.5.6.20.22); Ś. *sirikhādadāsa* (Ratn. 297,31), *siricārudatta* (Mṛcch. 94,5; so with GODABOLE 267,5 it is to be read); Mg. *śilīsomeśalaeva* = *śrisomeśvaradeva* (Lalitav. 566,6); JM. *sirisamaṇasaṅgha* = *śrīśramaṇasaṅgha* (Kk. 266,3; 270.5.38).—The long vowel is sometimes retained if required by metre: thus in M. *śirisamullāsa* (G. 856) and so it is also in AMg. in prose *sirisamāṇavesāo* = *śrisamāṇaveśyāḥ* (Nāyādh. § 65; Ovav. [§ 38] beside *sirisamāṇavesāo* (Vivāhap. 791). In Kappas. § 35, for *vayāṇasiripallava* we have to read °*siri*° with the v. l. In *śrika*, the vowel wavers: AMg. *siriya* (Kappas.), *siriya* (Nāyādh.), *sasiriya* (Paṇṇav. 96), but *sasiriya* (Paṇṇav. 116); the mostly found, and probably the only correct form in prose, *sassiriya* (Samav. 213.214; Paṇhāv. 263; Vivāhap. 168.194 f.; Jiv. 502.504.506; Nāyādh. 369; Nirāyāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.); Ś. *sassiria* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 62,13; Vikr. 41,4; so it is to be read),<sup>1</sup> but *sassiriadā* (Mṛcch. 68,21; 73,11; 107,2), *sassiriātana* (Ratn. 292,12; text. *sasi*°; the ed. Calc. *sassiriadā*). AMg. *hīripaḍicchāyāṇa* = *hripraticchādana* (Āyār. 1,7,7,1); *sirihī*° (Nirāyāv. 73); *hīri*° (Ṭhāṇ. 151). The word that, in AMg., is used as a proper noun as well, as in *hiri cceva* = *hrīreva*, (Ṭhāṇ. 76), and in the plural *hirio* (acc. plur. beside *sirio*; Vivāhap. 962) is not traceable in the other dialects.<sup>2</sup> This word *hīri* occurs as an adjective by the side of *ahirimāṇe* (Āyār. 1,6,2,2); the reading *harime* for *hīrīmān* (Uttar. 961) is to be corrected to *hīrime*; likewise for Ś. *ohiriāmi* (Uttarar. 23,12) should be read *ohīriāmi* = *apahriye*; so stands Ś. *hīriāmi* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 108, 21). The Bengal recension (164,5) has the form *lajjāmi* which corresponds to the dialect; whereas the Kashmir recension wrongly has *arihāmi* = *arhāmi*. Cf. § 135.195.

1. Wrongly, BÖHTLINGK on Śak. 62,13; BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. 41,4.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 2,104.

§ 99. The original short of *i* and *u* is sometimes retained in poetry against § 69. M. *diabhūmisu* = *divjabhūmiṣu* (Hc. 3,16 = G. 727); *añjalihim* = *añjalibhīh* (H. 678), °*ppāṇāisu* = °*prāṇāṭisu*, *virahisu* = *virahiṣu*, *caūsātṭhīsu* *suttisu* = *cauḥṣṭyāṁ sūktiṣu* (Karp. 2,3; 38,5; 72,6); AMg. *pakkhīhim* = *pakṣibhīh* (Uttar. 593), *vagguhim* = *vagnubhīh* (Samav. 83), *heuhām* = *hetubhīh* (Dasav. 635,34), *pāṇinām* = *prāṇinām* (Āyār. p. 15,33; Sūyag. 356; Uttar. 312.715.717 ff.), *kukammīnām* = *kukarmiṇām* (Sūyag. 341), *pakkhīnām* = *pakṣinām* (Uttar. 601), *tāṇinām* = *trāyīṇām* (Uttar. 692), *gīrisu* = *gīriṣu* (Sūyag. 310), *jāisu* = *jāiṣu*, *gārisu* = *agāiṣu*, *jantusu* = *jantiṣu*, *jonisu* = *yoniṣu*, *gutṭisu* = *guṭṭiṣu* (Uttar. 155.207.446.574.992); JM. *vakkhāṇāisu* = *vyākhyānādisu* (Āv. 41,28 in a quotation from Vīṣe. 1,1466). So throughout AMg. JM. in *caūhim*, *caūsu* = *caturbhīh*, *caturṣu* (§ 439). On the other hand in poetry long vowels of Skt. and Pkt. are not infrequently shortened in declension. So in the abl. sing. AMg. *thāṇao* = *sihānāt*, *saṅjamao* = *saṅyamāt* (Sūyag. 46), *kulalao* = *kulālāt*, *viggahao* = *vigrahāt* (Dasav. 632.37.38), *sirio* = *śriyāḥ* (Dasav. 641,28); JS. *wasamado* = *upaśamāt* (Kattig. 399,308). Cf. § 69. In the nom. and acc. plural: M. *divvosahio* = *divvauśadhayaḥ* (Mudrār. 60,9); AMg. *osaḥio* (Dasav. N. 648,10), *iithio* = *striyaḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,16; Sūyag. 218.222.237.540.542; Uttar. 76,921, also

*itthiu* (Uttar. 373), *nārio* (Uttar. 679 [text °i°])=Dasav. 613,35; Dasav. 635,14), *koḍio*=*koṭayah* (Uttar. 502; text °i°), *rāio*=*rātrayah* (Sūyag. 100; Uttar. 416.436); in the instr. plur.: AMg. *itthihim*=*stribhīh* (Uttar. 570); in the gen. plur. : AMg. *iṣṇam*=*ṛṣṇām*, *bhikkhuṇam*=*bhikkṣuṇām*, *munīnam*=*muninām* (Uttar. 375.377.409.921); in the loc. sing. AMg. *rāyahāṇie*=*rājadhānyām* (Uttar. 86; text °i°, the correct form occurs in the commentary), *kāsibhūmie*=*kāsibhūmyām* (Uttar. 402); in the loc. plur. AMg. *itthisu*=*strīsu* (Sūyag. 185 [text °i°]; Uttar. 204). So also A. *radie*=*ratyā* (Hc. 4,446). In Mg. shortening in the stem has taken place in *ahiśāliantī* for *ahiśāliantī*=*abhisāryamāṇā* (Mṛcch. 11,19), even in AMg. *paḍīnam* for *paḍīnam*=*praticīnam* (§ 165; Dasav. 625,37) against § 82. According to Śrīharṣa, Dvirūpakośa, 152: *prācīnam* *prācīnam* *ca* *syāt* the corresponding shortening occurs also in Skt.

§ 100. In A. in poetry long and short vowels interchange according to metre and rhyme. The rhyme often determines even the pitch of the vowel. The language of Piṅgala goes furthest in this respect. Hema-candra: *sāmalā dhāna suvarṇareha*=*śyāmālā dhanyā suvarṇarekhā* (4,330,1), *sakaṇṇī bhallī*=*sakarnā bhallīh* (4,330,3), *phala lihiā*=*phalāni likhitāni* (4,335); *paḍia sila*=*patitā silā* (4,337), *addhā valaā mahihī gaa addhā phuṭṭa*=*ardhāni valayāni mahyām gatāny ardhāni sphuṭṭitāni* [4,352]; *vihi vinadaū pīdantu gaha*=*vidhir vinaṭṭayau pīdantu grahāh* [4,385]; Kālidāsa, Vikr.: *parahua mahurapalāvīṇi kantī*... *bhamantī*=*parabhyte madhuraḥpralāpini kānte*... ..*bhramanti* (59,11.12), *sā pai diṭṭhī jahaṇabharālasa*=*sā twayā dṛṣṭā jaghana-bharālasā* in rhyme with *gailālava*=*gatilālasam* (62,12), *kiṇāntī dhania ṇa diṭṭhī paī*=*krīdāntī dhanikā na dṛṣṭā twayā* (63,5); Piṅgala: *sūi meru ṇisāṅku*=*sūcyate merurniḥśāṅkam* (1,40), *mahihara taha a suraṇā*=*mahidharāstathā ca suraṇāh* (1,80), *jasu*.....*kaṇṭhaṭṭhia viśā pindhāna diśā samtāria saṁsārā*=*yasya kaṇṭhe sthitam viśam pindhānam diśaḥ santāritah saṁsārah* (1,81), *varisae* for *varisai*=*varṣati* in rhyme with *disae*=*dṛṣyate* (1,142), *ṇaccanti saṁhāro dūriitā hammāro*=*nṛtyanti saṁharatu duritam asmādyam* (2,43) etc. See also § 85.128.

### (e) THE SEPARATE VOWELS.

§ 101. Skt. *a* can become *i* (Schwā) in syllables before the accent. Hc. 1, 46 puts the words in which this phonetic alteration must take place in the ākṛtigāṇa *svapnādi* and in 1,48 adds also *madhyama* and *katama*; in 1,47 he allows option for *pakva*, *aṅgāra*, *lalāṭa*, in 1,49 for *saptaparṇa*. Vr. 1,3; Kī. 1,2; Mk. fol. 5 limit it to *iṣat*, *pakva*, *svapna*, *vetasa*, *vyajana*, *mṛdaṅga* and *aṅgāra*. It appears most frequently in M. AMg. JM.; Ś. and Mg. always retain *a* in certain cases, as Mk. lays this down expressly for *aṅgāra* and *vetasa*. So: AMg. *asiṇa*=*asana'* (Āyār. 2,1,5,1); JM. *uttima*=*uttama'* (Hc. 1,46; Kī. 9), AMg. JM. *uttimaṅga*=*uttamāṅga* (Paṇḥāv. 274.285; Ovav.; Erz.), beside JM. *uttamaṅga* (Pāiyāl. 111; Erz.), M. AMg. JM. *uttama* (G.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.).—M. *kāma*=*katama'* (Hc. 1,48; H. 119), but Ś. Mg. *kadama* (Mṛcch. 39,6; Śak. 132,7; Vikr. 35,13; Mg. Mṛcch. 130,3).—M. Mg. A. *kiviṇa*=*krīṇa'* (Hc. 1, 46; G.H.; Mṛcch. 19, 6; 136, 18. 19; Hc. 4,419,1 [so to be read], Ś. *akiviṇa* (Mṛcch. 55,25).—AMg. *ghimsu*=*ghraṁsa'* (§105).—AMg. JM. JŚ. *carima*=*carama'* (Paṇṇav. 65 ff.; Vivāhap. 113.173.598f. 1254.1262; Erz.; Kattig. 401,348), *acarima* (Paṇṇav. 66ff.).—AMg. *nigina*=*nagna'* (§ 133).—M. AMg. Ś. *piikka*=*pakva'* (Grr.; H.; Karp. 67,8; Vivāhap. 1185; Bālar. 292,13), AMg. *vivikka*=*vīpakva* (Thān. 377.378), Ś. *paripikka* (Bālar. 142,2; 209,7); beside AMg. Ś. *pakka* (Hc. 1,47; Āyār. 2,4, 2,14.15; Thān. 218; Paṇṇav. 483; Dasav. 628,29; 629,8; Dhūrtas. 12,9), Ś. *supakka* (Mṛcch. 79,25), *paripakka* (Ratn. 301,19).—M. *pusia*=*prṣatā'*

(gazelle; H. 631), AMg. *phusiya* (§ 208; drop; Āyār. 1,5,1,1, Nāyādh.; Kappas.; gazelle; Āyār. 2,5,1,5).—M. AMg. JM. *majjhima*=*madhyama*' (Hc. 1,48; H.; Thān. 128.141.152.175; Sūyag. 334; Paṇṇav. 76; Jiv. 175.408; Vivāhap. 1412; Aṇuog. 266; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), AMg. *majjhimaya*=*madhyamaka* (Uvās.; Kappas.), feminine *majjhimiya* (Jiv. 905 ff.), *majjhimilla* (Aṇuog. 383), but Ś only *majjhama* (Vikr. 6,19; Mahāv. 65,5;133,9; Venis. 60,6;63,4;64,23;99,12).—AMg. JM. *mimjā*=*majjā*' (§ 74).—AMg. JM. *miṅga*=*miḍaṅga*' (Āyār. 2,11,1; Sūyag. 731; Paṇhāv. 512; Paṇṇav. 99.101; Jiv. 251; Vivāhap. 797 [text *muyāṅga*, correctly in the commentary]; Kāyap. 20 [v. l.]. 231; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), also *miṅga* (Hc. 1,137), but Ś. *mudāṅga* (Mālav. 19,1); Mg. *midāṅga* (Mṛcch. 122,8; GODABOLE, 337,7 more correctly *mudāṅga*). Cf. § 51.—M. *vedisa*=*vetasa*' (Grr.; H.), but P. *vetasa* (Hc. 4,307), Ś. *vedasa* (Śak. 31,16;105,9).—M. AMg. JM. *sejjā* from *sijjā* (T. 5,15 and often v. l.; § 107)=*śeyyā*' (Vr. 1,5;3,17; Hc. 1,57; 2,24; Kī. 1,4;2,70; Mk. fol. 5.21; G.; Karp. 25,1;39,3;70,6; Āyār. 2,2, 1,1.3,24 ff.; Sūyag. 97.771; Paṇhāv. 372.398.410.424; Vivāhap. 135. 185.839.1310; Paṇṇav. 844; Uttar. 489.495; Dasav. 642,36; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); Mg. *śeyyā* (Cait. 149,19; text *sejjā*); AMg. *nisejjā* (Dasav. 642,36), *nisijjā* (Kappas. § 120), *paḍisejjā* (Vivāhap. 964); JM. *sejjāyara* (Kk.), *sijjāyārī* (T. 4,17).<sup>1</sup>

1. FISCHER, KZ. 34,570. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,572, *kaim* will have developed its *i* through its connection with *kati*; *antima* (as it is also in Sanskrit), *uttima*, *carima* and *majjhima* have developed their *i* through the influence of analogy with *paścima*, and *sijjā*, *nisijjā*, *sāhijjā*, *mimjā*, through the influence of *jja*.

§ 102. Exceptions to the rule are just apparent: M. *āṅāra* (Hc. 1, 47; Pāiyāl. 158), *āṅāraa* (H. 261), *āṅārānta*=*āṅārāyamāṇa* (G. 136), Ś. Mg. *āṅāla* (Pras. 120,2.13;121,8; Jivān. 43,9 [probably to be read as °ra]; Mṛcch. 10,1), Ś. *āṅāraka* (Mālav. 48,18), AMg. *āṅāra* (Paṇhāv. 202.534), *āṅāraka*= (Paṇhāv. 313; Ovav. § 36), *āṅārāga* (Paṇṇav. § 116), *āṅārāya* (Thān. 263)=Skt. *a'ṅāra*, *āṅāraka* (charcoal; the planet Mars), beside AMg. *īṅāla* (Grr., also C. 2,4; Pāiyāl. 158; Āyār. 2,2,2,8;2,10,17; Sūyag. 270,783; Thān. 230.391.478; Paṇṇav. 28; Vivāgas. 108,141; Nāyādh. 371; Vivāhap. 237.254.322f. 348.480.609.883. 1286. 1293; Jiv. 51. 257. 293; Nirāyāv. 47; Uttar. 1053 [text °ra]; Dasav. 616, 32; 618, 29; 630, 25; Uvās. § 51), *saṅgāla*, *vīṅgāla* (Vivāhap. 450.451), *īṅgāla* (Thān. 82), also taken into Sanskrit (ZACHARIAE, GGA. 1894,820), *āṅua* beside *īṅua*=*īṅuda* (Hc. 1,89), Ś. *īṅudī* (Śak. 39,4), *āṅālia* beside *īṅāli* (a piece of sugar-cane; Deśin. 1,28.79) are related to one another like *āṅati* and *īṅati*, *aṭati* and *īṭa'nti*, *addhā*' and *iddhā*', that originally stood in an ablaut relation with one another probably. From *īṣa't* the Prakṛtamañjarī, in FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 13, mentions *īsa*, *īsi*, *īsi*. Of them we have Ś. *īsa* in Mālatīm. 239,3, in all the editions: *īsa maṇṇuṃ* (v. l. *maṇṇe*) *ujjhia*, and so we have to read also in Venis. 12, 10; 61, 15 *īsa vihasia* with the v. l. to 12, 10 and in M. *cirehi īsa tti* (Pratāp. 206, 11; text *īsi*), *pāvai īsisa* (H. 444; correctly in the v. l. and ed. Bomb.; or *īsaṃpi* with v. l.); correct is *īsisa*..... *manam kuṇanti* (Karp. 8,9; cf. v. l.), because *īsat* here stands by itself. Otherwise it is throughout in the beginning of compounds; thus in M. *īsijalapesiacca*=*īsajjalaprekṣitākṣa*, *īstraabhīṅṇa*=*īsadrajabhīṅṇa*, *īsiṅha*=*īsanmibha*, *īsiṅvatta*=*īsadavṛtta* (R. 2, 39;11,43;12,48;13,70), *īsidīṭṭha*=*īsaddṛṣṭa* (Bālar. 120,5), *īsaṃcaraṇa-caṅcurā* (Karp. 86,1; the v. l. has *īsaṃ*, the ed. Bomb. 85,10 reads *īsa saṃcaraṇabandhurā*), *īsubbhijjanta* [text *īsubbhijjandam*]=*īsadudbhidyamāna* (Mallikām. 239,5); JM. *īsiṅṣaṃ*=*īsaduikāsam* (Kī. 7); Ś. *īsiṅparissantū*

=*īṣatpariśrāntā* (Śak. 133,1), *īsviasida*=*īśadvikasita* (Mālatīm. 121,5), *īśmaūlida*=*īśanmukulita*, *īśimasina*=*īśanmasya* (Mahāv. 22,20;24,6), *īśivirala* (Uttarar. 73,5), *īśivalida* (Nāgān. 8,15), *īśadāradesadāvida*=*īśaddvāradeśadāpita* (Mudrār. 43,8), *īśiñiddāmuddida*=*īśannidrāmudrita* (Bālar. 220,6); *īśitricchi* (text °ra°)=*īśattiryak*, *īśisunijjanta*=*īśacchrīyamāṇa*, *īśicauria*=*īśaccaturita*(?), *īśimaulanta* [text °mmu°]=*īśanmukulāyamāna*, etc. (Mallikām. 74,2;123,5;141,8;225,8); also *īśisi* in M. *īśiśivalanta*- (H. 370) and Ś. *īśiśijaradhāmāṇa* (Karp. 38, 1); falsely independent in Ś. *īśiśiveaṇā samuḥpaṇṇā* (Karp. 73,6), which has been correctly emended as *īśisa* by KONOW. The *i* is, therefore, explained from the cases in which *īṣat*, as the first member of a compound, became toneless according to Pāṇini 6,2,54. Cf. Hc. 2,129. The Prākṛtamañjarī l. c. teaches also *īśi*, which occurs often in the MSS. Bh. 1,3; Mk. fol. 5, and several times also in Indian editions: *īśiśicumbia* occurs in Śak. 4,9 ed. BÖHTLINGK. Ś. *īśasamkamida* (Jivān. 43,8) for *īśi*°, *īśi samīve hohi*=*īśat samīpe bhava*, *īśi vilambia*=*īśadvilambya*, *īśi uttānam kadua*=*īśad uttānam kṛtvā* (Mallikām. 87,18;124,5;222,8) for *īśa*°, and JM. *īśi hasiūna* (Erz. 57,17) for *īśim hasiūna* are false readings, as AMg. JM. have the nasalized form *īśim* always used in independent words and generally in compound words (Ṭhān. 135. 297; Āyār 2,15,20 [*īśi*°]. 21 [*īśi*°]. 22 [*īśi*°]; Paṇṇav. 846; Nāyādh. 1284; Vivāhap. 239. 248.920 [*īśi*°], Jiv. 444.501.794.860; Ovav. § 33,49, VII [so read everywhere for *īśi*]; Kappas. § 15; Āv. 48, 14; Erz.). AMg. has also an adjective *īśija*=\**īśatka* (Nāyādh. 990).

§ 103. Corresponding to the rule *i* occurs in forms like JŚ. A. *kiḍha* (Pav. 384,47;388,2,5; Hc. 4,401,1), AMg. JM. A. *kiha* (Āyār. 1,6, 1,6; Āv. 10,23;35,18;46,31; Erz.; Hc. 4,401,3)=Vedic *kathā*. On its analogy are formed A. *jidha*, *tidha*, *jihā*, *tihā*=*ya'thā*, *ta'thā* (Hc. 4,401), as conversely the short of the final of *ā* has been brought in 'on the analogy of M. AMg. JM. A. *jaha*, *taha*, JŚ. *jadha*, *tadha* (§ 113). In a similar manner are to be explained also AMg. JM. *tise*, *jise*, M. *tissā*, *jissā*=*tasyāḥ*, *yasyāḥ* as formed on the analogy of *kise*, *kissā* (§ 425 ff.).<sup>1</sup>—*ghisai* (Vr. 8,28 [read as such]; Hc. 4,204)=*gha'sti*=*gha'sati* has gone over to the sixth conjugation (§ 482).—M. A. *candimā* (brilliance of the moon; Vr. 2,6; Hc. 1,185; Ki. 2,25; Mk. fol. 14; Pāiyāl. 244; G.H. 609 [read as such], R.; Hc. 4,349) is to be identified neither with the native grammarians with *candrikā*, nor with LASSEN<sup>2</sup>, E. KUHN<sup>3</sup>, S. GOLDSCHMIDT<sup>4</sup> and JACOBI<sup>5</sup> with *candra'mas* against which are the accent, gender and meaning, but with \**candriman*<sup>6</sup>, which according to Hc. 1,35, might become feminine, and has been taken over into Skt. as *candrimā* (B. -R. s. v.). Pāli *candimā* (nom. sing.), AMg. *candima-* (Nirayāv. 38; Ovav.; Kappas.), AMg. A. nom *candimā* (Sūyag. 433 [text °da°]. 460; Dasav. 627, 11; Piṅgala 1, 30 [text °da°]) are masculine and mean "the moon", and are secondary derivatives from *candimā* (fem.) with a dependence upon *candramas*. *candrikā* becomes Ś. *candīā* (Gait. 40,15; Adbhutad. 71,9).—According to Hc. 1,49.265; Mk. fol. 18, besides *chattavaṇṇa* we may say *chattivaṇṇa* (Vr. 2,41; Ki. 2,46). The Indian grammarians equate the words as=*saptaparṇa*, which is to be accented as *sapta'parṇa*. But *sapta'n* nowhere shows *ch* initially and the *a* originating from an never becomes *i*, as we learn from *pañcama*, *sattama*, *aṭṭhama*, *ṇavama*, *dasama*, etc. (§ 449).<sup>7</sup> *chattavaṇṇa*, therefore, is not=*saptaparṇa*, but=*chattaparṇa*, and *chattivaṇṇa*=\**chatrīparṇa* from *chatrī* (Hc., Uṇādigānas. 446)=*chattra*. In AMg. the word occurs as *sattavaṇṇa* (Paṇṇav. 31; Nāyādh. 916; Vivāhap. 41.1530; Ovav. § 6) and *sattivaṇṇa* (Ṭhān. 266 [commentary *satta*°]. 555; Vivāhap. 289), which, if the reading be correct, is formed on the analogy of *chattivaṇṇa*; Ś. has *chattavaṇṇa* (Śak.

18,5; cf. v. 1.) and *sattavaṇṇa* (Priyad. 10,13).—AMg. JM. *puvviṃ* (e.g. Āyār. 1,2,1,2,3,4; Sūyag. 202.203 [text here °am°]); Dasav. 641,4; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.) is not=*pū'rvam*, but=*\*pūrvī'm*; cf. AMg. *puvāṇupuvviṃ* (Nirayāv. § 1), which has already been shown by WARREN as=*pūva+ānupūrvī'm*.—AMg. JM. *saddhiṃ* (e.g. Āyār. 1,2,1,2,3,4; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovav. § 15.16; Kappas. etc.; Erz.) is not=*sārdha'm*, but=*Vedic sadhrī'm*.<sup>8</sup> We cannot ascertain the accent in *avatāmsa*, *avatāmsaka*, which, in AMg., become *vaḍimsa* (Rāyap. 102), *vaḍimsaga* (Samav. 10.12.16.23; Rāyap. 103.139; Vivāhap. 41; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.), and *vaḍimsaya* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.). *i* and the dropping of the initial *a* point to an accent on the final syllable (§ 142). The exceptions to the rule are AMg. *kuṇima*=*ku'ṇapa* and *viḍima*=*viṭa'pa* (§ 248) only which presuppose accentuation on the final. On M. AMg. JM. Ś. *ṇidāla*, M. AMg. *ṇilāḍa*=*lalāṭa* see § 260; on AMg. *aiḅkhai*, § 492, on *diṇṇa* § 566, and on AMg. JM. *appinaī* § 557.

1. FRANKE opines differently with regard to the genitive forms like *tissā*, GN. 1895,529, note 1.—2. Inst. p. 203.—8. Beiträge p. 22.—4. Rāvaṇavaho p. 156, note 1.—5. Kalpasūtra. s. v., KZ. 35,573.—6. FISCHEL, KZ. 34,572.—7. JACOBI has not taken these into consideration, KZ. 35,572.—8. FISCHEL, Ved. Stud. 2,235.

§ 104. Before and after a labial sometimes *a* becomes *u*: *puḍhama*, *paḍhuma*, *puḍhuma*=*prathama* (C. 3,9 p. 48; Hc. 1,55). The common form found in all the dialects is *paḍhama*. So M. (G. H. R.); AMg. (Āyār. 2,2,3,18,2,5,1,6; Sūyag. 45; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Nirayāv. etc.); JM. (Kl. 1; Erz.; Kk.); JŚ. (Kattig. 398,304,400,332,401,342,344); Ś. (Mṛcch. 68,23,94,3; 138,15; Śak. 43,6,50,1; 67,11; Vikr. 22,20,27,13); Mg. (Mṛcch. 130,13,18; 139,10; 153,21); D. (Mṛcch. 102,19); A. (Pīṅala 1,1.10.23.40 etc.). *puḍhama* occurs in M. (H. 832), in Ś. (Mudrār. 182,3; 204,4,6), in Mg. (Mudrār. 185,4); but the most and the best of the MSS. of Mudrār. have *puḍhama*, as in 253,4 in the text (v. l. *pu*°). S. GOLDSCHMIDT has *puḍhuma* several times in R.; likewise BOLLENSSEN in Vikr. 23,19; 24,1; 83,19. In this respect as well the manuscripts waver, and so is the case with other texts, and it would, perhaps, be better to read *paḍhama*, everywhere in M.Ś. Mg.<sup>1</sup> P. has *puḍhuma* (Hc. 4,316). The South Indian manuscripts and the printed editions based on them generally write *puḍama*.<sup>2</sup>—M. *pulaai*, *pulaei*, *pulaia* (Vr. 8,69; Hc. 4,181; Pāiyal. 78; H. R.), M. *puloei*, *puloia* beside *paloei*, *paloia* (Hc. 4,181; H. R.; Pras. 113,19); Ś. *puloedi*, *puloanta*, *puloida*, and so on and so forth (Mahāv. 99,3; 100,10; Bālar. 76,1; Vṛṣabh. 14,9; 15,1; 17,1; 22,9; 24,2; 42,10; 48,10; 55,3; 57,1; 59,17; Pras. 11,14; 12,1; 13,14; 16,17; 35,7; 41,3; 115,17 [here they often write *pulovedi* and so forth])=*pralokayati*.—A. Mg. *pāuraṇa* (Hc. 1,175; Triv. 1,3,105; Āyār. 2,5,1,5; Paṇhāv. 534; Uttar. 489)=Pāli *pāuraṇa*, *pāuraṇa*=*prāvaraṇa*; AMg. *kaṇṇapāuraṇā*=*karnapṛāvaraṇāḥ* (Paṇṇav. 56; Thān. 260; *pāuraṇī* (coat of mail; Deśin. 6,43)=*\*prāvarāṇī*.<sup>3</sup>—M. *uppei*, *uppia* (Hc. 1,269; G. s. v. *ṛ*; Karp. 48,4)=*arṇayati*, *arṇita* beside *appei*, *appia*, *ōḅpei*, *ōḅpia* (§ 125; Hc. 1,63).—AMg. *ummuggā*=*\*unmagnā* (rising above the surface; Āyār. p. 15,32; 27,9), beside *ummaggā* (Uttar. 235), *omugganīmuggiṇya* (Āyār. 2,3,2,5, read so with the v. l.)=*\*aamagnanīmagnita*.—AMg. *kammunā*, *kammunāu*, *kammuno*, *kammunam*, *dhammunā*, JM. *kammunā*=*karmaṇā*, *karmaṇaḥ*, *karmaṇām*, *dharmaṇā* (§ 404).—AMg. JM. *paṇuvisam*, *paṇuvisā*=*pañcaviṃśati* (§ 273).—M. AMg. *vo'ccham* from *\*vuccham* (§ 125)=*vakṣyāmi*, M. AMg. JM. *vo'ttum* from *\*vuttum*=*vaktum* (§ 529.574).—A. *vuñai*=Mg. *vaññadi*=*\*vraññati* from *vraja* (§ 488).—*vo'jjhaa*, *vo'jjhaamalla* for *vo*° (§ 125; burden; Deśin. 7,80) is traceable to AMg. *vo'jjha*=*vahya* (§ 572).—AMg. *susāṇa* from *\*smuśāna*=*śmaśāna* (Hc. 2,86; Āyār. 2,2,2,8; Paṇhāv. 177.419; Uttar. 1006; Ovav.;

Kappas.; Äv. 31,24); but M. Ś. *masāna* (Vr. 3,6; C.3,23; Hc. 2,86; Ki. 2,53; Mk. fol. 21; Päiyā. 158; G. H.; Karp. 101, 7; Mṛcch. 72,8; 155,4; Mālatim. 30,4; 224,3; Anarghar. 279,10; Caṇḍak. 86,7; 92,11); Mg. *maśāna* (Mṛcch. 168,18; Mudrār. 267,2; Caṇḍak. 61,11; 63,11; 64,9; [ṇaa]; 66,13; 71,9.11). On M. JM. AMg. *muṇai*, JŚ. *muṇadi* see § 489, on A. *jhuṇi*, Ś. *dhuṇi* = *dhvani*, § 299. Cf. also § 337.

1. PISCHEL on Hc. 1,55.—2. PISCHEL, Die Recensionen der Śakuntalā p. 13; e.g. Vikramorvaśīya, ed. PISCHEL 629,26; 630,18.20; 633,18; Pārvaṭip. 28,22 ed. GLASER; Mallikām which, beside *puḍhama* (152,18), has also *paḍama* (56,11). On the variation between *pa* and *pu*, in the MSS. in Ś. cf. the v. l. e. g. also on Mālav. 39, 5.6.7.—3. PISCHEL, BB. 3,247.

§ 105. Dialectically several nouns in *-a* have become *-u* stems. This takes place especially in compounds with *-jña*, *-jñaka* in M. AMg. JM. JŚ when *jña* becomes *ṇṇa*, in AMg. also *nnā* (Hc. 1,56; Mk. fol. 20). Thus: M. *akaṇṇua* = *akṛtajñaka* (H. R.), *aṇṇua* = *ajñaka* (H.); *ahinṇu* = *abhijña* (Hc. 1,56), but Ś. *anahinṇa* (Śak. 106,6; Mudrār. 59,1 [°bhi°]); *āgamaṇṇu* = *āgamañña* (Hc. 1,56); M. *guṇaṇṇua* = *guṇajñaka* (G.), *guṇaṇṇua* (H.), but Ś. *guṇaṇṇa* (Kāleyak. 25,22); AMg. *doṣaṇṇu* = *doṣajña* (Dasav. 627,36); AMg. *paḍirūvaṇṇu* = *pratiṅūpajña* (Uttar. 694), *parakkamaṇṇu* = *parākramañña* (Sūyag. 576.578); AMg. *vinnu* (Āyār. 2,16,1.2; Sūyag. 26), M. *vṇṇua* (Mk. fol. 20) = *vijña*, *vijñaka*; AMg. *vihinṇu* = *vidhijña* (Nāyādh. § 18); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *savaṇṇu* = *sarvajña* (Hc. 1,56; Vajjal. 324,9; Āyār. 2,15,26; Vivāhap. 916; Anuog. 95.518; Uttar. 689; Dasav. N.655.8; Ovav.; Kappas.; Dvār. 495,9; 497,38; Erz.; Pav. 381,16; Kattig. 398, 302.303 [text *savaṇṇu*]), but Mg. *śavaṇṇa* (Hc. 4,293). P. *savaṇṇa* (Hc. 4, 303). Cf. § 276. The following also have become *u*-stems: AMg. *ghimsu* = *ghraṃsa*' (§ 101; Sūyag. 249; Uttar. 58,109); AMg. *pāṇu* = *prāṇa*', when it is used as a unit of time<sup>1</sup> (Vivāhap. 423; Anuog. 431.432; Ovav.; Kappas.), *ānāpāṇu* (Thān. 173; Anuog. 242; Dasav. N. 654,2; Ovav.); AMg. *pilakṅku*, *pilakkhu* = *plakṣa*' (§ 74); AMg. *manthu* = *mantha*' (Āyār. 1,8, 4,4; 2,1,8,7; Uttar. 249; Dasav. 622,8; 623,10); AMg. *milakkhu* = *mleccha*' (Āyār. 2,3,1,8; Sūyag. 56.57.817 [cf. 816 *milukkhajya*]. 928; Pannav. 58; Paṇhāv. 41 [text °lu°; cf. WEBER, Verzeichniss 2,2,510]) = Pāli *milakkhu* (§ 233) beside *mīliccha*, AMg. JM. Ś. A. *mēccha*, AMg. *miccha* (§ 84). Cf. *pāvāsu*, *pavāsu* § 118. All these words are accented at the end and undoubtedly the colouring of the vowel is associated therewith. The base *āryā*', in the meaning "mother-in-law" also becomes an *u*-stem, = *ajjū* (Hc. 1,77), and *āryakā*, in the meaning "mistress", Ś. *ajjuā* (Mṛcch. 27,2 ff.; 28,2 ff.; 29,1 ff.; 36,4; 37,3ff. etc.), Mg. *ayyuā* (Mṛcch. 10,2; 39,20.24.25; 40,2.4.10), *ayyukā* (Mṛcch. 13,8). In Mg. *ayyuā* means "mother" also (Śak. 158,11, where Śaṅkara, following Candrasekhara, remarks: *ajjukāśabdo mātarī deśīyah*). On AMg. *āhu*, *udāhu*, *addakkhu*, *miṇṇakkhu* etc. in the sense of the third person singular see § 516.

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v., *pāṇu*, and especially Anuog. 431.

§ 106. A final *a* becomes *u* in A. in the genitive singular of nouns in *-a*, of similarly formed pronominal forms and of the pronouns of the first and second persons, in the second person singular of the imperative, the second person plural of the indicative and the imperative and in a number of adverbs: *suaṇassu* = *sujanasya*, *piassu* = *priyasya*, *khandhassu* = *skandhasya*, *kantassu* = *kāntasya* (Hc. 4,338.354.445.3), *tassu*, *tāsu*, *tasu*, *jāsu*, *jasu*, *kaṣu*, *kāsu*, *kasu* = *tasya*, *yasya*, *kasya* (§ 425.427.428); *parassu* = *parasya* (Hc. 4,338.354); *mahu*, *majjhu* in the sense of *mama*; *itū* for *\*tavu* = *tava*, *tuhu* [so it is to be read], *tujjhu* in the sense of *tava* (Hc. s.v. *ma-*, *tu*); *piu* = *pība* (Hc. 4,338,1), *piahu* = *pībata* (Hc. 4,422,20); *bhaṇu* = *bhaṇa* (Hc. 4,401,4; Piṅgala 1,120; and read so everywhere for *bhaṇa*); *sikkhu* = *śikṣa* (Hc. 4,404); *icchahu* = *icchatha*, *puccahu* = *puccatha* (Hc. 4,

384.422,9), *kuṣeḥu*=*krṇuta*=*kuruta* (Piṅgala 1,89.118), *dehu*=*dayata* (Hc. 4,384; Piṅgala 1,10), *jānehu*=*jānita* (Piṅgala 1,5.14.38), *viānehu*=*vijānita* (Piṅgala 1,25.50); *ṇamahu*=*namata* (Hc. 4,446); *e'tthu*, *je'tthu*, *te'tthu* in the sense of *atra*, *yaltra*, *tatra*, (§ 107; Hc. s.v.; Piṅgala 1,114); *jattu*, *taitu*=*yaltra*, *tatra* (Hc. 4,404); *ajju*=*adya* (Hc. 4,343,2.418,7 and read so everywhere for *ajja*).

§ 107. Only seemingly has *e* sometimes taken the place of *a*. The extremely frequent *e'ttha* of M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. PG. (5,7), D. (Mṛcch. 102,18;103,16;105,15), Ā. (Mṛcch. 102,25;103,4), A. *e'tthu* (§ 106) does neither go back to *atra* (Hc. 1,57)<sup>1</sup> nor to *\*iira*<sup>2</sup> or *\*etra*<sup>3</sup>, but is related to *iha*, like *tattha* to *taha*, *ja'ttha* to *jaha*, *kattha* to *kaha* : so stands for *\*ittha*=Vedic. *itthā*<sup>4</sup>. Cf. A. *iṭhi* (GOLDSCHMIDT *ethi*), *iṭhi* (GOLDSCHMIDT *itthi*=*atra* Piṅgala 1,5<sup>a</sup>.86), and AMg. JM. A. *kiha*, JŚ. A. *kidha*=*kathā*<sup>5</sup> (§ 103). A. *ke'tthu*, beside *kidha*, *kiha*=*kathā*, has its consonant doubled according to § 194: for the rest, the pronouns have mutually influenced one another both in inlaut as well as in auslaut (cf. § 103).—M. *ukkeva* (gift, heap; Bh. 1,5; Hc. 1,58; Ki. 1,4; Mk. fol. 5; Deśin. 1,96; Pāiyāl. 18; G.; Karp. 69,6; Vidhaś. 11,6), that occurs also in Ś. (Bālar. 129,6.7,167,10;210,2), against *ukka* (Caṇḍak. 16,17), and is found in M. and AMg. also (G.; Nāyādh., Kappas.) is not=*utkara*<sup>6</sup>, but must be equated, with LASSEN<sup>6</sup>, as=*\*utkarya*, or connected with *utkirati*. In Bālar. 234,9 the word *vāvera*=*vyatikara* is wrongly printed: the correct form is *vadiara*, Śak. 13,2.—M. Ś. *ge'ndua* (Vidhaś. 56,2;58,6; Mallikām. 134,21.23 [text *ga*]), A. *gindu* (Piṅgala 1,125) cannot with Hc. 1,57.182 be traced back to *kanduka* that forms M. Ś. *kandua* (G. 752; Mālav. 68,10), but belongs with *ge'ndū* (game: Deśin. 2,94), Pāli *geṇḍuka*, as well as *genduka*, *ginduka*, *ge'ndu*, *ge'ndūka* that have forced their way into Sanskrit, but to the now extinct root *\*gid*, *\*gīd*; present *\*gindāi*, *ge'ndāi* "to play". Cf. *jhe'ndua* "ball" (Deśin. 3,59).—*ghe'ppai* stands for *\*ghippai* and does not go back to *grabh*, but to *\*ghrp* (§ 212.518). *dhe'mkuṇa* (bug: Deśin. 4,14; Triv. 1,3,105,60) beside *ḍhamkuṇa* (Deśin. 4,14) stands for AMg. *dhimkuṇa* (Jiv. 356; Uttar. 1064 [text *ka*]), as Skt. *divka* also makes probable, and is=*\*damkuṇa*, and can be traced back to *\*damkha'*, connected to *damś* (§ 212.267).<sup>7</sup>—M. *ve'lli* (Creeper: Bh. 1,5; Hc. 1,58; Mk. fol. 5; G. H.) is not=*valli*, but stands for *\*villi*. With *ve'llā* (creeper), *ve'lla* (hair), a small lock, pleasure: Deśin. 7,94), *vīli* (wave; Deśin. 7,73; Triv. 1,3,105,80), *ve'llari* (courtesan; Deśin. 7,96), M. Ś. *ve'llira*, (automatically moving: G. 137; Vidhaś. 55,8. [text *ce*]); Bālar. 203,13), A. *uvve'llira* (Vikr. 56,6), M. Ś. *uvve'lla*=*\*udvilna* (§ 566; G. R.; Karp. 37,5; Mālatim. 201,1;258,2; Mahāv. 29,19) go back to a root *\*vil* (to be moved), to which also *velu*=*venu* (§ 243) also will have to be referred<sup>8</sup>. M. A. *ve'llai* with its compounds *uvve'llai*, *ṇivve'llai*, *saṇve'llai* (G. H. R.; Pratāp. 119,11; Bālar. 180,7;182,2; Vikr. 67.19), Ś. *ve'llamāna* (Bālar. 168,3), *uvve'llida* (Ratn. 302,31), *uvve'llanta*-(Mālatim. 76,3;125,4;129,2), which is frequent also in later. Sanskrit, is either a derivative from *ve'lla*=*\*vilna*, or from *\*vilyati*, *\*vilvati*.—*se'jjā*=*sayyā* is regularly derived from *sijjā* (§ 101).—M. *suhē'lli* (Pāiyāl. 159; Deśin. 8,36;H.) is to be explained from *\*suhilli*=*sukha*+suffix *-illa*, while its synonym *suhalli* (Deśin. 8,36) goes back to *sukha*+suffix *alla* (§ 595).<sup>9</sup>—AMg. JM. *he'tṭhā*=*adha'tāt* (Samav. 101; Ovav. § 10.152; Erz.) presusupposes *\*adheṣṭāt*, corresponding to *pure'kkhāda*=*\*pureskṛta*, which has already been taken note of by WEBER<sup>10</sup>. It is only in this manner that we can explain the cerebralization. The word, which occurs in Pāli also, cannot be separated from *adhastāt*: therefore, the assumption of a from *\*adheṣṭha* is wrong: On AMg. *dhe*=*adhah*, *pure*=*purah* see § 345. From *he'tṭhā* we have in AMg. JM. an adjective *he'tṭha*,

wherefrom we have AMg. *he'ttham* (Hc. 2,141; Thāṇ. 179.492; text *he'tthim*), JM. *he'ttheṇa* (Erz.), AMg. JM. *he'tthao* (Vivāgas. 143; Erz.) = Pāli *he'tthato*, M. *he'tthammi* (H. 365); JM. *he'tthayammi* (Erz.), *he'tthatthia* (Hc. 4,448), also *hi'ttha* (Deśin. 8,67), *hi'ttham* (Thāṇ. 179; text *im*) written with *i*, according to § 84; and from it, as in Pāli, a superlative AMg. *he'tthima* (Thāṇ. 197; Samav. 66 68.72; Vivāhap. 524.529.1412; Aṇuog. 266), *he'tthimaya* (Vivāhap. 82), *hi'tthima* (Paṇṇav. 76; Thāṇ. 197 [6 > < beside 1] < *he'o*]; Uttar. 1086), and a very frequent adjective AMg. *he'tthilla* (Thāṇ. 341.545; Samav. 136 ff.; Paṇṇav. 478; Nāyādh. 867; Vivāhap. 128.347.392ff. 437.1101.1240.1331ff. 1777; Aṇuog. 4.27ff.; Jiv. 240ff. 710; Ovav.). Cf. § 308.—A. *he'lli* (O female friend! Hc. 4,379, 1,422,13) beside JM. *hale*, A. *hali*, M. Ś. *halā* (§ 375) goes back to \**hilli* = \**hali'* with doubling of the *la* according to § 194.

1. So also CHILDERS s.v.; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 6.—2. LASSEN, Inst. p. 129; JOHANSSON, Shāhbāzgarhi 1,133ff.—3. FAUSBÖLL, Dhammapada p. 350.—4. FISCHER, Ved. Stud. 2,88.—5. BÜHLER, Pāyā. s.v.—6. Inst. p. 118.—7. FISCHER, BB. 3,255f.—8. FISCHER, BB. 3,293ff. Cf. JOHANSSON, IF. 3,240f.—9. Impossible is the derivation from *sukhakeḷi*, which according to the translation of the scholiasts is approved of by WEBER, Hāla<sup>1</sup> p. 40; 2 s.v.—10. Bhag. 1,404; Cf. E. KUHN, Beilage p. 21.—11. JOHANSSON, IF. 3,218. As Pāli has also *pure'kkhāra*, *sve*, *suve* etc. (KUHN p. 58), it is unnecessary to hypothesize the existence of a "Proto-Pāli *e*".

§ 108. Sometimes *a* becomes *i* (Schwā) in the post-tonic syllable. This especially takes place in the plur. of pronouns and in the first person plur. of the pres. indic. of parasmaipada in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. A. Thus: AMg. JM. *tesim* = *tēṣām*, *tāsim* = *tā'sām*, *eesim* = *eṭēṣām*, *eyāsim* = *etā'sām*, *jasim* = *yēṣām*, *jāsim* = *yā'sām*, *kasim*, = *kēṣām*, *imesim*, *imāsim* from the stem *imā'*, *aṇṇesim* = *anyēṣām*, *aṇṇāsim* = *anyā'sām*. Their analogy is followed by the rest of pronouns, as the very rare M. *esim* = *eṣā'm*, *paresim* = *pā'reṣām*, *savvesim* = *sa'vveṣām* (§ 425 ff.)<sup>1</sup>.—M. *jāpimo* = *ja'pāmāḥ*; M. AMg. *ṇamimo*, *na'māmāḥ*; M. JM. *bhaṇimo*, *bha'ṇāmāḥ*; M. JM. *vandimo* = *va'ndāmāḥ*; A. *lahimu* = *la'bhāmāḥ* etc. Their analogy is followed by *pucchim* = *pṛcchā'māḥ*, *lihimo* = *likhā'māḥ*; *suṇimo* = \**śrunā'māḥ*, and so forth (§ 455).<sup>2</sup> This sort of transformation rarely occurs also in the first pers. sing. of the ind. pres. in M., and of the ind. pres. and fut. in A. (§ 454.520). The grammarians teach forms also in *-ami*, *-ama*, *-ima*, *-amo*, *-amu*, of which those in *-ami* are found in JM. A. (§ 454). M. JM. AMg. *sāhijja*, *sāhe'jja* = *sā'hāyja* (Pāyā. 215; G. 1116; Vivāhap. 502; Erz.)<sup>3</sup> correspond to the rule.

1. FISCHER, KZ. 34,570 f.—JACOBI, KZ. 35,574, who wrongly states that I had given only three examples, whereas I gave there five, is of the opinion that the genit. plur. forms of the pronoun *ta—, eta—, ya—, ka—, ima—* only were frequently used, and those of the other pronouns, more rarely. He offers no explanation of his own of *i*.—2. JACOBI, KZ. 35,574 f. appears to have believed that the examples cited by me, KZ. 34,571, are all that are available. He arrives at a quite wrong decision with regard to *gamino*, *jāpimo*. Cf. § 455. According to him, *-ima* may have been borrowed from an Apabhraṃśa dialect, in which till now *-imo* has not been found at all.—3. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,573.575, here it would be *jja* as in *sijjā*, *nisijjā*, *mi'ñjā*, the origin of *i*. It is the old view that was expressed for example, by WEBER, Hāla<sup>1</sup> p. 38, that this took place due to the influence of *ya*. But *jja* has not influenced in the least the preceding vowel; cf. §§ 280.284.287.

§ 109. Even in the syllable preceding the accented one *ā*, like *a* (§ 101), sometimes becomes *i*: it takes place clearly after *i'* is at first changed into *a*. So according to Hc. 1,81, *°mātra'* may become *°matta* or *°mā'tta*, then *°mitta*, thus for example AMg. *vihatthimitta* = *vilastimātra* (Sūyag. 280), *itthamitta* = *itthāmātra* (Sūyag. 339), *vinnāyaparīṇāyamitta* = *viññātaparīṇāyamātra* (Nāyādh. § 27 = Kappas. § 10,52.80), *sāyaṇamitta* = *suādanamātra* (Kappas. S. § 26) almost always with the v. l. *°mā'tta*, as the word occurs in M. (G. H. R.), AMg. (Vivāhap. 203.204.452 f. 1042), JM. (Erz.; Kk.), Ś. (Śak. 39,12;60,15;96,2; Vikr. 7,12;41,13;80,



13;84,6; Uttar. 21,10;100,1 etc.), *°mēttaka* (Śak. 31,11 [read as such]; 76,7), *adimēttam*=*atimātram* (Mṛcch. 89,4;90,13,21); Mg. *yādame ttaka*=*jātamātraka* (Mṛcch. 114,8)<sup>1</sup>. On *mahāmē'ttha*=*mahāmātra*, and *mē'tthapurisa*, see § 293.—*bhisa* is =\**bhāsa'ti*, \**bhasa'ti* for *bhā'sati* with crossing over to the 6th class (§ 482). M. AMg. Ś *gējjha*, Mg. *duggē'jha*, A. *duggējjha*=*grā'hya*, *durggrāhya* is formed from the present stem, therefore, =\**grhya*, \**durgghya*, and so stands for \**gijjha*, \**duggijjha* (§ 572).—*śālmali* forms in AMg. *sāmalī*, dialectically *sāmāri* (§ 88). The other form *śimbali* that occurs beside it in AMg. (Pāiyāl. 264; Deśin. 1,146; Vivāhap. 447 f.; Uttar. 590 [so correctly given in the commentary]; Dasav. 621.5 (text *sa'*)), *e'kkasimbali*=*śālmaliṣuṣpair navaphalikā* (Deśin. 1.146) belongs to Vedic *śimbala'* (flower of the cotton tree.<sup>2</sup>). The form *kuppisa* beside *kuppāsa*=*kūrpāsa* (Hc. 1,72) points to the accent \**kū'rpāsa*.

1. Cf. BRUGMANN, KZ. 27,198.—So correctly GELDNER, Ved. Stud. 2,159 according to Sāyaṇa. BÜHLER has already criticised Vedic *śimbali* [sic], Pāiyāl see under *śimbaliṃ*.

§ 110. In the ending—*māna* of the ātmanep. pres. participle *ī* sometimes occurs for *ā*. So in M. *melīṇa* from *melāi* from *mil*, and especially in the oldest AMg. such as in *āgamamīṇa*, *samaṇujānamīṇa*, *ādhyāmīṇa*, etc. (§ 562).—*khalīḍa*=*khalvāta* (Hc. 1,74), which, as *khalīṭa* and *khalīṭa* has gone over to Skt. also, presupposes an accent *khalvāta'* (Pāini, 5,2,125; Hc., Unādigaṇas. 148). In A. *khalīḥaḍāū* (Hc. 4,389) *h* seems to go back to *dha* (§ 207) against § 242. Cf. § 138.

§ 111. For *ā* occurs in *sunhā* for \**sanhā*=*sāsnā* (Hc. 1,75).—*thuvāa* (Hc. 1,75) is not=*stāvaka*, but =\**stuvaka*=\**stuvā'n* from the pres. stem. *thuva-*, whence originated also the passive *thuvvāi* (§ 494).—M. AMg. Ś. *ulla* (Hc. 1,82; Pāiyāl. 185; G. H.; Praçaṇḍap. 47,6; Āyār. 2,1,6,5. 6;2,1,7,9;2,3,2,6.11.12 [udaūlla]; Uttar. 758; Kappas.; Mālatim. 107.6 [raso' llō' lla]), M. *ullaa* [R.; Vikr. 53,6 [read *jalo' llaam* with ed. Bomb. 89,5]] with the denominative M. *ullei* (G. H.), JM. *ulle'ttā* (Erz.), AMg. *ullaṇa*, *ullaṇiyā* (Uvās.), and with *o'* according to § 125. M. AMg. *o'lla* (H. R.; Karp. 27,12;69,4;94,6;95,11; Dasav. 619,18;622,8), M. *o'llaa* (R.), M. *o'llei* (H.), *o'llaṇa* (R.), Ś. *o'llavida* (Mṛcch. 71,4) are not to be equated with Hc. to *ārdra*, but with WEBER,<sup>1</sup> to *ud*, *unda* (to moisten), *udan*, *udaka* (water), and consequently corresponds to one \**udra* which occurs in *udra'* (otter), *anudra'* (waterless), and *udri'n* (watery)<sup>2</sup>.—*ārdra* becomes M. AMg. JM. Ś. *adda* (Hc. 1,82; Mk. fol. 22; G.; Karp. 45,7; Ovav.; Erz.; Bālar. 125,13), M. AMg. also *alla* (Hc. 1,82; Mk fol. 22; H.; Nirayāv.; Uvās.).—AMg. JM. *devāṇuppiya* is not, with WEBER,<sup>3</sup> LEUMANN,<sup>4</sup> WARREN,<sup>5</sup> STEINTHAL,<sup>6</sup> JACOBI<sup>7</sup> to be equated as = *devānāmpriya*, but with HOERNLE<sup>8</sup> as = *devānupriya* = *deva* + *anupriya*, which in Pāli becomes *anuppiya*.<sup>9</sup>—*āsāra* [rain; Hc. 1,76] is not = *āsāra*, that remains in M. Ś. A. as *āsāra* (G. R.; Caṇḍak. 16,18; Vikr. 55,17), but = \**utsāra*. On *ajjū*=*āryā* see § 105.

1. ZDMG. 26,741; H. s. v., falsely H<sup>1</sup>. p. 261, cf. Haripāla on G. 527 *ullim tti deśi dhātūr ārdribhāve*.—2. P. GOLDSCHMIDT on Specimen 2.8, p. 84.—3. Bbag. 1,405.—4. Aup. S. s. v.; WZKM. 3,344.—5. Nirayāv. s. v.—6. Specimen s. v. 7.—Kalpas. and Erz. s. v.; cf. also E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 15. 8.—Uvās., Appendix III, p. 31.—9. MORRIS, Journal of the Pāli Text Society 1886, p. 117.

§ 112. AMg. *pārevaya* (Hc. 1,80; Paṇṇav. 54,526; Jiv. 459; Rāyap. 52 [text *pāreva*]; Uttar. 981), *pārevayaga* (Paṇhāv. 24,57), fem. *pārevāi* (Vivāgas. 107)=Pāli *pāreḥpata* is a dialectical form allied to M. *pārāvāa* (Hc. 1,80; Pāiyāl. 124; G. H.; Karp. 87,10), Ś. *pārāvada* (Mṛcch. 71,14;79,24;80,4; Śak. 138,2; Viddhas. 111,3)=Skt. Pāli *pārā-pata*. *pāre* is locative as in *pāreṅgaṅgam*, *pāretaraṅgiṇi*, etc. AMg. *pārevaya* "date-palm" (Paṇṇav. 483,531) is=*pāreḥpata*.—AMg. *pacchekamma*=

*paścātkarman* (Hc. 1,79) is technically formed on the analogy of *purekamma-* (§ 345). In Pañhāv. 492, occurs *pacchākammañ purekammañ*.—*dera* (door; Hc. 1,79) beside *dāra*, *bāra*, *duwāra*, *duāra* (§ 298.300.139)=Sinhalese *dera* is perhaps=\**darya*; cf. *darī* (cave).—AMg. *ukkosa*, which the scholiasts translate by *utkarṣa*, whereafter WEBER<sup>1</sup> explains it as having developed from \**ukkāsa*, and which WARREN<sup>2</sup> will like to consider as a writer's mistake, is=\**utkoṣa* from *kuṣa niṣkarṣe* (Dhātup. 31,46), that in Skt. is casually not attested with *ud*. Generally its instrumental form *ukkoseṇaṁ* "at the highest", "at most" is used with its converse *jehanneṇaṁ* "at the lowest" (Añuttar. 3; Ṭhāṇ. 106.133; Samav. 8.9.11; Paṇṇav. 52,205 ff; Vivāhap. 26 ff. 59.60 143.182.272ff. 358.373 etc.; Jiv. 18.35, 39.49 etc.; Aṇuog 16l ff.; 398 ff.; Uttar. 201; Ovav.), more seldom there occurs its synonym, the accusative form *ukkosaṁ* (Vivāhap. 180.371.390 f.; Uttar. 312 ff.). As an adjective (Panhāv. 129), beside *majjhima jahanna* (Ṭhāṇ. 128.141.152.175), the grammarians (Hc. 4,258; Triv. 3,1, 132) and the scholiasts equate it as=\**utkrṣṭa*; *ukkosiya* (Ṭhāṇ. 505; Vivāhap. 83.93; Uttar. 976; Kappas) is neither with WEBER<sup>3</sup>=\**utkarṣika*, nor with JACOBI<sup>4</sup>=\**utkrṣṭa*, but is to be equated as=\**utkoṣita*.—On *dhovai*=*dhāvati* see § 482.

1. Bhag. 1,443; cf. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.—2. Over de goodsdienstige en wijsgeerige Begrippen der Jaina's (Zwolle 1875) p. 43, note 1.—3. Bhag. 1,443.—4. Kalpas. s. v.

§ 113. A final unaccented *ā* of adverbs, very often in M. and sometimes also in AMg. JŚ. JM. A. in verses, is shortened (Grr. see § 79): M. *aṇṇaha*=\**anya'thā* (H.), beside M. JM. *annahā* (G.; Kk.), JŚ. *aṇṇadhā* (Pav. 385,63; text <sup>o</sup>*hā*); Ś. only *aṇṇadhā* (Mṛcch. 24,4;51,24; 52,13;64,25; Śak. 52,16;73,8;76,5; Vikr. 18,8;40,16), likewise Mg. (Mṛcch. 165,4); M. AMg. JM. *jaha*, *taha*=\**ya'thā*, *ta'thā* (G. H. R.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); JŚ. *jadha*, (Pav. 386,4;387,24 [<sup>o</sup>*hā*]), *tadha* (Pav. 379,4;381,16 [<sup>o</sup>*hā*]; Kattig. 398,304 [<sup>o</sup>*hā*]); A. *jiha*, *jidha*, *tīha*, *tīdha* (Hc. 4,401) with *i* on the analogy of AMg. JM. A. *kiha*, JŚ. A. *kidha*=Vedic *kathā'*, which owes the shortness of *a* in Pkt. to *jaha*, *taha* and M. *kaha* (G. H. R.) (§ 103). Ś. Mg. have, in prose only *tadhā*, *jadhā* (Mg. *yadhā*), *kadhāṁ* (never *kadhā*). Ā. has in verse *jaha* (Mṛcch. 100,12). For Mg. *taha* (Mṛcch. 123,7), in verse, read *tadha*, as in JŚ.—M. JM. AMg. *va*=\**vā* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Dasav. 618,25;620,32.33); Ś. Mg. in prose only *vā*. The metre decides the quantity, and, therefore, both of the forms sometimes do occur in one and the same verse: thus M. *jaha...ṇa tahā* (H. 61); JM. *kiṁ calivva...kiṁ vā jalio* (Erz. 71,22); JŚ. *guṇe ja jadhā tadha bandho* (Pav. 384,48); AMg. *paḍisehiṇe va dīnne vā* (Dasav. 622,37). In M. AMg. JM. *saī*=\**sa'dā* (Vr. 1,11; Hc. 1,72; Kī 1,10; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyāl. 87; G. R.; Pratāp. 225,14; Acyutaś. 1.20. 22.62.66.69.93; Dasav. 622,23; Kk. 259,24<sup>1</sup>) *i* is regularly substituted according to § 108. Rare in M. is *saā* (H. 861). Bh. 1,11 teaches the same phonetic change also for *jaī*=\**yadā'* and *taī*=\**tadā'*. This presupposes an accentuation \**ya'dā*, \**ta'dā*, as in the RV., after a negative the word *kadā* is accented as *ka'dā*, on which is based M. *kāī* (H.), that may have influenced *jaī*, *taī*. *taīam*, which according to JACOBI<sup>2</sup> is a counter example demonstrating the rule of substitution of *i* for *ā* in a post-accentual syllable and is=\**tadā'*, is not known to me at all. Even if it existed, in any case, it would be explained according to § 114, as a side-form of *taīā*, that is like *kāīā*, *jaīā* found in M. (Vr. 6,8; Hc. 3,65; Mk. fol. 46; G. H. R.; *kāīā* also Acyutaś. 86,91), AMg. *taīyā* (Uttar. 279); *jaīā* has not been found. These words are=\**kayidā*, \**tayidā*, \**yaividā* from *ka'yā*, *ta'yā*, *ya'yā*+*dā* (§ 121) and, therefore, strictly conform to the rule. Shortening

takes place also in Ś. M. Dh. *ka'dua*, *gadua* for \**ka'duā*, \**gaduā*=*krtvā*, *gatvā* (§ 581).

1. Wrongly explained by JACOBI as=*svayam*. 2.—KZ. 35:575. The word has been probably quoted by JACOBI from the word-index to Hc., where *tavam*—*ityyam* and *tāā*=*tadā* occur under one another.

§ 114. In an adverb there develops dialectically an anusvāra by the side of *ā* that is either final or has come into being due to elision of a consonant; in A. there develops also an anunāsika. M. AMg. JM. *jāhā*, A. *jihā*=*yathā* (Hc. 4,337). Beside *mā*, that occurs in all the dialects, A. has *mā*, *mañ* (read so everywhere for *ma* according to Hc. 4,418, *mā* when a short and *mañ* when a long syllable is required; see the Wortzeichniss zu Hc.), beside *viñā* of all the dialects A. *viñu* (Hc. s.v.)=\**viñam* (§ 351).—*mañā*=*manāk* (Hc. 2,169), beside M. Ś. *mañam* (Mk. fol. 39; H.; Śak. 146,8; Karnas. 31,9); JM. *mañāgam* (Erz.), A. *mañū* (§352), also JM. *mañayam* (Hc. 2,169; KI.10), and *mañiyam* (Hc. 2,169).—AMg. *musam* beside *musā*=*miṣā* (§ 78). AMg. *sakkham*=*sāksāt* (Hc. 1,24; Uttar. 116.370; Ovav.), beside Ś. *sakkhā* (Mallikām. 190,19). AMg. *hēṭṭham* beside AMg. JM. *hēṭṭhā* (§ 107) is accusative beside ablative, as it may be the case in *sakkham* also. In AMg., beside *tahā* we have also *taham* before a vowel in the phrase *evam eyañ taham eyam avitaham eyam*=*evam etat tathaitat avitatham etad* (Vivāhap. 946; Uvās. § 12; Ovav. § 54.; Kappas. § 13.83). This *taham* stands for *taham* (§ 349) and corresponds to a \**tatham* beside *tathā*, like *katham* beside Vedic *kathā*. So too can A. *jihā* be referred to \**yatham* beside *yathā*. Cf. §72.74.75.86. So also AMg. *sōccam*, *dissam* occurring before a vowel for *sōccām*, *dissām*, beside *sōccā*, *dissā*=*śrutvā dṛṣtvā* (§334.349). Final *ā* in the inst. sing. and *ā* arising from *-āḥ* of the abl. and of the genit. as well as of the therewith connected locative of the feminines in *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū* are often shortened in M.: *bandā*=*-bandyā*; *koḍā*=*koṭeh*; *naarā*=*nagaryām*; *vahūa*=*vadhvā* (§ 385). The corresponding forms in *-a* of the feminine in *-ā*, which are mentioned by some grammarians, are not to be found. In places where they stood formerly in Karp. thence they have been eliminated in the critical edition of KONOW (§ 375).

§ 115. A transition from *i* to *a*, which the grammarians mention (Vr. 1,13,14; Hc. 1,88—91; Ki.1. 18.19; Mk. fol. 7) has not really taken place. Thus for example *paḍamsuā* (Hc. 1,26.88.206), *paḍamsua* (Mk. fol. 34) is not=*pratiśrut*, *pratiśruta*, but=\**pratyāśrut*, \**pratyāśruta*, as is shown by *pratyāśrāva*. *pratiśrut* in AMg. forms *paḍimsujā* (Ovav. s. v.); for *pratiśruta* is found *paḍimsuda* (Bh. 4,15).—In M. JM. Ś. Mg. A. *puhavi*, AMg. JS. JM. Ś. *puḍhavi* (§ 51) *a* is a separating vowel like *u* in *puhuvī* (§ 139), both, therefore,=*prihvī*.—*baheḍaa* (Hc. 1,88) is not=*vibhītaka*, but=*baheṭaka* (Vaijyanti 59,351; cf. BÖHTLINGK s.v. *vahedaka*.—*sadhīla* (Hc. 1,89), AMg. *pasadhīla* (Hc. 1,89; Paṇnav. 118) go, like M. AMg. Ś. *sidhīla* (Vr. 2,28; Hc. 1,89.215.254; Ki. 2,17; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,5,3,4; Nāyadh. 949; Rāyap. 258 f.; Vivāhap. 39.136.382 f. 1308; Uttar. 196; Śak. 132,12; Vikr. 30,4), M. *sidhīlattaṇa*=\**sīthīlatvāna* (G.), *sidhīlādā* (Śak. 63,1), M. Ś. *sidhīlei*, °*dī* (R.; Śak. 11,1; Bālar. 36,5; Candak. 58,10), M. AMg. Ś. *pasidhīla* (G. H. R. Vivāhap. 806; Uttar 773; Nāyadh.; Ovav.; Viddhaś. 64,5), back<sup>1</sup> to the original \**śrīthīla*, *a* and *i*, therefore, represent an original *r* (§52), as already noted above.—In *haladdā*, *haladdī* (Gr.) beside M. AMg. JM. *haliddā* (Hc. 1,88; G. H.; Uttar. 982.1050; Rāyap. 53; Erz.), M. *haliddī* (Hc. 1.88.254; G.; Karp. 69,3)=*haridrā*, AMg. *hālidda*=*hāridra* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4 [read thus]; Paṇnav. 525; Samav. 64; Jiva 224; Ovav.; Kappas.). *a* and *i* are presumably separation vowels. On *aṅgua* beside *iṅgua*=*iṅguda* see §102.

i. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s. v. *sihila*; cf. B.-R. s. v. *sithira* and WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 16.

§ 116. For the second *i* of *iti*=Latin *ita*, there has been preserved in M. AMg. JM. an old *a*, when *iti* stands independently in the beginning of a sentence, in AMg. also in the beginning of a compound: M. *ia* (Vr. 1,14; Hc. 1,91; Ki. 1,19; Mk. fol. 7; G. H. R.; Bālar. 113,17; Karp. 6,4;48,14;57,7; Viddhaś. 64,7; Acyutaś. 22,45.82.93.103; AMg. JM. *iya* (C. 2,28; Pāiyal. 224; Āyār. 1.2,1,1;1,2,3,1.5;1,4,3,2 [v.l. everywhere *iti*]; Ovav. § 184.186; KI. 14; Kk.); AMg. *iyaccheya*, *ijniuna*, *ijanayavādi*, *iyāvaesaladdha*, *iyaviṇṇānapatta*=*iticcheka*, *itimpūṇa itinayavādin*, *ityupadesalabdha*, *itivijñānaprāpta* (Ūvās. § 219). Most of the texts have in AMg. *ii* for *iya* (Sūyag. 137.203 [*ii*]; Uttar. 63.99.116.311.508.512.513; Dasav. 626.11,630,14; Ūvās. § 114). As *i* and *ya* always interchange in Jaina MSS. it is doubtful if here we have a case of error of MSS. or not. JŚ., however, has *idi* (Pav. 385,65;387,18.24; Kattig. 399, 314); it has it whether rightly or wrongly is yet to be decided. In Ś. there wrongly occurs *ia* (Kāleyak. 17,16). As an enclitic *iti* becomes *ti*, *tī* (§92), AMg. also *i* (§93).

§ 117. Sometimes *i* becomes *u* through assimilation to an *u* of the following syllable: M. AMg. JM. *ucchu*=*ikṣu* (Vr. 1,15; Bh. 3,30; Hc. 1,95;2, 17; Ki. 1,22; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyal. 143; G. H.; Āyār. 2,1,8,9.12; 2,1,10,4; 2,7, 2,5; Paṇhāv. 127; Uttar. 590; Dasav. 614,13;621,5.41; Dasav. N.660,4; Ovav.; Āv. 23,24; Erz.). By the side thereof AMg. has also *ikkhu* (Hc. 2,17; Sūyag. 554; Paṇnav. 33,40; Jiv. 356; Vivāhap. 1526), *ikkhūya* (Paṇnav. 33.40), and similarly in Ś. we must read *ikkhu* with the MSS., instead of *ucchu* in Śak. 144,12 against Candrasekhara 206,17, as in Rukmiṇīp. 42,14. In M. JM. occurs *icchu* in H. 740.775; KI. 18; but it is hardly correct. On AMg. JM. *ikkhāga*=*aikṣvāka*, see § 84.—AMg. *usu*=*iṣu* (Sūyag. 270.286.293; Vivāhap. 121.122.348.505.506. 1388; Raṅap. 257; Nirayāv. § 5); AMg. *usugāra* (Thāṇ. 86), *usujāra* (Thāṇ. 383; Uttar. 421.422.449; Paṇhāv. 317 [text *ikkhu*°, but cf. the commentary])=*iṣukāra* (name of a hill). Yet AMg. JM. have also *isattha*=*iṣuśāstra* (Paṇhāv. 322; Ovav. § 107, p. 78,4; Erz. 67, 1,2); AMg. *iśāsaṭṭhāna*=*iṣvāsasthāna* (Nirayāv. § 5 beside *usu*); M. *isu* (Pāiyal. 36; G. 1145 [*kāmesu*]; Karp. 12,8;94,8; [*pañcesu*]).—AMg. *susu*=*śiṣu* in *susumāra*=*śiṣumāra* (Sūyag. 821; Paṇhāv. 19; Vivāgas. 50.186), oftener *sumsumāra* (Paṇnav. 47.48; Jiv. 71; Nāyādh. 510; Uttar. 1072; Vivāhap. 1285 [text °*sa*°]), *sumsumāri* (Jiv. 111); but AMg. *sisubāla* (Sūyag. 161), *sisunāga* (Uttar. 205); M. *sisu* (Pāiyal. 58); Ś. *sisubhāva* (Viddhaś. 21,12), *sisuāla*=*śiṣukāla* (Cait. 37,7).

So correctly Abhayadeya on Paṇhāv. 322. Wrongly equated as=*iṣvastra* by LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. and JACOBI, Erz. s.v.

§ 118. The *i* of the prefix *ni* becomes *u* before *ma*, that has originated from *pa* according to § 248 and from *va* according to § 251 : *numajjai*=*nipadyate* (Hc. 1,94;4,123; Ki. 4,46), *numaṇṇa*=*nipanna* (Hc. 1,94.174). The forms referred by Grr. to *sad* cannot be separated from one another. The v. l. *nuvaṇṇa* (G. 1161) and its meaning "fallen asleep" (Deśin. 4,25) clearly points to the origin of *ma* from *pa*. Derivation from *majj* is factually and linguistically impossible. In H. 530.608.669 WEBER reads with the MSS. *numajjasu*, *numajjanta*, *numajjai*, *numajjihisi*. But in another place (under 669) he refers °to *nu*° that occurs in a stanza quoted in Hc., in Dhvanyāloka, p. 20 and in Kāvyaṅprakāśa, p. 123 in the old Sāradā script<sup>1</sup>, Sobhākara, Alamkāraratnākara fol. 67<sup>b</sup> (MS. BÜHLER, Det. Report, No. 227). Hemacandra, Alamkāracūḍamaṇi fol. 4<sup>b</sup> (MS. KIELHORN, Report, Bombay 1881, p. 102, No. 265), Mammaṭa, Śabdavyā-

pāravīcāra fol. 6<sup>a</sup>, Jayanta, Kāvya prakāśadīpikā fol. 6<sup>b</sup>.22<sup>b</sup>, whereas Sāhityadarpaṇa p. 5 has *ni*<sup>o</sup>. Everywhere *ṇu* should be read. *ṇumāna*, explained in Triv. 1,2,48 by *nimantra*, is a mistaken reading from *ṇumanna* in Hc.—*ṇumai* (Hc. 4,199) beside *ṇimāi*, M. *ṇimeī* (R.) “throw down” is=*vī* “to throw” (Dhātup. 24,39) with *ni*. Therefore, the v.l. *ṇivā* (R. 12, 30) beside *ṇimā*<sup>2</sup>). Sometimes dialectically the suffix-*ka* steps in for the Skt. suffix *-ika*, so that apparently *u* stands for *i*. So M. *vimchua*, *vimcua*, *vicchua*, AMg. *vicchūya*, beside M. *vimchia*, AMg. *vicchīya* =*vrścika* (§ 50); AMg. *gerūya* beside M. *geria* = *gairika*; AMg. *neyāyāya* =*nayāyika* (§ 60); M. *jāṇua* =*\*jñānika*; (H. 286), *akajāṇua* =*akṛtajña*, *vijāṇua* =*vijña*, *dēvajāṇua* =*daivajña* etc. (Mk. fol. 20), probably also in the proper names Ś. *jāṇua*, Mg. *yāṇua* (Śak. 115,1.9.11); *pāvāsua*, A. *pāvāsua* =*prāvāsika* (Hc. 1,95;4,395,4), also *pāvāsua*, *pāvāsua* =*prāvāsīn* (Hc. 1,44), which probably goes back to *\*pāvāsua* =*prāvāsā* (§ 105), whence may have originated also *pāvāsua*.—AMg. JM. *duruhāi* (§ 482) is not =*adhīrohātī*<sup>3</sup>, but =*\*udruha*<sup>4</sup> =*udrohātī*<sup>4</sup>, however, not by metathesis, of *ud* to *du* as HOERNLE thinks, but with a separation-vowel and falling of the initial *u* from *\*udruhāi* (§ 139.141).—*yudhāṣīhira*, according to Hc. 1,96.107.254, can become *jahuṭṭhila*, *jahiṭṭhila* (also Bh. 2,30; Kī. 2,35; Mk. fol. 17). It is not clear what was the origin of *jahu* and *jahi*. In the text we find AMg. *jahiṭṭhila* (Antag. in ZDMG. 42,258; Nāyādh. 1287ff. [text oftener *illa*]; Ś. A. *jahiṭṭhira* (Karp. 18,4; Venis. 102,4; Pracaṇḍap. 29,12; 31,13;34,8; Piṅgala 2,102).

1. For Hc. and Kāvya prakāśa the remark made already by WEBER on H. 530 is without any result. Wrong is the derivation from *nimi*, particularly from *ṇimā* =*nimita*, in GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s. v. *nima*.—3. WEBER, Bhag. 1,411; LEUMANN, Aup. s. s. v. STREINTHAL, Specimen s. v.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 34.—4. HOERNLE, Uvās. Translation p. 38, note 103.

§ 119. Before a consonant-group *i* may become *e* ( Vr. 1,12; Hc. 1, 85; Kī. 1,16; Mk. fol. 7; Pkl. p. 25; Deśin. 1,74); PG. M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. P. D. Ā. *e*ṭṭha, A. *e*ṭṭhu =*iṭṭhā* (§ 107); AMg. *āgame*ṣsa =*āgamīsyant* (Āyār. 1,4,3,2); *ce*ṇḥa, beside *cinḥa* =*cinna* (§ 267; Bh. 1,12); *ṇe*ḍḍā, beside *ṇiddā* =*nīdrā* (Bh. 1,12); *dhammē*ḷla, beside *dhammilla* (Grr.); *pe*ṇḍa, beside *piṇḍa* (Grr.); *pe*ṭṭha beside *piṭṭha* =*piṣṭa* (Grr.); AMg. *le*ḥcāi =*licchavi* (Sūyag. 495.585; Vivāhap. 800; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.); PG. AMg. *ve*ṭṭhi (PG. 6,32; Uttar 792), beside *viṭṭhi* =*viṣṭi* (Kī.; Mk.); *ve*ṇhu, beside *viṇhu* =*viṣṇu* (Grr.); AMg. *ve*ḥbhala =*viḥvala* (Paṇḥāv. 165); *se*ṇḍūra, beside *sindūra* (Grr.). So also *kesua* from *\*ke*ṁsua =*kimśuka* (§ 76.) This rule is more frequently illustrated by cases having a secondary *i*, particularly that which has developed from *r*: *me*ṭṭa from *me*ṭṭa =*me*ṭṭa ( § 109); *ge*ṇḥai, beside *ginḥa* =*grhṇāti* (§ 512); *ge*ṭṭha from *\*gijjha* =*\*grhya* for *grāhya* (§ 109.572); *ve*ṇṭa beside *viṇṭa* =*vrnta* (§ 53); AMg. *ge*ḍḍha (Ovav. § 70), beside *gidḍha* (§ 50) =*grdhra*; AMg. *ge*hi (§ 60) from *\*ge*ḍḍhi =*gidḍhi* (§ 50) =*grddhi*. According to Mk. fol. 66 *e* never comes in Ś. in any of the words included in the ākṛtigaṇa *piṇḍasama* by Vr. Pkl. and under the *piṇḍādi* by Mk. Kī. in which Bh. Kī, Mk. like Hc. in his rule 1,85, include *piṇḍa*, *dhammilla*, *sindūra*, *viṣṇu*, *piṣṭa*, Hc. and Mk. also *bilva*, which forms *be*ḷla, *billa* (§ 296), Bh. also *nīdrā*, *cinna*, Mk. Kī. *viṣṭi*, Kī. *kimśuka* which Hc. has in a special rule, and for which Mk. likewise forbids *e* in Ś. This is attested by the texts in which there occur, par ex. Ś. *piṇḍa* (Mṛcch. 41, 11; 69, 12; Prab. 49,4), also Mg. (Mṛcch. 125,5; Prab. 46,14), Mg. *cinḥa* (Mṛcch. 159,23); Ś. *ṇiddā* =*nīdrā* (Mṛcch. 43,24; Vikr. 24,17; Prab. 17,1; 38,2.6;39,8); Ś. *viṇḥudāsa* (Mudrār. 243,2;247,1;248,7;249,5.6;259,7). In the optative in *-e*ṭṭā, *-ijjā* in AMg. and JM. (§ 91.459 ff.) *e* occurs for and beside *i*.—*te* in the

numerals, such as AMg. JM. *terasa*, A. *teraha* (13), AMg. JM. *tevisam*, A. *teisa* (23), AMg. JM. *teṭṭisam* (33), JM. *tejālisam* (43), AMg. JM. *tesaṭṭhim*, *tevaṭṭhim* (63) etc. (§ 443 ff.), as well as AMg. *teindiya*, *tendiya* (§ 438) is perhaps not=*tri*, but=*traya*, *terasa*, therefore=*\*trayadaśan*.—AMg. *teicchā*=*cikitsā* beside *viṅgicchā* *viṅgimicchā* (§ 215) has the strengthened reduplication, like Skt. *cikite*, *cekītat*, *cekītāna*.

§ 120. In *haradai*=*haritakī*, *haritakī* (Hc. 1,99.206) *a* is probably a separation-vowel like *ī*, *ī* in Skt. The *da* of Pkt. points to an original *\*hartakī*.—*ā* for *ī* is taught by Hc. 1.100;2,60;60.74 in *kamhāra*, *kambhāra*=*kaśmīra*, for which we should, with Triv. 1,2,50, read *kāśmīra*; cf. Skt. *kambhārī* beside *kāśmūrī* “*gmelina arborea*”. Ś. has *kamhūra* (Mudrār. 204,2).—On *i* for *ī* see § 79ff.—AMg. *uṭṭhubhaha* “*spit*” (Vivāhap. 1263), *uṭṭhubhanti* “*they spit*”; (Vivāhap. 1264; text “*bhahanti*”), AMg. *añṭṭhubhaya* “*not spitting*”, (Panhāv. 350; Ovav. § 30,V), dialectical *niṭṭhubhīa* (loudly spat out; Deśin. 4,41) as well as Pāli *niṭṭhuhati*, *nuṭṭhuhati*, *nuṭṭhubhī*, *niṭṭhubhana* have nothing to do with *ṣṭhāv*, with which it had hitherto been associated, but all these belong to the root √ *stubbh* (to drive out; *stumbhu* *niṣkāśane*, Dhātup. 31,7), which in Skt. is used for voice only = “to emit a sound”. The parallel root is *kṣubh* (*stubbh* : *kṣubh*=*stambh* : *skambh*=Skt. *sthāṇu* : Pkt. *khāṇu*=*duṭṭha* : *dukkha* [hinder portion; Deśin. 5,42]; § 90.308.309) which occurs in Pkt. AMg. JM. *chubhai*, M. JM. *chuhai* and in compounds (§ 66). Pāli *nicchubhati* “*springs forth*” (from the sea)<sup>1</sup>, shows transfer of meaning, which we find also in Skt. *nirasana* (throwing outside, throw out, spit forth).—*hūna* (Hc. 1,103), M. AMg. JŚ. A. *vihūna* (Hc. 1,103; Śukasaptati 15,3; Nāyādh. 950; Vivāhap. 202.1123.1816f. 1825; Nirayāv. 44; Uttar. 357.439.633.809; Pav. 380,7; 381,17;387,12; Piṅgala 1,7), AMg. *viṭṭpahūna* (Sūyag. 271.282; Nāyādh. 322; Panhāv. 56) are not to be equated with Hc. as=*hīna*, *vihīna*, *vīprahīna*, but they belong to *dhūna* (Kāśikā on Pāṇini. 8,2,44) from *dhu*, *dhū* “to shake off” which forms in AMg. *dhunāi* and in M. AMg. *dhunāi*, *vihunāi* (§ 503). In all the dialects *hā* regularly forms *hīna*. So M. AMg. JŚ. Ś. *hīna* (G. H.; Uvās.; Pav. 382,24.25;388,2; Vikr. 24,20), JM. *aihīna* (Kk.); M. JM. JŚ. *parihīna* (H.; KI. 8; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 400, 329); AMg. *pañhīna* (Bhag.); Ś. *avahīna* (Śak. 30,2), M. *anohīna* (R.); JŚ. Ś. *vihīna* (Kattig. 404,387.389; Mṛcch. 18,10).—On *juṇṇa*=*jūrṇa* and *iūha*=*tīrtha* see § 58.

I. KERN, Bijdrage tot de Verklaring van eenige Woorden in Pāli-Geschriften voorkomende (Amsterdam 1886) p. 18; FAUSBØLL, Nogle Bemærkninger om enkelte vanskelige Pāli-Ord i Jātaka-Bogen (Kopenhagen 1888) p. 19. Not correctly TRENCNER, Milindapañho p. 423 f.

§ 121. Most of the dialects, beside *ī*, partly have *e* in *idyāsa*, *idykṣa*, *kidyāsa*, *kidykṣa* : Aśoka *ediśa*, *hedīśa* *heḍīśa* (Khālsi) *ediśa*, *hedīśa*; Pāli *ediśa*, *erīśa*, *edikṣha*, *erikṣha* beside *īdiśa* *īriśa*, *īdikṣha*, but only *kīdiśa*, *kirīśa*, *kīdikṣha*, *kirikṣha*; M. AMg. JM. Ś. *erīśa* (Vr. 1,19.31; Hc. 1,105.142; Ki. 1,15; Mk. fol. 8,11; H. 10; R. 11,104; Sūyag. 197; Dasav. 626,27; Ovav.; Nirayāv.; Bhag.; Āv. 24,3ff.; 25,31.32;27,2,6.25; Dvār. 508,6; Erz.; Kk.; Lalitav. 555,6;562,22; Mṛcch. 151.20.155,5; Śak. 50,4; Prab. 4,9); AMg. JM; *erīśaya* (Nāyādh. 1284; Āv. 24,10); A. *erīśiya* (Piṅgala 2,185); AMg. *eliśa* (C. 2,5 p. 43), *anelīśa* (Āyār. 1,6,1,1;1,7,2,4; 1,7,8,1,17; 1,8,1,15; 2,16,2; Sūyag. 301.434 [text *ana*°]. 533.544.546.549.869); P. *etiśa* (Hc. 4,317.323); Ś. mostly *īdiśa* (Mṛcch. 24,20;39,11;54,1;72,19; 80,9;82,12;88,16;151,16; Śak. 103,5;104,7;123,12; 127,7;130,1;135,15; Vikr. 20,6;44,13. Ratn. 317,33;318,16.22; Karp. 19,6;21,4 etc.), Mg. only *īdiśa* (Mṛcch. 38,7;129,7;131,7;158,24;165,13;166,21;177,10); AMg. *elikṣha* (Uttar. 237), *elikṣhaya* (Āyār. 1,8,3,5); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *kerīśa*

(Grr.; H. 374 [read so with v.l.]; Niraṣāv.; Bhag.; Erz.; Mrcch. 141,7; Vikr. 50,6;52,3; Prab. 10,15;39,13), JM. *kerisaya* (Kk.), Mg. *keliśa* (Prab. 46,14.16;50,14;53,15.16;56,1; Veṇis. 35,3); Ś. also *kidisa* (Mrcch. 27,18; Śak. 39,6; Vikr. 28,19; Mudrār. 58,6;184,5). Doubtful forms are M. *irisa* (H. 940), JM. *ūsa* (Erz.), Ś. *irisa* (Uttarar. 26,6 beside *idisa* 26,8; Mālav. 6,1;44,18;47,3; Mahāv. 119,12.14.20; Mudrār. 233,1), *kirisa* (Mālav. 5,3.17)<sup>1</sup>, Mg. *kiliśa* (Mrcch. 125,2.4;132,9; GODABOLE 344,7;345,1 has *keliśa*, only 363,2 also *kiliśa*). According to the testimony of the best manuscripts only *erisa*, *kerisa* and *idisa*, *kidisa* will be correct in Ś.; in Mg. the correct forms will be \**eliśa*, *keliśa* and *idisa*, \**kidiśa* (the v.l. often has *keliśa*). Cf. § 244-245. The hitherto unexplained<sup>2</sup> *e* goes back to -*ayi*, -*ai*. From Vedic *ka'yā+dyś* has developed *kerisa*; *erisa* comes from Vedic *ayā-dyś*, like *kāiā taiā*, *jaiā* from *kāyā+dā*, *tāyā+dā*, *ya'yā+dā* (§ 113). *ayā* has been influenced by *kāyā*. In A. *aiśa=iḍśa*, *kāiśa=kidśa* (Hc. 4,403) it is better to consider them as formations on the analogy of A. *taiśa=iādyśa jaiśa=yādyśa*, as the intermediate forms for the development of *erisa*, *kerisa*. Cf. Vedic *kayasya* and AMg. *ajamsi*, M. *aammi* and A. *āammi* (§ 429). On *e'ddaha*, *ke'ddaha*, *je'ddaha* see § 122. Beside *piyūṣa*, Skt. has *peyūṣa*, so too Pkt. Ś. *piūsa* (Bālar. 266,19) and M.Ś. *peīsa* (Hc. 1,105; H.; Ś. Karp. 82,5; Bālar. 150,19; 223,5;294,10; Mallikām. 245,6). On *bahedaa=vibhitakā* see § 115; in Paṇnav. 31, in AMg. we have *vibhelae=vibhedakah* (§ 244).

1. An uncritical collection in BOLLENSON on Mālav. 5,2-5, p. 122.—2. Literature in JOHANSSON, Shāhbāzgarhi 1,134.

§ 122. Like *i* (§ 119), *ī* also may become *ē* before consonant-groups: AMg. JM; *kiddā*, AMg. *khe'ddā* dialectical *khē'ddā*, A. *khē'ddāa=kri'dā* (§ 90); *nē'ddā* beside *ni'dā* (§ 90); AMg. JM. *jānījā*, *jāne'jjā=jāniyāt* (§ 91); M. *e'ddaha=iḍśa*<sup>1</sup> with reduplication according to § 90 and *ha* for *śa* according to 262 (on Vr. 4,25 and Appendix B. p. 101; Hc. 2,157; Mk. fol. 40; Deśin. 1,144; H.; also in Ś. Vidhaś. 71,1, everywhere *e'ddahame'tta=iḍśamātra*); *ke'ddaha=kidśa* and on its analogy *te'ddaha=iādyśa*, *je'ddaha=yādyśa* (Grr.). Similarly is explained also *e* in AMg. M. JM. *āmeḷa* (garland; braid; Vr. 2,16; Hc. 1.105.202,234; Ki. 1.15;2,9; Mk. fol. 8,16; Pāiyal. 140; Deśin. 1,62; G. 112; Paṇnav. 111; Ovav.; JM. in *kamalāmeḷā*, Āv. 29, 18ff.), M. *āmeḷiā* (R. 9,21), AMg. *āmeḷaga* (Rāyap. 111), *āmeḷaya* (Uvās. §206; read as such; Ovav.). *āmeḷa* is=\**āpidya*, which passes through the stages \**āpidā*, \**āpe'dda*, \**āpeḍa* with *ma* for *pa* according to §248, *e* for *e'* according to §66 and *la* for *ḍa* according to §240<sup>2</sup>. Ś. *āpiḍa* (Mālatim. 207,4); according to Hc. 1,202 there occurs dialectically also as *āveda*. In the same way we must explain *niḃmeḷa* (gums; Deśin. 4,30) from \**niḃidya*, and AMg. *veḍa* from \**ve'dda* for \**vri'dya* of the present stem *vri'dya*-; cf. §240. Doubtful is the origin of *e* in *peḍha* (Hc. 1,106) beside the common *piḍha=piṭha*. M. *peḍhāla* (G. 731) has been falsely derived by Haripāla from *piṭhayukta*. It means "broad" or "round" (Pāiyal. 84; Deśin. 6,7) and perhaps is connected with *piṇḍa*. *e* never appears in the passive in -*ijja* and the participles nec. and adjectives in -*aṇijja* in M. AMg. JM. JS. (§91).

1. The grammarians explain it by *e'tavat*, Hc. Deśin. 1,144 by *iyat*. 2.—WEBER has correctly connected it with *idryśa*, H1 p. 59. The grammarians equate *āmeḷa* as=*āpiḍa*; likewise LASSEN, Inst. p. 207; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prakritica p.15; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v.; BÜHLER, Pāiyal. s.v. Thereby it is only *e* that remains unexplained. In Triv. 1,2,56, the printed edition has *ḷa* and the MSS. have *ḷa*.

§ 123. In Pkt. there appears several times *a* in place of Skt. *u*, especially in the first syllable of a word whose second syllable likewise has *u*. In most of such cases *a* might have been the original vowel.

and the forms with *u* might have been formed analogically (Vr. 1,22; Hc. 1,107; Ki. 1,6; Mk. fol. 9): M. Ś.Ā.A. *garua*, AMg. JM; *garūya*=*guruka* (G.H.R.; Sūyag. 692.747.750; Paṇṇav. 8.10; Vivāhap. 126.436; Ānuog. 268; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Śak. 10,3; Mālav. 34,9;37,8; Priyad. 4,7; Ā. Mrcch. 148,1; A. Hc. 4,340,2), feminine AMg. *garū* (Grr.; G.; Nāyādh.; cf. § 139), and in derivatives like M. *garuattaṇa*=\**gurutvana* (G.H.R.), *garuia* (G.R.), *garuei* (G.), JM. *garukka*=*gurutva* (KI. 13; cf. § 299); Ś. *garuadā* (Priyad. 31,12), *agaruadā* (Mahāv. 54,19). Cf. *gārava* and *gorava* § 61<sup>a</sup>. As Hc. 1,109 explicitly teaches, *a* has come in only with the addition of the suffix *-ka*; in all the dialects *guru* retains its *u*<sup>1</sup>.—A. AMg. JM. *agaru* (Grr.; G.; Sūyag. 248; Uvās.; Erz.), also in Skt. beside *aguru* (M. Karp. 87,9); AMg. also *agaluja* (Ovav.); M. *kālāru* (G.), AMg. *kālāgaru* (Ovav.; Kappas.).—*galoi*=*guḍūci* (§ 127).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. *maūḍa*=*mukuṭa* (Grr.; G.; Āyār. 2,13,20; p. 128,3; Paṇhāv. 160.234.251.440; Paṇṇav. 100.101.117; Vivāgas. 161; Nāyādh. § 35,92; p. 269.1274; Jiv. 615; Rāyap. 21; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Venis. 59,2).—*maūra*=*mukura* (Grr.), but Ś. *radaṇamūra* (Mālikām. 194,4; text *raa*<sup>o</sup>).—M. A Mg. JM. Ś. *maūla*=*mukula* (Grr.; G.H.R.; Anarghar. 20,3; Kāmsav. 9,3; Paṇhāv. 284; Paṇṇav. 111; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mudrār. 46,7 [to be read as such]; Mālav. 69,2), and in the derivatives like M. *maūlia* (G.H.R.), AMg. *maūliya* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *maūlida* (Śak. 14,6; Mahāv. 22,20; Uttarar. 163,5)=*mukulita*; M. *maūlāia* (Ratn. 293,2); Ś. *maūlānta* (Mālatim. 121,5;254,2); Ś. *maūlāvijjanti* (Priyad. 11,3; read °*vānti*); Mg. Ś. *maūlēnti* (Mrcch. 80,21;81,2); AMg. *maūli*=*mukulinaḥ* (Paṇhāv. 119)<sup>2</sup>. In a similar manner is explained also *kohala*=*kuṭūhala* (Hc. 1,171) from \**katūhala*, \**kaūhala*, beside M. AMg. JM. *koūhala*, Ś. *kodūhala* (61<sup>a</sup>), and M. *somāra* (H.R.), *somāla* (Bh. 2,30; Hc. 1,171.254; Pāiyāl. 88; Lalitav. 563,2) from \**sakumāra*, \**saūmāra* (§ 166)=*sukumāra*, while AMg. *sūmāia* (Āyār. 2,15,17; Niraṣāv.; Kappas.) goes back to AMg. *sukumāla* (Vivāhap. 822.946; Antag. 7.16.21; Jiv. 350.549.938; Paṇhāv. 278.284; Ovav. § 48 etc.). M. has also *sumāra* (Śak. 2,14), Ś. only *sumāra* (Mrcch. 37,5; Śak. 19,6;54,4), *sukumāra* (Vikr. 5,9), JM. *sukumārayā*=°*ratā* (Erz.). *somāla* has been taken over to Skt. as well<sup>3</sup>. *soamalla*=*saukumārya* (§ 285) presupposes a transition of the second *u* to *a*, as AMg. JM. too have *dugamchā*, beside *dugumchā*=*jugupsā* (§ 74). Assimilation to the vowel of the following syllable on account of accent takes place in M. *avarim*=*upa'ri* (Grr.; G.), beside M. AMg. JM. *uvarim* (Hc. 1,108; H.R.; Paṇṇav. 90ff.; Samav. 101; Rāyap. 62; Vivāhap. 198; Ovav.; Āv. 8,12; Erz.), M. JM. Ś. *uvari* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Mrcch. 41,22; Śak. 30,1; Mālav. 66,2; Prab. 38,8), Ś. *uvaridāna* (Mrcch. 42,13), Mg. *uvali* (Mrcch. 134,8), AMg. *uppiṃ*. (§ 148). To *avarim* belongs M. *avarilla* (upper garment; Hc. 2,166; Pāiyāl. 175) as well as *varilla* (Karp. 56,7;70,8;95,11). In the same way is explained *a* in M. *avahovāsa*, *avahoāsa* (Bh. 4,33; Hc. 2, 138; H.R.)<sup>4</sup>, beside AMg. *ubhaopāsam* (Samav. 151; Ovav.), *ubhayopāsam* (Paṇhāv. 258), *ubhaopāsīm* (Samav. 98; Jiv. 496f.500.502.504; Nāyādh. 275; Vivāhap. 286.830), *ubhaopāse* (Kappas. p. 96,24), *ubhayokālam* (Hc. 2.138), *ubhaokūleṇam* (Ovav.) *ubhao* (Vivāhap. 941; Nāyādh.; Kappas.) is=\**ubhatas* for *ubhayatas*<sup>5</sup> from *ubha'*, *avaho*=\**uba'thas* (§ 212) wherefrom, is derived *avaha*, and according to some (Hc. 2.138), is derived also *uvaha*. So also *bhamayā*=\**bhruvakā* (§ 124) and *avajjhā*=*upādhyāya* (Deśin. 1.37; cf. § 28).—*tarakṣu*, in AMg. has become an *a*-stem: *taraccha* (Āyār. 2,1,5,3; Paṇṇav. 49.367.369; Vivāhap. 282.484; Nāyādh. 345), feminine *taracchī* (Paṇṇav. 368). On *kattha*=*kutra*, *kao*, *kado*, *katto*, *kaohimto*=*kutah*, see § 293.428, on *jahiṭṭhila*, *jahuṭṭhila*=*yudhiṭṭhira*, § 118.

1. BOLLENSSEN wrongly states, on Mālav. p. 172, that when it is an adjective, it is



*garu*, and when, a substantive, it is *guru*. In Jiv. 224, *garu* is a false reading, likewise Śāk., ed. BÖHLINGK 79,9;86,3.—2. On *maūḍa* and *maūlla* cf. also E. KUHN, KZ. 31, 324.—3. ZACHARIAE, BB. 10,135ff.—Cf. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen p. 81; WEBER, ZDMG. 28,390—LEUMANN, Aup. S.s.v.

§ 124. Beside *tumburu* (Diospyros embryopteris) there occur dialectically *ṭimbaru* (Deśin. 4,3) and *ṭimbarūya* (Pāiṭal. 258). In lieu of *u* there appears *i* as a separation-vowel<sup>1</sup> in all the dialects in *purisa*, Mg. *puḷiśa*=*purusa* (Vr. 1,23; Hc. 1,111; Kī. 1.26; Mk. fol. 9; e.g. M.: G.H.R.; AMg.: Āyār. 1,3,3,4; Sūyag. 202,203; Paṇhāv. 222; Ṭhān. 360 and very often; JM.: Erz.; JŚ.: Kattig. 401,345; Ś: Mṛcch. 9,10; 17,19;24,25;29,3; Śāk. 126,14;141,10; Vikr. 35,12; Prab. 39,13; Mg.: Lalitav. 565,13; Mṛcch. 113,21;116,17;157,14; Prab. 51,8;53,11;62,7; D.: Mṛcch. 104,7); *pāūriśa* (Grr.), JM. *porisa*, AMg. *poriśi*, *porasiya*, *aporisiya* (§ 61<sup>a</sup>). False is AMg. JM. *porusa* in Uttar. 17; Erz. 17,35. In Ś. *puruso'ttama* (Vikr. 35,15) the *u* has been purposely retained on account of similarity of sound with that of *purūrava-*, therefore, it falsely occurs also in Mālatim. 73,6. Otherwise it is always *puriso'ttama* (Mālatim. 266,4. Venīś. 97,9), in Ś. and *puḷiśo'ttama* in Mg. (Prab. 32,7,14). In M. AMg. JM.Ś. *bhiuḍi* (Hc. 1,110; G.H.R.); Vivāgas. 90.121.144.157; Nāyādh. 753.1310.1312; Vivāhap. 237.254; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 12,27; Erz.; Venīś. 60,5;61,18; Bālar. 270,5;), AMg. also *bhiguḍi* (Paṇhāv. 162.285) the *i* is not=*u* in *bhrukuṭi*, but=*r* in *bhrkuṭi*. False is M. *bhuuḍi* (Pratāp. 220,20) as well as *huuḍi* (Acyutaś. 58). On the other hand *a* stands for *u* according to § 123 in *bhamajā* (Hc. 2,167), against AMg. *bhamuhā* (§ 206; Pāiṭal. 251; Āyār. 1,1,2,5;2,13,17 [neuter]; Jiv. 563; Rāyap. 165; Ovav.; Kappas.), A. *bhōhā* (Piṅgala 2,98; § 166 251), and M. *bhumaā* (Bh. 4,33; Hc. 1,121;2,167; Kī. 1,117; Mk. fol. 39; G.H.R.), AMg. *bhumajā* (Pāiṭal. 251; Uvās.; Ovav.), *bhumagā* (Paṇhāv. 272.285 [text *bhū*]; Uvās.); *bhumā* (Ovav. s.v. *ko'kkuiya*). Cf. § 206.254.261.—AMg. *chīya* (one who has enjoyed; Hc. 1,112;2,117; Nandīś. 380) is not=*ḷṣuita*, but onomatopoeically=*\*chīta*, corresponding to German *tsi* ! To this refer AMg. *chīyamāna* (convalescent; Āyār. 2,2,3,27). In the same way is to be explained *chikka* (Deśin. 3,36); cf. Skt. *chikkā*, *chikkana*.—On *sūhava*=*subhaga* see § 62, on *mūsala*=*musala*, § 66.

1. ZIMMER, KZ. 24,220 f.; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, KZ. 25,615; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. §51.

§ 125. Like *i* becoming *ē*, (§ 119), before consonant-groups *u* may become *o* (Vr. 1,20; Hc. 1.116; Kī. 1,23; Mk. fol. 8; Pkl. p. 31). According to Mk. fol. 66, this change does not take place in Ś. except in *muktā* and *puṣkara*, and this is attested substantially by the texts. PG. *kham-dako mḍisa*=*skandakunḍinah* (6,19); M. *go'ccha*=*guccha* (H.R.), *go'ccha* (H.), M. *to'ṇḍa* (Grr.; H. 402 [read as such]), but Mg. *tuṇḍa* (Mṛcch. 112,8); *mo'ṇḍa* (Grr.), but M.Ś.Mg. *muṇḍa* (G.; Mṛcch. 80,20; Prab. 49,4; Mg. Mṛcch. 122,7; Prab. 53,14); Ś. *po'kkhara*=*puṣkara* (Grr.; Mṛcch. 2,16; 54,2,95,11), and AMg. JM. *pukkhara* (Kappas.; Erz.), Ś. *pukkharakkha*=*puṣkarākṣa* (Mudrār. 204,3); AMg. Ś. *po'kkhariṇi* (Āyār. 2,3,3,2 [text *ra*]; Nāyādh. 1060; Dhūrtas. 5,10) and AMg. JM. *pukkhariṇi* (Sūyag. 565,613; T. 4,9); Mg. *po'skaliṇi* (Mṛcch. 112,11) and *puskaliṇi* (Mṛcch. 113,22); AMg. *po'ṇḍariya* (Sūyag. 813; Paṇnav. 34; Ovav.), and JM. *pundariya* (Erz.), Ś. *pundāria* (Mālatim. 122,2); JM. *ko'ttima* (Grr.; Erz.), beside M. *kuṭṭima* (R.); Ś. *po'tthaa*=*pustaka* (Grr.; Mṛcch. 69,17; Karp. 12,11), AMg. *po'tthaya* (Ovav.); *lo'ddhaa*=*lubdhaka* (Grr.; Pāiṭal. 248); M. *mo'tthā*=*mustā* (Hc. 1,116; Sarasvatik. 16,9); M.Ś. *mo'ggara*=*mudgara* (Grr.; R.; Bālar. 245,18;251,3) beside *muggara* (R.); AMg. JŚ. *po'ggala*=*puḍgala* (Hc. 1,116; Āyār. 2,1,10,6; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Pav. 384,58),

beside JŚ.Mg. *puggala* (Pav. 384,36.47.59; Prab. 46,14); M.Ś. *moṭṭā* (Bh.; Ki.; Mk.; Pkl.; R.; Vikr. 40,18), beside M.Ś. *muttā* (G.R.; Mṛcch. 69,1; Karp. 72,2), Ś. *muttāhala*—*muktāphala* (Karp. 72,3,8;73,9), M. *muttāhalilla* (Karp. 2,5;100,5). On the lengthening of such a secondary *o*, see § 66 and cf. § 127.

§ 126. Beside *duḷa*, AMg. *dugulla*, according to grammarians, there occurs also *duḷla* (§ 90).—AMg. *uvvīdha*, which according to Hc. 1,120= *udvyūḍha*, belongs rather to *uvvīhāi*=*udvidhyati* from *vidh* (*vyadh*) with *ud* (§ 489), as is clear from Vivāhap. 1388 : *se jahā nāmae ke i purise...usum...uvvīhāi uvvīhītā...tassa usussa .uvvīdhasa samānassa*. It has, therefore, been formed on the analogy of *liḍha*, from *lih*, *mīdha*, from *mih*, from the secondary root *vih*=*vidh*. *udvyūḍha* forms regularly *uvvīdha* (Hc. 1,120; Śak. 88,2; Jiv. 826). On *u* for *ū* see § 80-82. For *nūpura*, all the dialects have *ṇera*, Mg. *ṇeula*, that go back to the by-form preserved in modern Indian languages as *neṇura*, *neṇura*, which may be set side by side with Skt. *keyūra*, Pkt. *keūra* : cf. Ś. *neurakeūram*, (Bālar. 248.17), A. *neurakeuraō* (Piṅgala 1,26). So M.Ś. *neura* (Vr. 1,26; Hc. 1,123; Ki. 1,5; Mk. fol. 9; G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 41,2; Vikr. 31,7; Mālav. 40,7; Ratn. 294,32; Prab. 39,8 [read as such with PM]; Pras. 39,18;114,9; Karp. 21,1; Bālar. 248,17), M. *neurilla*=*nūpuravat* (G.); *saṇeura* (Mālav. 37,15;43 2); AMg. JM. *neura* (C. 2,4 [read as such with A]; 3,34 p. 35; Pāyāl. 118; Panhāv. 236.514; Nāyādh. § 65.102; p. 948; Vivāhap. 791; Ovav.; Āv. 12,6); Mg. *ṇeula* (Mṛcch. 99,7.10); A. *neura* (Piṅgala 1,17.22.26). Hc. 1,123; Deśin. 4,28 knows also *ṇiura* and 1,123 *ṇūura*; Pīatāp. 220,14 has certainly a false reading *ṇūvurūim*.

§ 127. Like *ū* (§ 125), before consonant-groups *ū* also may become *o* : AMg. *koṭṭpara*=*kūrpara* (Hc. 1,24; Vivāgas. 90), beside M. *kuppara* (G.); AMg. JM. *mōḷla*=*mūlya*<sup>1</sup> (Hc. 1,124; Āyār. 2,5,1,4;2,6,1,2; p. 128,6; Āv. 31,10; Erz.), M. *amōḷla* (G.), beside the more frequent *mulla* (§ 83). Like *o* from *u* (§ 66), the *o* from *ū* is also lengthened when an original consonant-group is simplified. Thus may be explained AMg. *toṇa*=*tūṇa* (Hc. 1,125; Paṇṇav. 72.79.81.83; Vivāgas. 112; Nāyādh. 1426), beside Ś. *tūṇi*- (Venis. 62,4; Mukund. 69,14); M. *tonira*=*tūnira* (Hc. 1,124; Karp. 47,8); *thonā* beside *thūnā*=*sthūnā* (Hc. 1,125). They go back to *\*toṇna*, *\*toṇnūra*, *\*thōṇnā* from *\*tulna*, *\*ulnira*, *\*sthulnā*<sup>2</sup>. A similar explanation holds good for M. *thora* from *\*thōrra*=*sthūra*' (Hc. 1,124.255;2,99; G.H.R.; Sarasvatik. 171,22; Karp. 50,11;64,2; 74,7;81.4) beside AMg. JM. *thulla*=*sthūla*' (Hc. 2,99; Āyār. 2,4,2,7; Āv. 22,15.42), *āithulla* (Āv. 22,35) and AMg. JŚ. Ś. *thūla* (Āyār. p. 133, 33;136,3; Sūyag. 286; Panhāv. 437; Kattig. 398,303.305; Karp. 72,1; Hāsy. 32,1 [read as such with v.l., while Āv. 22,34 *thulla*, 22,33 *āithulla* should be corrected]). Further for AMg. *ṇaṅgola*=*lāṅgūla* (Nāyādh. 502), *ṇaṅgoli*=*lāṅgūlin* (Jiv. 345), *ṇaṅgoliya*=*lāṅgūlika* (Jiv. 392), beside *ṇaṅgula* (Jiv. 883.886.887), *goṇaṅgula* (Vivāhap. 1048), *ṇaṅgūli*- (Aṇuog. 349), and M.AMg. JM. JŚ.Ś. *tambola*=*tāmbūla* (Hc. 1,124; Mk. fol. 8;G.; Aṇuog. 61; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 401,350; Mṛcch. 71,6; Mālatim. 201,2 [read as such]; Karp. 98,4; Viddhaś. 28,7; Kasīnsav. 55,13) [text *tamboḷla*], AMg. *tambolaja* (Sūyag. 250), *tambolī* (Jiv. 487; Rāyap. 137). The *o* presupposes final accentuation in *lāṅgūla* and *tāmbūla*, in which case *l* is doubled according to § 90, as in *thulla*, *dugulla*. The process of development was, therefore : *tāmbūla*, *\*tambulla*, *\*tamboḷla*, *tambola*.<sup>3</sup> In *kohaṇḍi*=*kūsmāṇḍi*, (Hc. 1,124;2,73; Ki. 2,73; Pāyāl. 14 6), AMg. *kohaṇḍa*=*kūsmāṇḍa* (Paṇṇav. 111), beside *kūhaṇḍa* (Panhāv. 172.230.312) and *kuhaṇḍa* (Paṇṇav. 115; probably

falsely) *o* is secondary. For Ś. *kohaṇḍa* (Karp. ed. Bomb. 99,3) which is forbidden by Mk. for Ś. KONOW 103,1 reads *kumbhaṇḍa*, and we must read as such also in Viddhaś. 23,2. The series was ; \**kumhaṇḍi*, \**koṃhaṇḍi*, \**koṃhaṇḍi*, *kohaṇḍi*, *kohaṇḍi* (§ 76.89.312) *kohaḷi* (Hc. 1,24; 2,73), *kohaḷiṃ* (Pāyān. 146) may in the same way be derived from *kohaḍi*. Cf. Marāthī. *kohalem*. *gaḷoi*=*guḍūci* (Hc. 1,107.124; § 123) may be going back to \**gaḍo'cci*.

1. JACOBI, Erz. s.v. *mo'lla*, falsely equates it as *maulya* which is a back formation from Pkt.—2. WINDISCH, KZ. 27, 168; HÜBSCHMANN, ZDMG. 39,92ff., FORTUNATOV. KZ. 36.18. Wrongly BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3,157ff.; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gram. § 146 d note, 172 d note; JOH. SCHMIDT, Kritik der Sonantentheorie p.1, note.—3. Impossible is the derivation from *tamragula* in LEUMANN, Aup S. p.165.

§ 128. In the syllable preceding and following the accented one *e* sometime becomes *i* (§ 79-82); before a consonant-group it becomes *e*, *i* (§ 84), in the anlaut before an enclitic with a double consonant, in the anlaut it becomes *e*, and dialectically, however, sometimes, after a long vowel it becomes *i* also (§ 85). A secondary *e* is sometimes lengthened and the consonant-group, simplified (§ 66.122). In A. *e* is shortened also in the inst. sing. in *-ena* and in the inst. plur. in *-ehim*, occasionally (cf. Saṅgītaratnākara 4,56). So *bo'lliēna* (Hc. 4,383; read as such); *pāṇiēna* (Hc. 4,434); *khaṇēna* (Hc. 4,419,1; read as such); *amhe'hi*, *tumhe'hi*. (Hc. 4,371), *vanke'hi loane'hi* (Hc. 4,356; read as such); *atthe'hi*, *satthe'hi*, *hatthe'hi* (Hc. 4,358; read as such), *dente'hi* (Hc. 4,419,5; read as such). As the manuscripts vary so greatly it is doubtful whether one should or should not in such cases do as I have done in my edition of Hemacandra and write *bo'lliem*, *pāṇiem*, *vankehi* or with the v.l. *vankehi*, *loanehi* etc. It is true that we often find without any variant the instrumental plural forms in *-ahim*, *-ahi*, that are formed from the stems in *a* (§ 308). Beside the loc. plur. of the pronouns of the first and second persons in *-esu*, there are some grammarians who prescribe the loc. forms in *-asu*, and Śākalya teaches also *tujjhsuṃ* and *tumbhsuṃ* (§ 415.422). JM. *einā*, Ś.Mg. *edinā*, JM.Ś. Mg. *iminā*, beside *ena*, Ś. Mg. *edena*, *imeṇa* (§ 426.430) are best explained with LASSEN (Inst. § 107) as formed from an *i*-stem, which is certainly the case for *kinā*=*kena*, on the analogy of which are formed *jinā* and *tinā* (§ 428).—AMg.JM. *aūna*, *aūṇa* are not=*ekona*, but=*aguṇa* (§ 444). On JM. *ānasu*, A. *ānahi* see § 474, and on the causative in *-a* in stead of in *-e*, § 491.

§ 129. For *e* occurs *a* in *nāliara*=*nālikera* (Deśin. 2,10), beside M. *nālieri* (G.), Ś. *nāriela* (Śak. 78,12), and *pavaṭṭha*=*praveṣṭa*, equated by Grr. (Vr. 1,40; Hc. 1,156; Ki. 1,40; Mk. fol. 13) as=*prakoṣṭha*<sup>1</sup>, which clearly forms M.AMg. *paōṭṭha* (Karp. 47,6; Ovav.) and *paūtṭha* (G.; Kappas.); in Ś., as Mk. expressly teaches, it forms only *paōṭṭha* (Bālar. 80,1; Viddhaś. 126,3; in the meaning "house", Mṛcch. 68,23ff).—*thūna* (Hc. 1,147; Deśin. 5,29) beside *theṇa*, AMg. *tena* (§ 307)=*stena*, cannot be separated from *thūna* (horse; Deśin. 529) and is=*tūrna* for \**stūrna* "quick", "fast"; cf. *theṇilla* "fearful" Deśin. 5,32) and *velu* "thief" § 243.—AMg.JM.JŚ. *dosa* (hate; Deśin. 5,56; Triv. 1,4,121; for example Āyār. 1,3,4,4; Sūyag. 198; Paṇṇav. 638; Dasav. N. 653,6; Uttar. 199.446.648.707.822.876.902.910 ff.; Vivāhap. 125.832.1026; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Pav. 384,54; 385,61; Kattig. 404,389), AMg.JM.JŚ. *padosa*, *paosa* (Sūyag. 81; Uttar. 368; Erz.; Pav. 385,69) are not=*dveṣa*, *pradveṣa*<sup>2</sup>, but=*dosa*, *pradosa* with a change of meaning.<sup>3</sup> Add to it also *dosākarāṇa* (anger; Deśin. 5,51). *dveṣa* becomes *bosa* (§ 300).

1. So wrongly also LASSEN, Inst. p.136, note \*. —2. CHILDERS, s.v.; WEBER, Bhag. s.v.; JACOBI, Kalpasūtra s.v.; Erz. p.XV, note 1; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v.; KLATT, Rṣabhap. s.v.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 23.—3. FISCHER, BB. 13,14ff.

§ 130. *o* becomes *õ*, *u* before consonant-groups (§ 84), in auslaut before enclitics with double consonants in anlaut *õ*, dialectically also otherwise *õ*, *u* (§ 85.346). The secondary *õ* is sometimes lengthened and the consonant-group, simplified (§ 66.127). In A. *o* becomes *u* not only in the auslaut (§ 85.346), but occasionally in the inlaut as well, as in *viem* for *viem*=*viyogena* (Hc. 4,419,5).—M.*annanna* (Hc. 1,156;G.H.), JM. *annanna* (Erz.) is not=*anyonya*, which becomes *annõṇa*, *annunna* (§ 84), but=*Vedic anyanya*.—*āvajja* is not=*atodya* (Hc. 1,156), which becomes *āvajja*, *āvajja*, Ś. *pakkhāujja*=*pakṣātodya* (Karp. 3,3), but=*\*āvādyā*.—*a* for *o* is seen in *pulaai*, *pulaia* beside *puloei*, *paloei*, *puloia*, *palolia*=*pralokayati*, *pralokita* (§ 104) and *pallaṭṭai* beside *palōṭṭai* upsets; Hc. 4,200), *pallaṭṭa* (Hc. 2,47.68) beside *palōṭṭa* (Hc. 4,258). Probably these words are derived from different roots. On *pavaṭṭha*, probably=*prakoṣṭha*, see § 129.—AMg.JM. *theva* (a drop, a little; Pāiyāl. 164; Hc. 2,125. Deśin. 5,29; Dasav. N.652,32; KI.7; Āv. 45,2; Erz.), has nothing to do with *thova*=*stoka* (§ 230), but it belongs with *thippai*. (Hc. 4,175) to roots *stip*, *step* (Dhātupāṭha 10,3.4), as has correctly been shown by CHILDERS for Pāli *theva*.

## (f).—SEPARATION VOWELS.

§ 131. Consonant-groups are often separated in Pkt. by a separation or epenthetic vowel, and the different consonants are then treated according to the phonetic rules holding good for the different dialects. Vocalic development takes place only when one of the consonants is *y*, *r*, *l* or a nasal. The exact quality and quantity of the separation vowels remain undetermined so that they appear as *a*, *i* and *u*. Metrically they are sometimes without any value. Thus in AMg. *a* in *aganī*: *nivāvoa aganĩ nivāyājjā*, *ṇa paṇḍie aganĩ samārabhejjā* (Sūyag. 330); in *garahio*; *musāvāo ja lagammī savvasāhūhi garahio* (Dasav. 625.3); cf. Sūyag. 912.914; *i* in *kiriyãkiriyaṃ venaijānuvāyaṃ* (Sūyag. 322); in *kimpurisa*: *asogo kinṇarāṇaṃ ca kimpurisaṇaṃ ca campao* (Ṭhāṇ. 505; Abhayadeva on Samav. 21); in *arihai*: *bhikkhū akkhāum arihai* (Dasav. 631,8), so *bhāsium arihai kiriyavādāṃ* (Sūyag. 476; also in *kiriya*<sup>o</sup>); in *āyariya*: *āyariyassa mahappaṇo* (Dasav. 631,33)<sup>1</sup>. It does not even hinder the shortening of a long vowel under the influence of the accent, as AMg. JM. *āyariya*=*ācārya* (§ 81.134), M.Ś. *verulīya*, AMg. JM. *verulīya*=*vaidūrya* (§ 80), Ś. *murukkha*=*mūrkhā'* (§ 139), AMg. *suhuma*=*sūkṣma* (§ 82;C.3,30; Hc. 1,118;2,113; Āyār. 2,4,1,7;2,15,3; p. 131.132; Sūyag. 128.217.493; Paṇṇav. 72.81.83; Panhāv. 274; Jīv. 39.41.313; Aṇuog. 260.391.392; Vivāhap. 105.943.1385.1438; Uttar. 1040; Ovav.; Kappas.)<sup>2</sup>, nor the doubling of the consonant according to § 195, nor the change of *a* into *i* according to § 101, as in AMg. *nigīṇa*=*nagna'* (§ 133), nor the transition of *tya* to *cca* and *dhya* to *jjha* (§ 280.)

1. More examples in JACOBI, KZ. 23,594ff.—In Sūyag. 174 (=3,2,1) the printed edition reads *ah' ime suhamā saṅgā*, in the beginning certainly correctly so that with JACOBI, KZ. 23,595, *suhmā* is not to be accepted. Cf. § 323.

§ 132. Only in AMg. and A. *a* is more frequently a separation-vowel: it so occurs very rarely in other dialects. AMg. *aganī*=*agni* (Hc. 2,102; par ex. Āyār. 1,1,4,6; Sūyag. 273; Vivāgas. 224; Vivāhap. 120; Dasav. 616,32 and very often); AMg. *abhikkhaṇaṃ*=*abhikṣaṇaṃ* (Kappas.); AMg. *garahā*=*garhā* (Vivāhap. 132), *garahaṇā*=*garhaṇā* (Ovav.), *garahāmo*, *garahai* (Sūyag. 912.914), *garahaha* (Vivāhap. 132.332), JM. *garahasi* (Erz. 55,29), AMg. JM. *garahiya* (Sūyag. 504; Dasav. 625,3; Erz. 35,15); AMg. *vigarahamāṇa* (Sūyag. 912), JŚ. *garahaṇa* (Kattig. 400, 331), beside *gariha* (Vr. 3,62; Ki. 2,59), AMg. *garihā* (Hc. 2,104; Mk.

fol. 29; Pāiyāl. 245; Thān. 40), *garihāmi* (Vivāhap. 614), *garihasi* (Sūyag. 912; read °ra°), JM. *garihasu* (Erz. 42,18); AMg. *rayaṇi*=*araini* (§ 141)<sup>1</sup>; AMg. *rahasa*=*hrasva*, M.AMg. Ś.A. *dihara*=*dirgha* (§ 354); AMg. *sakahāo*=*sakthini* (§ 358); AMg. *haraya*=*hrada* (Hc. 2,120; Āyār. 1,5,5,1;1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 123; Uttar. 376f.; Vivāhap. 105.194.270). A. *garāsa*=*grāsa* (Piṅgala 2,140), *tarāsa*=*trasyati* (P.2,96), *paramāṇa*=*pramāṇa* (P. 1,28), *parasanna*=*prasanna* (P. 2,49), *parāvahī*=*prāpnavanti* (Hc. 4,442,1). From other dialects some examples are: M. *raana*=*raina* (Vr. 3,60; Ki. 2,55; Mk fol. 29; G.H.R.), AMg. JM. JŚ. *rayaṇa* (§ 70; C. 3,30; Hc. 2,101; Kattig. 400,325); Ś. *radana* (Mṛcch. 52,9;68,25;70,24;71,1; Śak. 38, 5; 103, 6; 117, 7; Vikr. 77, 15 etc.<sup>2</sup> D. *radana* (Mṛcch. 101, 12; 159, 12, 164, 20; Śak. 113, 3; 117, 5); Mg. *ladana*, 146,4; 159, 12; 164, 20; Śak. 113, 3; 117,5), Ś. *sattuhana*=*śatrugha* (Bālar. 310,15; Anarghar. 317,17), beside *sattugga* (Bālar. 151,I); M.Ś. *śalāhā*=*ślāghā* (Vr. 3,63. Hc. 2, 101; Ki. 2, 57; Mk. fol. 30; G.; Caṇḍak. 95,8), M. *śalāhana*=*ślāghana* (H.); *śalahai* (Hc. 4,88), M. *śalāhamāna* (H.), *aḥśalāhamāna* (G.), *śalāharijja* (H.), Ś *śalāhaṇia* (Mṛcch. 128,4; Prab. 4,8 [read as such]); Ratn. 304.18; 319, 15; Mālatim. 82,8 [so to be read], Mg. *śalāhaṇia* (Mṛcch. 38,1 [read as such]); Ś. *śalāhīadi* (Ratn. 309,5; Prab. 12,11 [read as such]); A. *śalahijjasu*, *śalahijjai* (Piṅgala 1,95.117); JM. *bhasama*=*bhasman* (Erz.); P. *dharamapatni*=*dharmapatni* (Mk. fol. 87). The dialect remains undetermined in the case of *gāhara* from \**gṛdhara*=*gṛdhra* (Pāiyāl. 126; Deśin. 2,84); *palakkha*=*plakṣa* (C. 3,30; Hc. 2,103), for which AMg. has *pīlakṁkhu*, *pīlakṁkhu* (§ 74.105); *sāraṅga*=*śāraṅga* (Vr. 3,60; Hc. 2,100; Ki. 2,55; Mk. fol. 29). According to Hc. 4,270 in Ś., and according to 4,323 in P. *purava*, and according to 4,302, in Mg. *pulava*=*pūrva* are used.<sup>3</sup> Against the principal rule is P. *kaṣaṭa*=*kaṣṭa* (Vr. 10,6; Hc. 4.314; Ki. 5,109; ed. *kaṣṭam*; cf. LASSEN, Inst. p.441). False is Ś. *parāṇa*=*prāṇa* (Cait. 54,10) for which read *pāṇa*, for example Mṛcch. 155,18;166,9.14.15. Cf. also § 140.

1. For AMg. *ahārāṇiṇiāe*=*yathārāṇikāya* (Thān. 355.356) is to be read as *ahārāṇiṇiāe*.—2. The printed editions write without exception *raana* in Ś. *laana* in Mg., which is a blunder committed against the dialects concerned.—3. For in Ś. and in Mg.; these are not attested by the texts (PSCHEL on Hc. 4,270). Probably by Ś. here they mean also JŚ.

§ 133. Most frequently there appears as a separation vowel *i*. In AMg. it is so found in many cases where the remaining dialects show assimilation of consonants. One of the consonants is a nasal: AMg. *usiṇa*=*uṣṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,6,4;2,2,1,8;2,2,3,10; Sūyag. 132.590; Thān. 131.135; Paṇnav. 8.10.786ff.; Jiv. 224.295; Vivāhap. 194.195.250.436.465.147off.; Ānuog. 268; Uttar. 48.57), *accusiṇa*=*atyuṣṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,7,5), *siyosiṇa*=*śiṭoṣṇa* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2; Vivāhap. 862.863), beside *siuṇha* (Sūyag. 134); Mg. *koṣiṇa*=*koṣṇa* (Venīś. 34,4). Cf. § 312. AMg. *kaṣiṇa*=*krīṣṇa* (Hc. 2,75.104; Sūyag. 26.28.172.292.416.439.460; Vivāhap. 205; Ānuog. 104; Uttar. 251; Ovav.; Kappas.) and=*krīṣṇa*, beside *kaṣana*, *kaṇha*, *kiṇha* (§ 52); AMg. JM. *tusiṇiṇa*=*tūṣṇika*, beside *tunhia*, *tunhikka* (§ 81.90); AMg. *dosiṇā*=*jyotsnā*, Ś. *dosiṇi*=*jyautsnī* (§ 215); AMg. *nigiṇa*=*nagna* (Āyār. 2,2,3,11;2,7,1,11; Sūyag. 108 [text *nigana*]) with *i* in the first syllable according to § 101, beside *nagiṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,2,3; Sūyag. 169; Dasav. 627,1), *nagiṇiṇa* (sic; Uttar. 208), *nāgaṇiṇa*=Sūyag. 344)=*nagnatva*; AMg. *paṣiṇa*=*praśna* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17, Sūyag. 383.918; Nāyādh. 301.577.578; Vivāhap. 151.973.978.1251.1261.1408; Nandis. 471; Uttar. 513; Uvās.; Ovav.); AMg. *snāṇa*=*snāna* (Mk. fol. 29; Āyār. 2,1,6,2;2,2,1,8;2,7,1,11; Sūyag. 344.382; Dasav. 626,40; probably incorrectly also in Ś. Cait. 44,4; 92,14;134.9;150,7;260,4); AMg. *asiṇāna* (Dasav. 626,39), *pāosiṇāna*=

*prātaḥsnāna* (Sūyag. 337), *siṅāi=snāi* (Mk. fol. 29; Sūyag. 340); *asiṅāittā* (Sūyag. 994), *siṅāyanti-*, *siṅāyanti* (Dasav. 626,37.38), probably incorrectly also Ś. *siṅāvēnti* (Cait. 44,13), *siṅāyaga=snātaka* (Sūyag. 929.933.940), *siṅāyaja* (Uttar. 755; text *siṅāo*); P. *siṅāta=spāta* (Hc. 4, 314), *katasinānena=kriśnānena* (Hc. 4,322; read as such); *siviṅa, simiṅa, suviṅa, sumiṅa=svapna* (§ 177). *i* is a separation vowel also in the declension of *rājan*, as in inst. sing. JM. *rāiṅā*, P. *rāciṅā* (§ 399).

§ 134. 2) One of the consonants is *ya*, which except in AMg. JM. JŚ. drops after the separation vowel *i*: AMg. JM. *ceiya*= Pāli *ceṭiya*= *caitya* (Āyār. 2,2,1,7;2,3,3,1,2,10,17;2,15,25; Sūyag. 1014; Thān. 266; Samav. 101.233; Paṅhāv. 521; Vivāhap. 5.164.934; Rāyap. 154; Jīyak. 6; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; T.6,24; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *ciyatta*=\**tiyakta=tyakta, jhiyāi=dhyāyati* (§ 280); AMg. *teṅiya=stainya* (§ 307); AMg. *bāliya=bālya* (Vivāhap. 132); AMg. JM. *bahiya=bāhyāt* (Āyār. 1,1,7,1; Sūyag. 954; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 14,10); AMg. *viyaggha=vyāghra* (Paṅhāv. 20); Ś. *diṭṭhiā=diṭṭyā* (Hc. 2,104; Mrcch. 68,2;74,11; Śak. 52,10;167,7; Vikr. 10,20;26,15;49,4;75,2 etc); *hiṅjo=hyas* (Deśin. 8,67; Pāiyāl. 211; Triv. 1,3,105; cf. BB. 3,251). Ś. *hiō* (Mālav. 51,7; Priyad. 19,12); in words of all the classes, as in the absolute in *-ya*, for example AMg. *pāsija*, JM. *pecciya*, Ś. *pekkhia*, Mg. *peškia*, Dh. *paḍissudā* (§ 590.591), the optative in *-yā*, as AMg. *siyā=syāt, haṅiyā=hanyāt* (§ 465), *bhuṅjejā=bhuṅjyāt, karējā=\*karyāt* (§ 459), the participia nec. and adjectives in *-ija*, as *karāṅija, ramaṅija* (§ 91. 571), the numeral, as M. *biia, biija*, AMg. JM. *biija*; M. *taia*, AMg. JM. *taiya*, Ś.Mg. *tadia*, A. *taiji* (§ 82.91.449). The separation-vowel *i* is especially frequent in the consonant-group *rya*. The words of the type are classed by Vr. 3,20; Hc. 2,107; Kī. 2,81 under the ākṛtigāna *cauryasama*. Common to most of the cases is the long vowel before *rya*. Thus AMg. *āriya=ārya* (Āyār. 1,2,2,3;1,2,5,2,3;1,4,2,5; Sūyag. 54.204.363.914; Paṅnav. 59ff.; Samav. 98; Vivāhap. 1246; Uttar. 109.509; Ovav.); *aṅariya* (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; Sūyag. 56.68.208.210. 437.439.923.931.935; Samav. 98; Uttar. 511.990); AMg. JM. *āyāriya=ācārya* (Hc. 1,73; Āyār. 2,1,10,1;2,3,3,3ff.; Samav. 85; Thān. 157.268; Nandis. 512ff.; Dasav. 633,41;634,19ff.; Uttar. 43; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 33,17;38,13,18;40,9ff.; Erz.; Kk.), also *āriya* (C. 1,5 p.40; Hc. 1,73,2,107), Ś. *ācāria* (Cait. 45,5;89,12;127,13), Mg. *ācālia* (Prab. 28,14;29,7;58,17;61,5;62,1.2.6; Cait. 149,17.19;150,2.3.3); M.Ś. *coria=caurya* (Grr.; H.; Cait. 81,1), AMg. JM. *bhāriya=bhāryā* (Hc. 2,17; Sūyag. 176; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. JM. *vīriya=vīrya* (Sūyag. 351.360.365.442; Vivāhap. 67.68.125; Uvās.; Ovav., Kappas.; Pav. 379,2;381,19;386,1); M.Ś. *verulia*, AMg. JM. *veruliya=vaḍḍurya* (§ 80); AMg. *sūriya* (Hc. 2,107; Sūyag. 306.310.312; Vivāhap. 452.1040. 1273.1282; Ovav. § 163; Kappas.), *asūriya* (Sūyag. 273); *soria=saurya* (Bh. 3,20; Hc. 2,107; Kī. 2,81). Hc. 2,87 has also the examples *theria=sthairya, gambhāria, gaḥāria=gāmbhārya*, and after a short vowel *sundaria=sauṅdaryā, varia=varya, bamhacaria=brahmācaryā*. Corresponding to AMg. *moriyaḥputta=mauryaḥputra* (Samav. 123.151; Bhag.), JM. *moriyavaṅsa=mauryavaṅsa* (Āv. 8,17) Mg. has *molīa=maurya* (Mudrār. 268,1). After a short vowel *i* has entered into the group *rya* in AMg. *tiriyam=tiryak* (Āyār. 1, 1,5,2,3;1,2,5,4; Sūyag. 191.273.304.397.428.914.931; Kappas.), *tiriyā* (Hc. 2,143), AMg. JM. JŚ. *tirija* (Bhag.; Uvās.; Erz.; Pav. 380.12;383,70,27); AMg. *pariyāga=pariyāya* (Vivāgas. 270; Vivāhap. 235.796.845; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.), often beside *pariyāya*; AMg. *vipariyāsa=viparyāsa* (Sūyag. 468.497.498).

§ 135. 3) Consonant-groups with *r* besides *rya* (§ 134): PG. *parihartavañ=parihartavyam* (6,36); M. *kiriā*, AMg. JŚ. *kiriṃyā=kiṃyā* (Vr. 3,60; Hc. 2,104; G.: Sūyāg. 322.412.445.460; Bhag.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Pav. 381,21; 386,6.10; Kattig. 403,373.374); AMg. *darisaṇa=darsana* (Hc. 2,105; Mk. fol. 29; Sūyāg. 43; Bhag.; Ovav.), *darisi=*—*darsin* (Nandīs. 388; Bhag.; Uvās.; Kappas.), *darisañija=darsaniya* (Paṇṇav. 96.118.127; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Bhag.); *darisai*, JM. *darisei*, Ā.D. *darisedi=darsayati* (§ 554); *āarisa* (Hc. 2,105; Mk. fol. 29), AMg. *ādarisa* (Ovav.)=*ādarśa*; M.AMg. *pharisa=sparsa* (Vr. 3,62; Mk. fol. 29; Pāiṃal. 240; H.R.; Āyār. 1,1,7,4; Nāyādh.; Ovav.); AMg. *pharisaga=sparsaka* (Kappas.), *dupparisa=duḥsparsa* (Paṇhāv. 508); *pharisai=sparsayati* (Hc. 4,182); *marisai=marśayati* (Vr. 8,11; Hc. 4,235); M. *amarisa=amarśa* (Hc. 2,105; G.R.); M.Ś. *āmarisa=āmarśa* (Acyutaś. 53; Uttarar. 20,11), Mg. *āmaliśa* (Mallikām. 143,11); Ś. *parāmarisa* (Hc. 2,105; Mṛcch. 15,6; 70,1), *marisedu* (Mṛcch. 3,19; Mālav. 86,8), *marisehi* (Mālav. 38,4; 55,12); cf. Śak. 27,6; 58,9.11; 73,6; 115,2; M. AMg. JM. Ś. *varisa=varśa* (Hc. 2,105; G.H.; Ovav.; K.I. 19; Āv. 13.25; 14,12; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Bālar. 276,3; Venīs. 65,3; Mallikām. 225,2; 259,6); AMg. *varisā=varśāḥ* (Hc. 2,105; Nirayāv. 81); *varisaṇa=varśaṇa* (Mk. fol. 29); Ś. *varisi=varsin* (Venīs. 60,6; Karp. 71,6); AMg. A. *varisai* (Vr. 8,11; Hc. 4,235; Dasav. N.648,10; Piṅgala 1,62); A. *varisei* (Vikr. 55,2); JM. *varisium=varśayitum* (Āv. 40,4); Ś. *varisidum* (Mālav. 66,20), *varisanta* (Prab. 44,3; Caṇḍak. 16.18); Mg. *valiśa* (Venīs. 33,4); AMg. *sarisava=sarśaḥ* (Paṇṇav. 34.35; Nāyādh. § 61; Vivāhap. 1424f. 1526; Ovav. § 73); M.AMg. JM. Ś. *harisa=harśa* (Vr. 3,62; Hc. 2,105; Kī. 2,59; G.H.R.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Ratn. 300,21; Mudrār. 263,6; Venīs. 62,12; 65,7); AMg. *lomaharisa* (Paṇṇav. 90); Ś. *saharisa* (Mṛcch. 71,19; Venīs. 65,7); *harisai=harśati* (Hc. 4,235), AMg. *harise=harṣe* (Āyār. 1,2,3,2), Ś. *harisāvīda* (Bālar. 242,6); AMg. *vāira=vajra* (Sūyāg. 834; Thān. 265; Vivāhap. 499.1326; Uttar. 589.1041; Kappas.), *vāirāmāya=vajramāya* (§ 70). On *siri=śri* and *hiri=hri* (Vr. 362; C.3.30; p. 50; Hc. 2,104; Kī. 2,57; Mk. fol. 29) see § 98.195.

§ 136. One of the consonants is *l* (Vr. 3,60.62; Hc. 2,106; Kī. 2,59.104; Mk. fol. 29): M. *kilammai=klāmyati* (Hc. 2,106; G. R.), AMg. *kilamējja=klāmyet* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1), Ś. *kilammadi* (Śak. 123,8; Mālatīm. 135,5; Mallikām. 69,7; 133,14; 159,8; [text °ai]), M. A. *kilāmia=\*klāmita* (G.R.; Vikr. 60,16), M.AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *kilanta=klānta* (Grr.; G.R.; Vivāhap. 1308; Rāyap. 258; Kappas.; Erz.; Uttarar. 18,12 [text *kilinta*]; Mṛcch. 13,7.10 [text *kilinte*]; see v.l. in GODABOLE); JM. Ś. *kilammanta* (Erz.; Mālatīm. 81,1); Ś. *kilammida=\*klāmita* (Karnas. 47,12; text °li°), *adikilammida* (Mālatīm. 206,4); JM. *kilissai=klisīyati* (Erz.), AMg. *samkilissai=samklisīyati* (Ovav.; Ś. *adikilissadi* (Mālav. 7,17), *kilissanta* (Ratn. 304,30); JM. *kiliṭṭha* (Grr.; Erz.), AMg. *samkiliṭṭha* (Ovav.), *asamkiliṭṭha* (Dasav. 642,41); Ś. *kilesa=kleśa* (Grr.; Mṛcch. 68,8.10; Lalitav. 562,22); MŚ. *kiliṇna=klīnna* (Hc. 1,145; 2,106; G.; Mukunda. 15,1); A. *kilīnnaū* (Hc. 4,329), beside *kiṇnaū* (cf. § 59); AMg. *kiliva=klīva* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2); AMg. *gilai, vigilai=glāyati, viḡlāyati* (Hc. 2,106; Sūyāg. 200.215; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. *milai* (Hc. 2,106; 4,18, Āyār. 1,1,5,6); M. JM. Ś. *milāna=mlāna* (Grr.; G.H.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 2,16; Vikr. 26,13; Cait. 73,9), Ś. *milānta* (Mālatīm. 249,4), *milāmāṇa* (Vikr. 51,10; Mālav. 30,7); for Ś. *pammalāadi* (Mālatīm. 120,2) is with ed. Madras 105,3 and ed. Bombay 1892, p. 92,2 to be read *parimilāadi* (§ 479); *miliccha*, AMg. *milakku*, beside AMg. JM. Ś. A. *meḥcha*, AMg. *miccha=melecca* (§ 84.105); *siliṭha=śleṣman* (Hc. 2,106); AMg. JM. *siliṭṭha=*

*śliṣṭa* (Gr.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 38,10,12), *asiliṭṭha* (Āv. 38,8); Ś. *susiliṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 71,13; Mālatim. 234,3), *dussiliṭṭha* (Mahāv. 23,19); AMg. *silesa*=*ślesa* (Hc. 2,106; Vivāhap. 658); AMg. JM. *siloga*=*śloka* (Sūyag. 370.497.938; Aṇuog. 557; Dasav. 637,31.44; 638,8; 641,7; Ovav.; Erz.), AMg. *silōja* (Sūyag. 405.417.506), Ś. *siloa* (Hc. 2,106; Lalitav. 554,13; Mudrār. 162,6; Viddhaś. 117,13; Karnaś. 30,3.5); *suila* (Hc. 2,106), AMg. *sukkila*=*śukla* (Hc. 2,106 [read as such]; Thān. 569; Jiv. 27.33. 224.350.457.464.482.554.928.938; Aṇuog. 267; Uttar. 1021.1024.1041; Ovav.; Kappas.<sup>1</sup>; JM. *sukkiliṣa* (Āv. 7,16).

1. The Indian editions very frequently write *sukkilla* (e.g. Thān. 339.345.348.349. 406.568, Vivāhap. 436.532.535.544.1033.1322.1323.1421.1451.1456, Paṇṇav. 8.11ff. 46.241. 379.380.481.525, Paṇhāv. 167; Samav. 64; Rāyap. 50.55.104.110.120 (*sukkilla*) etc. Sometimes both the forms stand side by side, thus Thān. 568 *sukkilla*, but 569 *sukkila*, Aṇuog. 267 *sukkila*, but 269 *sukkilla*. According to Hc. 2,106, the correct form is *sukkila* in spite of § 195.

§ 137. The separation vowel *i* sometimes appears after a secondary *b* developed from *mr*, *ml* (§ 295): *ambira*=*āmra* (Hc. 2,56; Deśin. 1,15); M. *tambira*=*tāmra* (Hc. 2,56; H. 589 [read as such]); M. *āmbira*=*ātāmra* (G.H.); *tambirā* (rust of wheat; Deśin. 5,5); AMg. JM. *ambila*=*amla* (Hc. 2,106; Āyār. 1,5,6,4; 2,1,7,7; 2,1,11,1; Thān. 20; Paṇṇav. 8.10.12ff.; Vivāhap. 147.532; Jiv. 224; Uttar. 1021; Dasav. N.656,29; Kappas.; Āv. 24,18); AMg. *aṇambila* (Āyār. 2,1,7,7), *accambila* (Dasav. 621,14); *ambiliyā* (tamarind; Pāiyāl. 145); AMg. *āyambila*=*ācāmila*<sup>1</sup> (Vivāhap. 223; Nāyādh. 1292; Ovav.; Dvār. 498,2), *āyambilaya*=*ācāmlaka* (Thān. 352; Ovav. [text *°bīliē*]). For Mg. *tikkhābilakeṇa* (Mṛcch. 163,19), according to v.l. in GODABOLE p. 442, we should read *tikkhambilakeṇa*.

1. So is the word explained by the scholiasts. Improbable assumptions with regard to its derivation in LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *ayambiliya* and in WEBER, IS. 16,305, note 12.

§ 138. In Ś. Mg. *i* appears as a separation-vowel in the passive in *-iā* as in *paḍhiadi*=Pāli *paḍhiyate*=*paḍhyate*, against M.AMg. JM. JŚ. *paḍhiṣṣā*, P. *paḍhiyyate* (§ 535ff.), in the participia nec. and adjectives in *-aṇiā* as in Ś. *karaṇiā*, Mg. *kalaṇiā*=*karaṇiṣya*, Ś. *ramaṇiā*, Mg. *lamaṇiā*=*ramaṇiṣya*, against M.AMg. JM. JŚ. *karaṇiṣya*, *ramaṇiṣya*=\**karaṇyā*, \**ramaṇyā*' (§ 91.134.571), and in M.AMg. in the ending *-māna*=Skt. *-māna* as in AMg. *āgamamāna* (§ 110.562). The separation vowel oscillates between *i* and *ī* in M.Ś. *accharia* JM. *acchariṣya*=*āścariṣya* (Vr. 12,30 for Ś.; Hc. 1,58; 2,67; Mk. fol. 22; G.; Mṛcch. 172,6; Mālav. 69,2; 85,8; Vikr. 9,12; Prab. 4,1; Mālatim. 25; Lalitav. 562, 19 etc.<sup>1</sup>; Pāiyāl. 165; Kk.), Mg. *aścaliā* (Lalitav. 565,11 [°jā<sup>2</sup>]; 566,3; Veniś. 34,6) and Ś. *accharia* (Hc.; Mṛcch. 73,8; Śāk. 14,4; 157,5; Ratn. 296,25; 300,7.13; 306,1; 313,23; 322,23 etc.); M.AMg. also *acchera* (Bh. 1,5; 3,18.40; Hc. 1,58; 2,67; Kī. 1,4; 2,79; Mk. fol. 22; H.; Paṇhāv. 380 [text *acchara*]), AMg. JM. *accheriṣya* (Nāyādh. 778f. 1376; Kappas.; Āv. 29,23; Erz.; Kk.), AMg. *accheraga* (Paṇhāv. 288), according to Hc. also *acchariṣya*, a form which points to accentuation as *āścariṣya*, and *acchaara*, whose origin is still in the dark. Beside M. *pīlośa* (G. 589; [read as such])=*pīlośa*, *pīluṭṭha*=*pīluṣṭa* (Hc. 2,106) we have also *pīluṭṭha* (Deśin. 6,51). M.Ś. *jīā* (Vr. 3,66; Hc. 2,115; Kī. 2,61; Mk. fol. 30) is not=*jyā*, but=*jivā*. In PG. *āpīṭṭiyam*=*āpīṭṭiyām* (6,37), and in inscriptions *ī* frequently stands for *i*.

1. In many editions of the drama they are falsely written as *acca*. Cf.

§ 301.

§ 139. If one of the connected consonants is a labial or *va*, the more usual separation vowel is *u*: M. *uddhumāi*=\**uddhmāi* (Vr. 8,32;



Hc. 4,8), *uddhumā*=*uddhmāta* (G.R.), *uddhumāia* (R.); *khuluha*=*kulpha* (Deśin. 2,75; Pāiyāl. 250; cf. § 206); AMg. *chāūma*=*chadman* (Hc. 2, 112), especially in *chāūmattha*=*chadmastha* (Āyār. 1,8,4,15; Thān. 50.51. 188; Vivāhap. 78.80; Uttar. 116.805.812; Ovav.; Kappas.); *tuvarāi*—*tuvarāte* (Vr. 8,4; Hc. 4,170), M.Ś. *tuvara*=*tvarasva* (H.; Śak. 77,3;79,6), Ś. *tuvaradi* (Mṛcch. 97,9; Vikr. 9,12); *tuvaradu* (Mṛcch. 160,14; Śak. 64,11; Ratn. 313,7), *tuvaradu* (Mālav. 39,11), *tuvaramha* (Ratn. 293,31), *tuvaranta* (Mālatim. 119,4), *tuvarāvedī* (Mālatim. 24,4), *tuvarāvedī* (Mālav. 33,7;39,13), *tuvarāvedu* (Mālav. 27,19), *tuvarāntī* (Mālatim. 114,5); Mg. *tuvaladu* (Mṛcch. 170,5), *tuvalēsi* (Mṛcch. 165,24); AMg. JM.Ś. *duvāra*=*dvāra* (Hc. 2,112; Mk. fol. 31; Pāiyāl. 235; Āyār. 2,1,5,4ff; Vivāhap. 1264; Nāyādh.; Āv. 25.34; Erz.; Kk.; Mālatim. 238,6; Mudrār. 43,8 [read as such with v.l. for *dāra*]; Ratn. 303,2;309,10;312, 22; Mālav. 23,6;62,18;65,7; Bālar. 35,6; Priyad. 37,9;38,7), *duvāra* (Mṛcch. 39,3;50,23;70,9;72,13;81,25; Śak. 115,5; Viddhaś. 78,9;83,7); *duvāraa* (Mṛcch. 6,6;44,25;51,10;68,21;99,18; Mahāv. 100,6); Mg. *duvāla* (Prab. 46,12), *duvāla* (Mṛcch. 43,11; Cait. 150), *duvālaa* (Mṛcch. 45,2; 97,17); AMg. JM. *duvālasa*=*dvādaśa* (§ 244); M.AMg.Ś. Mg. *duve*, A. *dui*=*dve* (§ 437); M.AMg. JM.Ś. *paūma*=Pāli *paduma*=Skt. *padma* (Vr. 3,65; Hc. 2,112; Kī. 2,62; Mk. fol. 31; Acyutas. 36,44.90.94 [text *paduma*]; Thān. 75ff; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Priyad. 13,16 [°du°]); Ś. *paūmarāa*=*padmarāga* (Mṛcch. 71,1); AMg.Ś. *paūminī* =*padminī* (Kappas.; Mṛcch. 77,13); AMg. *paūmāoi*=*padmāvati* (Nirāyāv.), Ś. *padumāvadi* (Priyad. 24,8); Ś. *puruvva*=*pūrva* (Mṛcch. 39,23; 89,4; Nāgān. 49,10); AMg. *riuvveja*=*rgveda* (Thān. 166; Vivāhap. 149. 787; Nirāyāv. 44; Kappas.); M.AMg. JM. *sumarāi*, Ś. *sumaradi*, Mg. *sumaladi*=*smarati* (§ 478); AMg. *suve* (C. 3,30 p. 50; Hc. 2,114), *sue* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10; Uttar. 103; Dasav. 639,15), Ś. *suvo* (Mukund. 14,18) =*svaḥ*. The separation vowel *u* appears regularly in the feminine of the adjectives in *-u* (Vr. 3,65; C. 3,30 p. 50; Hc. 2,113; Kī. 2,62; Mk. fol. 30 f.), as in *guruvi* (Grr.)=*gurvī*, while *garui* belongs to *garua*=*guruka* (§ 123), consequently in Hc. 2,113 the word with *b* is to be corrected as *guruvi*; *tanuvi*=*tanvi* (Grr.), M. *tanui* (H.); *lahuvi*=*laghvi* (Grr.), M.Ś. *lahui* (G.; Mṛcch. 73,11); *mauvi*=*mrdvi* (Grr.), M. *maui* (G.); *bahuvi*=*bahvi* (Grr.); *sāhvi*=*sādhvi* (Mk.). The feminine of *prithu* is *puhuvī*, when it is used adjectively (Hc. 1,131;2,113), against which M. JM.Ś.A. *puhavī*, *puhai*, AMg. JM.Ś. JŚ. *puḥhavi* in the meaning “the earth” (§ 51.115). In the same way may be explained also the absolutive Ś. Mg. Dh. *kadua*=*kṛtvā*, *gadua*=*gatvā* from \**kaduvā*, \**gaduvā* (§ 581), and the absolutive in *-tuāṇam*, *-tuāna*, such as *kāuāṇam*, *kāuāna*=\**kartvānam* (§ 584).—Sometimes *u* is brought in when the syllable preceding or following the consonant group contains *u* or *o*. Thus *murukkha* =*mūrkhā* (§ 131; Hc. 2,112), which according to Mk. belongs to the *prācyā bhāṣā* that should be spoken by the Vidūṣaka (§ 23), and which occurs in Pras. 48,1 in Ś. [text *murukha*], whilst otherwise *mukkha* is used (e.g. Ś Mṛcch. 52,11.15;81,4; Karp. 13,8; Priyad. 18,5.14;38,1.8; Cait. 82,7; Mg. Mṛcch. 81,17.19; Prab. 50,13); P. *sunusā*=*snuṣā* (Hc. 4, 314), to which *sunhā* and *soṅhā* of the rest of the dialects go back (§ 148); *suruggha*=*sruḅgha* (Hc. 2,113); AMg. *duruhaī*=\**udruhati* (§ 118.141.482).

§ 140. The separation—vowel oscillates between *a* and *i* in *kasana*, *kaṣiṇa*=*kṛṣṇa* (§ 52); M.Ś. *barahi-*, AMg.Ś. *barahiṇa* (§ 406) =*barhin*, beside *bariha*=*barha* (Hc. 2,104), A. *barihiṇa*=*barhin* (Hc. 4,422,8); *saṇeha*=*sneha* (2,102), A. *saṇehī* (Hc. 4,367,5), *saṇiddha*=*snigḍha* (Hc. 2,109), otherwise M. JM.Ś. *siṇeha*, that is not mentioned by Vr. and Hc. though it is the only

form found in the dramas and occurs very frequently (Kī. 2,58; Mk. fol. 26; G.H.R.; Erz.; Mr̥cch. 27,17; 28,10; Śak. 9,14; 56,15; 90,12; 132,1; Mālav. 39,6; Mālatīm. 94,6; Uttarar. 68,8; Ratn. 327,13) *ṣ. nissineha* (Mr̥cch. 25, 21), M. AMg. JM. Ś. *siniddha*=*snigdha* (Hc. 2,109; G.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mr̥cch. 2,52; 57,10 [to be read as such]; 59,24; 72,7; Śak. 53,8; 84,11; 132,11; Mālav. 5,10; 60,6); M. *siniddhaam* (Vikr. 51,7; 53,5); AMg. *sasiniddha*=*sasnigdha* (Āyār. 2,1,6,6,7.9 [sasa°]; v. l. Kappas.). Beside these forms, we have also M. A. *ṛeha*, AMg. JM. *neha*, AMg. JM. *niddha*, M. *niddha*=*snigdha* (§ 313). The separation-vowel oscillates between *a* and *u* in *puhavi*, *puhai*, *puhavi* and *puhavi* (§ 139); AMg. *suhuma* (§ 131) and AMg. *suhama* (Hc. 2,101; Sūyag. 174); Ś. *sakkanomi* and *sakkunomi*=*sāknomi* (§ 505). Dialectically *a*, *i* and *u* are exchanged in *arh*, *arha* and *arhant* (Hc. 2,104.111): AMg. *araha-* (Sūyag. 321; Samav. 111; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JŚ. *arahanta-* (Sūyag. 322; Thāṇ. 288; Vivāhap. 1.1235; Ovav.; Kappas.; Pav. 379,3,4 [here the text has *ori*°]; 383,44; 385,63); AMg. JM. M. *arihai* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2; Sūyag. 178; Dasav. 631,8; Erz.; Śak. 120,6), Ś. *arihadi* (Śak. 24,12; 57,8; 58,13; 73,8; Ratn. 323,1), Mg. *alihadi* (Śak. 116,1); Ś. *ariha*=*arha* (Vr. 3,62; Mukund. 17,4); *arihā*=*arhā* (Kī. 2,59); AMg. JM. *mahariha*=*mahārha* (Vivāgas. 128; Rāyap. 174; Ovav.; Erz.), JM. *jahāriha*=*yathārha* (Erz.; Kk.), Ś. *mahāriha* (Śak. 117,7), Mg. *mahāliha* (Śak. 117,5); Mg. *a'ihanta-* (Prab. 46,11; 51,12; 52,7; 54,6; 58,7; 59,9; 60,13; Mudrār. 183,2 [to be read as such]; Laṭakam. 12,13; 14,19; Amṛt. 66,2); JM *aruha* (Hc. 2,111; Dvār. 502,27, beside *arahantānam*, v.l. *ori*°). The reading *aruhadi* is found in the Devanāgarī and South Indian recensions of Śak. (BÖHTLINGK on 17,7,8 of his edition), and Mālav. (33,1; 65,2), likewise we find it in Priyad. 34,20, based on the South Indian manuscripts, in Ś. assuredly falsely. — *aruhanta-* (Hc. 2,111).

#### g) DROPPING OFF AND ADDITION OF VOWELS.

§ 141. Originally a vowel, at the beginning of a word, dropped off only when it was not accented. So in many disyllabic words, having more than two syllables with final accentuation: AMg. *daga*=*udakā* (Sūyag. 203.209.249.337.339.340; Thāṇ. 339.400; Paṇhāv. 353.531; Vivāhap. 942; Dasav. 619.27; 630,13; Ovav.; Kappas.), beside *udaga*, *udaya* (Ovav. § 83ff.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.), sometimes both occur beside one another as in Sūyag. 337 *udageṇa* [= *dageṇa*] *je siddhim udāharanti śyaṃ ca pāyam udagam phusantā*<sup>1</sup> [*udagassa*] = *dagassa phāseṇa śyaṃ ja siddhi sijjhimsu pāṇā bahave dagamsi*. The rest of the dialects do not have this dropping off: M. *uaa* (G.H.R.), *udaya* (Erz.), Ś. *udaa* (Mr̥cch. 45,12; 112,10; 133,7; 134,7). JM. AMg. *duruhai*=*\*udruhāti* (§ 118.139.482). — AMg. *pāṇāṇo*=*upāṇāṇau* (Sūyag. 384 [text *pāṇāṇō*]; Thāṇ. 359 [text *ᵒpāᵒ*, commentary *ᵒpāᵒ*]; Paṇhāv. 487 [text *ᵒpāᵒ*] 1212 [text *vāṇāṇō*]; Ovav. *ᵒpāᵒ* and *ᵒvāᵒ*, beside Ś. *uāṇāṇa* (Mr̥cch. 72,9), AMg.; *chattovāṇa* (Sūyag. 249 [text *ᵒvāṇāṇa*]; Vivāhap. 153), *apovāḥaṇaga*, *ᵒja* (§ 77). — AMg. JM. JŚ. *posaha*=*upavasathā* (Antag. 19; Sūyag. 771.994; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kattig. 402.359; 403,376); AMg. *posahiya*=*upavasathika* (Nāyādh.; Uvās.). — AMg. *rayani*=*aratri* (§ 132; Vivāhap. 1563; Ovav.). — AMg. *lāu*=*alābū*, *lāu*=*alābu* (Hc. 1,66; Āyār. 2,6,1,1; Aṇuttar. 11; Ovav. § 79, VII [to be read as such]), *lāuya*=*alābuka* (Āyār. 2,6,1,4; Thāṇ. 151; Vivāhap. 41.1033; Paṇnav. 31), also *lāum* (Hc. 1,66), beside AMg. *alāu* (Sūyag. 245), *alāuya* (Sūyag. 926.928 [ᵒbuᵒ]), Ś. *alāvū* (Hc. 1,237; Bālar. 229,21).

§ 142. We must also presuppose final accentuation in AMg. *gāra*=*āgāra* (Āyār. 1,5,3,5; Sūyag. 126.154.345), *gārattha*=*agārastha* (Sūyag.

642.986; Uttar. 208), *gāri*—*agārin* (Uttar. 207), beside *agāra* (Āyār. 1,2, 3,5; Nāyādh.).—M. AMg. *rahaṭṭa*=*arahaṭṭa* (H. 490; Paṅhāv. 67), beside M. JM. *arahaṭṭa* (G. 685; Ṛṣabhap. 30.47; not correctly the ed. Bomb. 47 *paḷlā rahaṭṭa vva*).—M. *vaamsa*=*avataṃsa* (H. 439), AMg. *vaḍṃsa*, *vaḍṃsaga* (§ 103), beside M. *avaamsa* (H. 173.180), *avaamsaanti* (Śak. 2,15).—Mg. *hage*, *hagge*=\**ahakah*; A. *hañi*=\**ahakam* (§417). AMg. JM. *heṭṭhā*=*adhastāt* and derivatives (§ 107).—To this further belong the cases like AMg. *tīja*=*alīta* (Sūyag. 122.470; Thāṇ. 173.174; Vivāhap. 24.155; Uttar. 833; Uvās.; Kappas.).—AMg. *pinidhattae*=\**apinidhātave* (Ovav. §79,X).—AMg. *pūha*=\**apyūha* (§286).—AMg. *vakkamaī*=*apakrāmati* beside *avakammaī*, Ś. Mg. *avakkamadi* (§ 481), AMg. *vakkanta*=*apakrānta* (Pannav.41;Kappas.), *vakkanti*=*apakrānti* (Kappas.); M. *valagganti*=*avalagyanti* (G. 226.551); Ś. *vaṭṭhida*=*avasthita* (Mṛcch. 40,14); *vamhala*=*paśmārah* (Hc. 2,174), where also the shortening of the *ā* points to final accentuation. Agreeing with Skt. is M. AMg. *pinaddha*=*pinaddha* (G.H.R.; Rāyap. 81f; Ovav.; Nāyādh.). A different accent from that of Skt. is presupposed in M. AMg. JM. A. *raṇṇa*=*āraṇṇa* ( Vr. 1,4; Hc. 1,66; Kī. 1,3; Mk. fol. 5; G.H.R.; Nāyādh. 1117.1439; Ovav.; Erz.; Vikr. 58,9;71,9; 72,10), beside the rarer *araṇṇa* ( G.H; Āyār. p. 133,32; Kappas.; Erz.), which is the only form in Ś. (Śak. 33,4; Ratn. 314,32; Mālatim. 30,9; Uttarar. 190,2; Dhūrtas. 11,12; Kārṇas. 46,12; Vṛṣabh. 28,19;50,5; Caṇḍak. 17,16;95,10); against the dialect is *pāraddhirāṇṇa* ( Viddhaś. 23,9).—M.A. *riṭṭha*=*ariṣṭa* (R.1,3; Piṅgala 2,72), JM. *riṭṭhanemi*=*ariṣṭanemi* (Dvār. 496,2;499,13;502,6;505,27), beside AMg. JM. *ariṭṭhanemi* (Kappas.; Dvār. 495,9;497,26;504,19;505,5); AMg. *riṭṭha* (a precious stone; Jiv. 218; Rāyap. 29; Vivāhap. 212. 1146; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.)=*ariṣṭa*, Pāli *ariṭṭha*<sup>1</sup>, AMg. *riṭṭhaga* (Nāyādh. §61; Uttar. 980), *riṭṭhaya* (Ovav.)=*ariṣṭaka*, *riṭṭhāmaṇa*=*ariṣṭamaṇa* (Jiv. 549; Rāyap. 105), beside *ariṭṭha* (a tree; Pannav. 31). Cf. *ariṣṭātāni*. Probably to this group belongs also M. AMg. JM. Mg.A. *to*, which the grammarians and, with them, S. GOLDSCHMIDT<sup>2</sup>, connect with *ta-*, but which could better be derived from *atas*.

1. WINDISCH, ZDMG. 49,285 against whose explanation goes Pkt.—Prākṛtica p. 22.

§143. The initial vowel very frequently drops off in enclitic words under the influence of loss of accent. When the words are not used enclitically the vowel is retained. Thus : *api* after an *anusvāra* becomes *pi*, after a vowel, *vi*, as PG. *anne vi*=*anyān api* (5,6), *amhehi vi*=*asmābhirapi* (6,29); M. *marāṇam pi* (H. 12), *tam pi* (G. 430), *cadulam pi* (R. 2,18), *ajja vi*=*adyāpi* (H. s.v. *vi*), *taha vi*=*tathāpi* (R. 1,15), *nimmalā vi*=*nirmalā api* (G. 72), *amhe vi*=*asme api* (H. 232), *appavaso vi*=*alpavaso pi* (H. 265). So also in the other dialects. At the beginning of a sentence *a* remains: PG. *api* (6,37), M. AMg. JM. Ś. *avi* (R.; Āyār. 1,8,1,10; Dasav. 632,42; Kk. 270,46; Mṛcch. 46,5;57,6;70,12;82,12; Śak. 49,8; often in *avi a* and *avi nāma*), so in verses after *m*, when a short vowel is wanted, as AMg. *muhuttam avi* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3), *kālagam avi* (Kappas. Th. 13,3), and when in AMg. *-ām* remains against the rule (§68); further in AMg. JM. *puṇar api* (§342) and in AMg. JM. *jāvi*=*ja+api*=*cāpi* (e.g. Āyār. 1,1,1,5;1,1, 5,3; Sūyag. 120; Uvās.; Kappas.; Āv. 8,13; Erz. 34,15), in cases like M. Ś. *keṇāvi* (H. 105; Vikr. 10,12 [to be read as such]), JM. Ś. *teṇāvi* (Erz. 10,25;17,17;22,9; Mālatim. 78,8), Ś. *ēttikenāvi* (Śak. 29,9), Ś. Mg. *mamāvi* (Mṛcch. 65,19; Śak. 9,13;19,3;32,3;50,4; Mṛcch. 140,1); Ś. Mg. *tavāvi* (Mālatim. 92,4; Mṛcch. 124,20); AMg. *khaṇam avi*=*kṣaṇam api* (Nāyādh. § 137); JM. *evam avi* (Āv. 16,24); JM. *sayalam avi jivaloṇam*

( Kappas. § 44 ); M. *piättanepāvi* = \**priyōtvānenāpi* ( H. 267 ); Ś. *jivida-savasseṇāvi* = *jivitasarvasenāpi* ( Śak. 20,5 ). In all such cases an special emphasis is to be laid on the word standing before *avi*<sup>1</sup>. On AMg. *app* see §174.— After anusvāra *iti* becomes *ti*, after vowels, *tti*; and long vowels are shortened before it ( § 92 ) : PG. *ca tti* = *celi* ( 6,37 ); *jiviam ti* = *jivitam iti* ( R. 5,4 ), *ṇatthi tti* = *nāstīti* ( G. 281 ); AMg. *iṇam ti* = *enad iti* ( Āyār. 1,3,1,3 ), *aṇupariyattāi tti* = *aṇupariwartata iti* ( Āyār. 1,2,3,6 ); Ś. *laheam ti* = *labheyam iti* ( Śak. 13,9 ), *pekkhadi tti* = *preksata iti* ( Śak. 13,6 ). So in all the dialects. On AMg. *i* see §93, on M. *ia*, AMg. JM. *iva* at the beginning of a sentence see §116, on AMg. *icc* §174. In M. AMg. JM. after anusvāra and short vowels *iva* becomes *va*, after long vowels which are shortened (§92), in verses sometimes even after short vowels it becomes *vva* : M. *kamalam va* = *kamalam iva* ( G. 668 ), *uaassa va* + *udakasyeva* ( H. 53 ), *paḅkhehi va* = *paḅksair iva* ( H. 218 ), *ālāṇakkhambhesu va* = *ālānastambhesu iva* ( R. 3,1 ), *mahumahaṇena vva* = *madhumathaneva* ( H. 425 ), *samūsasanti vva* = *samucchoasantiiva* ( H. 625 ), *dāru vva* = *dārviva* ( H. 105 ); AMg. *puṃcham va* = *puḅcham iva* ( Uvās. 94 ); JM. *puttam va* = *putram iva* ( Erz. 43,34 ), *kaṇaṇam va* = *kanakam iva* ( Kk. 258,23 ). Ś. Mg. do not know the word but substitute *via* for it ( Vr. 12,24 ). In M. AMg. JM. occurs also *iva* : M. ( G. ); AMg. *ṭaṅkaṇā iva* ( Sūyag. 198 ), *meham iva* = *megham iva* ( Uvās. §102 ); cf. §345; JM. *kiṇṇaro iva* ( Āv. 8,28 ), *tiṇam iva* = *tiṇam iva*, *vammaho iva* = *manmatha iva* ( Erz. 24, 34; 84,21 ). On A. *jīva*, M. AMg. JM. P. *piva*, *viva*, *miva* see §336.

1. BOLLENSSEN, Vikr. p. 156f. wrongly rejects the writings of this sort.

§144. In Ś. Mg. *idānim* is often used enclitically in the weakened sense of “well”, “now”, “then”, and then it becomes *dānim* ( Hc. 4,277.302 ). S. *vāvado dānim aham* = *iyāpṛta idānim aham* ( Mṛcch. 4,24 ), *jo dānim...so dānim* ( Mṛcch. 6,4,8; 147,16.17 ), *kiṃ khu dānim* = *kiṃ khalu idānim* ( Mṛcch. 13,3 ), *ko dānim so* = *ka idānim saḥ* ( Mṛcch. 28,13 ), *anantarakarāṇām dānim āṇavedu aḅḅo* = *anantarakarāṇiyam idānim āḅḅāpalyu āryaḥ* ( Hc. 4,277 = Śak. 2,5 ); Mg. *āyiviā dānim samvuttā* = *āḅḅivikedānim samvṛttā* ( Mṛcch. 37,6 ), *ṣe dānim, ke dānim*, ( Mṛcch. 37,19.25 ), *ēṭtha dānim* ( Mṛcch. 162,18 ), *toṣide dānim bhattā* = *toṣita idānim bhartā* ( Śak. 118,1 ). In other dialects this use is rare, as PG. *ēṭtha dāni* ( 5,7 ); M. *aṇṇam dānim bohīm* = *anyām idānim bodhim* ( Hc. 4,277 ), *kiṃ dāni* ( H. 390 ), *to dāni* ( R. 11,121 ). In the beginning of a sentence and when stress is to be laid on the meaning “now” the *i* is retained in Ś. Mg.<sup>1</sup> too: *idānim* ( Mṛcch. 50,4; Śak. 10,2; 18,1; 25,3; 56,9; 67,6; 77,6; 87,1; 139,2; Vikr. 21,12; 22,14; 24,1; 27,4 etc. ( read so everywhere ). M. hardly uses the word, but it employs *inhīm*, *ēṇhīm*, *ēṭṭaha*, that are quite foreign to Ś. and Mg. AMg. JM. JŚ. have *iyānim*, *idānim* even inside sentences ( e.g. Āyār. 1.1.4,3; Uvās. §66; Ovav. §86.87; Āv. 16,14; 30,10; 40,5; Pav. 384,60 ), metrically also AMg. *iyāni* ( Dasav. N. 653,40 ).

1. CAPPELLER, Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1877, p. 125, who in his edition of Ratn. rightly maintained the distinction.

§ 145. An initial *a* generally drops in the sing. indic. pres. of the root as “to be” in the first and second persons when the forms are used enclitically : AMg. JM. *mi* ( § 498 ), M. JM. Ś. *mhi*, *si*, Mg. *smi* [ text *mhi* ], *si*. Thus for example AMg. *vañcio mi tti* = *vañcīto smīti* ( Uttar. 116 ); JM. *viddho mi tti* = *viddho smīti* ( Āv. 28,14 ); M. *ṭhia mhi* = *sthitāsmi* ( H. 239 ); Ś. *iam mhi* = *iyamasmi* ( Mṛcch. 3,5; Śak. 1,8; Ratn. 290,28 [ read so ]; Nāgān. 2,16 [ and so on ]; Pārvatip. 1,18 [ and so on ]; Mg. *kilantē smi* = *klānto smi* ( Mṛcch. 13,10 ). cf. § 85.96.—M. *ajja si* = *adyāsi* ( H. 861 ), *taṃ si* = *ivam asi* ( G.H.R. ), *diṭṭhā si* = *dṛṣṭāsi* ( R. 11,129 ) *mūḅho si* ( G. 487 ); JM. *kā si* ( Erz. 4,8,12 ), *mukko si* = *mukto si* ( Kk. 266,25 ),

*taṃ si=tvam asi* (Rṣabhap. 15); *paceādiṭṭho si=pratyādiṣṭo 'si* (Mr̥cch. 5,3), *pucchidā si=br̥ṣṭāsi* (Mr̥cch. 28,21), *dānim si* (Mr̥cch. 91,18), *sarivam si* (Mālav. 38,5); Mg. *sante si kilante si=śrānto 'si klānto 'si* (Mr̥cch. 13,7), *eśā si=eśāsi* (Mr̥cch. 17,1).—*atthi=asti* is never used enclitically as it is generally employed in the pregnant sense="there is", "it actually exists" and remains, whilst as copula are used M.AMg. JM. *hoi*, JŚ. *hodi*, Ś. Mg. *bhodi=bhavati*, as already pointed out by LASSEN, Inst. p. 193. On AMg. *namo 'tthu nam* see § 175.498, on M. JM. *kim tha* § 175, on AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. Dh. *nam=nūdm* § 150.

§ 146. Final *a* has dropped in the ins. sing. of *a*- stems in A.: *aggiṅ=agnikena*, *vām=vātena* (Hc. 4,343,1); *eṃ ciṅhem=ena ciṅhena* (Vikr. 58,11); *koḥem=krodhena* (Piṅgala 1,77<sup>a</sup>); *daivem=dayitena* (Hc. 4,333.342); *daivem=daivena* (C. 4,331); *pahārem=prahāreṇa* (Vikr. 65,4); *bhamanem=bhramanena* (Vikr. 58,9;69,1;72,10); *rūem=rūpeṇa* (Piṅgala 1,2<sup>a</sup>); *sahajem=sahajena* (Piṅgala.1,4<sup>a</sup>). In the ins. sing. of *i*- and *u*- stems, *ā*, after its transition into *a*, (§100) has dropped off likewise : *aggiṃ*, beside *aggiṇa* from *aggiṇā=agninā* (Hc. 4,343). On *m* from *n* see §348. In A. *a* has decayed in the absolutive in *i* from *-ia=ya*, as *dai=Ś. daia* (§ 594).

§ 147. The flexion of *stri* shows that originally the word was disyllabic. In AMg. JŚ. JM. Ś. *itthi* (Hc. 2,130; examples under § 97. 160), AMg. JM. *itthiyā* (Dasav. 628,2; Dvār. 507,2; Āv. 48,42); Ś. *itthā* (e.g. Mr̥cch. 44,1,2;148,23; Vikr. 16,9;24,10;45,21;72,18; Mālav. 39,2; Prab. 17,8 [read so]; 38,5;39,6 etc.), also Ā. (Mr̥cch. 148,22), Mg. *istiā* (§ 310)=*strikā*, the *i* is, therefore, the remnant of an old vowel, as correctly noticed by JOHANSSON<sup>1</sup>. In M. *itthi* is rare and it is only in the later-day poets that it is visible (Acyutaś. 15; Pratāp. 220,9; Sāhityad. 178,3), *itthiajāna* (Śukasaptati 81,5), as also Vr. 12,22 correctly requires *itthi* for Ś.<sup>2</sup> In AMg. we also find, mostly in verses, *thi* (Hc. 2,130; Āyār. 1,2,4,3; Uttar. 482,483,485) and *thiyā=strikā* (Sūyag. 285) used; yet the usual form even in verses is AMg. *itthi*. A. also has *thi* (Kk. 261,4).

1. Shāhbāzgarhi I, 149. But his etymology is not correct; Correct BEZZENBERGER, GN. 1878, 271ff.—2PISCHEL on Hc. 2,130; cf. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 26,745 WEBER, H.<sup>2</sup> p. 454.

#### h).—DROPPING OFF OF VOWELS

§ 148. Unaccented vowels, especially *a*, are sometimes pushed out, in the interior of words : *katta* "wife" (Triv. 1,3,105; cf. BB. 3,251) =*kālatra*, \**kaltra*; AMg. *piusiyā=piṭṛsvasrkā* from \**piusasiyā* (Hc. 1,134; 2,142), M. *piussā* (Mk. fol. 40), AMg. *piussiyā* (Vivāgas. 105; Dasav. 627,40), AMg. *māsiyā* (Hc. 1,134;2,142; Pāiyal. 253; Vivāgas. 105 [text *māsiyā*; correctly the commentary]; Dasav. 627,39 [text *māu siu iti*], M. *māussā* [Mk. fol. 40; MS. *māussā*]=*māṭṛsvasrkā*. M. *piucchā*, *māucchā* (Hc. 1,134;2,142; Mk. fol. 40; Pāiyal. 253; H.), AMg. *piucchā* (Nāyādh. 1299.1300.1348), Ś. *māducchā*, *māducchiā* (Karp. 32,6. 8; cf. v.l.) presuppose a change of *sa* into *cha* according to §211. *pupphā*, *pupphiā=piṭṛsvasā* (Deśin. 6,52; Pāiyal. 253) remain unexplained notwithstanding BÜHLER, ZDMG. 43,146; E. KUHN. KZ. 33,478f., because the dropping off of *i* is without an analogy. M. *poṅphala=pūgaphalā* from \**pūghphala*, \**pupphala* (§ 125.127; Hc. 1,170; Karp. 95,1), beside AMg. *pūyaphala* (Sūyag. 250), M.Ś. *poṅphali=pūgaphali* (Hc. 1,170; Śukasaptati 123,9; Viddhaś. 75,2 [text *poṅhalli*]); AMg. *saṅaphajaya=sānakhapada* Sūyag. 288.822; Thāṇ. 322; Paṅṇav. 49; Paṅṇāv. 42; Uttar. 1075)<sup>1</sup>;

AMg. *subbhi*=*surabhi*' (Āyār. 1,6,2,4; 1,8,2,9; 2,1,9,4; 2,4,2,18; Sūyag. 409. 590; Thān. 20; Samav. 64; Paṇṇav. 8.10ff.; Paṇhāv. 518.538; Vivāhap. 29.532.544; Uttar. 1021.1024), according to which has been formed *dubbhi*, which mostly occurs beside it. Vivāhap. 29 has *subbhi durabhi*, Āyār. 1,5,6,4 has *surabhi durabhi* side by side. In *khu*, *hu*=*khālu* (§ 94) the dropping off of *a* is explained through \**khlu*, by the enclitic use of *khalu*. AMg. *uppim* (e.g. Thān. 179.492; Vivāgas. 117.216.226.227.235. 253; Vivāhap. 105.199.233.250.410.414.797.846; Jiv. 439.483 etc.) presupposes the accentuation \**ūpari* or \**upari*', whilst *upāri* becomes M. Jm. *Ś. uvari*, M. AMg. Jm. *warim*, Mg. *uvali*, M. also *avarim* (§ 123).—*ā* has disappeared in Jm. *bhāujjā*=*bhrātrjāyā* (Deśin. 6,103; Āv. 27,18 [read so; see v.l.]).—*i* has dropped off in M. Ś. *majjhaṇṇa*=*mādhyāmdīna* (Vr. 3,7; Hc. 2,84; Kī. 2,54; Mk. fol. 21; H. 839 [read so]; Mālav. 27,18; Nāgān. 18,2; Mallikām. 67,7; Jivān. 42,20 [cf. also *ṇha* 46.10.17]), Mg. *mayyhaṇṇa* (text *majjhaṇṇa*; Mr̥cch. 116,6; Mudrār. 175,3), *mayyhaṇṇika* (Mr̥cch. 117,14), beside Ś. *majjāmdīna* (Śak. 29,4). The grammarians derive *majjhaṇṇa* from *mādhyāhna*, and they have been followed by their European disciples. BLOCH<sup>2</sup> has characterized the form as false, that has been rightly rejected by WACKERNAGEL<sup>3</sup>; however, he himself quite wrongly explains the development of the form through the process of disinclination, allowing two aspirates to follow one another, since disinclination is unknown in Pkt. (§214).—*u* has dropped in AMg. Jm. *isattha*=*iṣuśāstra* (Samav. 131; Paṇhāv. 322 [text *i*°]; Ovav. § 107; Erz. 67,1.2)<sup>4</sup>; AMg. *challūya*=*śadulūka* (Thān. 472; Kappas. Th. §6 [read so], with shortening of *ū* of *ulūka*, according to §80; Jm. *dhīyā*, Ś. Mg. *dhīdā* (Prākṛtamāñjari on Vr. 4,33 *dhīdā ca duhitā matā*) mostly in the compounds Jm. *dāsīedhīyā*, Ś. *dāsīedhīdā*, Mg. *dāsīedhīdā* (§ 392)=\**duhitā* for *duhitā*<sup>5</sup>; M. AMg. Jm. Ś. *sunhā* (Hc. 1,261; H.; Āyār. 1,2,1,1; 2,2,1,12; Sūyag. 787; Antag. 55; Jiv. 355; Nāyādh. 628.631.633.634.647.660. 820.1110; Vivāgas. 105; Vivāhap. 602; Āv. 22,42; Bālar. 168,5 [read thus], M. *soṇhā* with *o* according to § 125 (Vr. 2,47; Kī. 2,91; Mk. fol. 39; H.), in Kāleyak. 14,7 also in Ś. [text *soṇhā*]=*snūṣā*, from P. *sunusā* (§ 139), \**sunuhā* (§ 263)<sup>6</sup>; so also AMg. *sunhatta*=\**snusātva* (Vivāhap. 1046), beside AMg. *ṇusā* (Sūyag. 377) and Ś. *susā* (Hc. 1,261; Bālar. 176,15 [correct ?]).—*ū* has dropped off in *ohala*, *o'kkhala*, AMg. *ukkhala*=*udūkhala* (§ 66), which presupposes an accentuation other than *ulū'khala*<sup>7</sup>. On *ētto*, *aṇṇo* see § 197.

1. The texts often write the word falsely. KZ. 34,573 I have blundered in considering the word an avyayībhāva. JACOBI, KZ. 35,571 rightly rejects this, but he forgets to note that the word is a bahuvrīhi, through which, in fact, it is not altered.—2. Vr. and Hc. p. 33f.—3. KZ. 33,575f., Altind. Gr. §105, note; §108, note.—4. LEUMANN, Aup. Ś. s.v. and JACOBI Erz. s.v. explained the word with *īyāstra*, that is factually and linguistically impossible. Abhayadeva on Paṇhāv. 322 rightly equates it as=*iṣuśāstra*. Cf. §117 HOFER, De Prākṛita dialecto p. 61 and BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 50,693 reject the derivation of the word from *dhīā* from √ *dhai*, BOLLENSON on Mālav. p. 172 derives the word from another *duhitā*=*duhitā*, wherein *i* remains unexplained.—6. Wrongly JACOBI, Erz. p. xxxii, note 3, has understood the word *sunhā* to have developed from *ṇusā* through metathesis. AMg. proves that *ṇusā* was not improper. Cf. also E. KUHN, KZ. 33,479. In Kī. 2,91 there occurs also *ṇohā* beside *soṇhā*.—7. Wrongly JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,582; FISCHER, KZ. 34,573f.

### i) DROPPING OFF AND WEAKENING OF SYLLABLES.

149. Disappearance of the syllable *ya* occurs in M. A. *atthamaṇa*=*astamāyana* (H.; Hc. 4,444,2) the form has crossed also into Skt. as *astamana*; A. *ṇimma*=*niyamā* (Piṅgala 1,104.143) with reduplication of *ma* according to §194; *ṇisāṇi*, *ṇisāṇiā* (ladder; Deśin. 4,43)

=*niḥśrayaṇī*, *niḥśrayaṇikā*, beside AMg. *nisseṇī* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1; 2,2,1,6).—*va* has dropped in *aḍa=avaḍā* (Hc. 271; Pāiyāl. 130); AMg. JM. *em=evam* in AMg. *em ee=evam ete* (Ṭhāp. 576. 579; Dasav. 613,9). JM. *emāi=evamādi* (Erz.; Śagara 8,12), M. *emea* (G.H.), AMg. JM. *emeva* (Hc. 1,271; Pāiyāl. 166 [emeja]; Āyār. 2,1,6,4,7,5; 2,5,1,11; Uttar. 442.633.804; Dasav. N.646,9;650,28;652,21;660,29;662,43; Āv. 19,37). In JM. *evadda*, *evaddaga* (so big; Āv. 45,6,7), AMg. *emahālaya*, femin. *emahāliyā* (Vivāhap. 412.415 [femin.] 1041; Uvās. §84), *emahiddhiya* (Vivāhap. 214), *esuhuma* (Vivāhap. 1191f.; Ovav. § 140) *e* should not with HERNLE<sup>1</sup> be equated as=*evam*, but with WEBER<sup>2</sup> as=*iyat*, more rightly *\*ayat* (§153), to which AMg. *evaijā* (Vivāhap. 212.214.1103; Kappas.), *evaikutto* (Kappas.) and the parallel *kemahāliyā* (Paṇnav. 599ff.; Jiv. 18,65; Aṇuog. 401ff; Vivāhap. 415), *kemahiddhiya*, *kemahajjuīya*, *kemahābala*, *kemahāyasa*, *kemahāso'kkha*, *kemahāpūbhāga* (Vivāhap. 211), *kemahesakkhā* (Vivāhap. 887), *kevaīya* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17; Vivāhap. 17.26.209.211.239.212.734.738.1076ff.), *kevācirām* (Vivāhap. 180.1050; Paṇnav. 545ff.), *kevacciram* (Jiv. 108.128ff.) M.*ke'ccira*, *ke'cciram* (R.3,30.33)<sup>3</sup>, *Ś.ke'cciram* (Mālatim. 125,2 [read so]; 278,8; Viddhaś. 18,11; 61,8; Kāleyak. 9,22), *ke'ccireṇa* (Mālatim. 276,6) point. WEBER has likewise already compared Vedic. *ivat*; Vedic *kiyat* stands in the same relation to *keva-*. Cf. also §153.261.434. Dropping off of *va* occurs in *kalera* (rib; Deśin. 2,53; Triv. 1,3,105) from *kalevara=kalebara*<sup>4</sup>. An isolated case is *duggāvī=durgādevī* (Hc. 1,270).

1. Uvās. s.v. *emahālaya*.—2 Bhag. 1,422.—3 S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica' p.23, note 1.—4 FISCHEL, BB. 6,95.

§ 150. Dropping off of the initial syllable occurs in AMg. JM.Ś. Mg. Dh. *Ā. nam=nūnām* (Hc. 4,283.302; e.g. Āyār. 1,6,3,1; 1,7,1,5,3,1,4,1,2,6,1,3 etc.; Ovav. §2ff.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirāyāv.; Kappas.; Āv. 15,3;16,17; 17,12; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 4,12;17,22;23,10; Śak. 3,4;27,5;37,7; Mg. Mṛcch. 12,16;22,5;31,2;81,15; Dh. Mṛcch. 32,23; Ā. Mṛcch. 103,10.13). The usual derivation of the word from *nanū*<sup>1</sup>, which Hc. 4,283 even has, fails because of the accent, since *nam* in Ś. Mg. Dh. is used even in the beginning of a sentence and, therefore, was not always an enclitic. To regard AMg. *nam*, with WEBER<sup>2</sup>, as the remnant of an old pronominal stem *na* and separate it from the *nam* of the dramas is impossible, because their use in other respects is similar. Further, AMg. sometimes employs *nūnam* exactly like *nam*; e.g. *se nūnam* (Uvās. §118.173.192) as against *se nam* (Āyār. 2,3,1,17ff.). Sometimes *nūnam* as well stands at the beginning of a sentence, e.g. JM. *nūnam gahena gahia tti teṇa tte mamam dinnā* (Āv. 12,28); Ś. *nūnam esa de attagado maṇoradho* (Śak. 14,11); Mg. *nūnam. . . takkemi* (Mṛcch. 141,1), as otherwise in Ś. Mg. *nam*. That in AMg. JM. *nam* is always written with cerebral *ṇa* (§224) is also an argument for its having been originally used within a word, although it may have its source in the enclisis.—M. *dhilla=śithilā* (§194; Karp. 8,5; 70,8) as in Modern Indian<sup>3</sup>, beside *sadhilā*, *siḍhila* (§ 115). Identical with it is *dhē'lla* (poor; Deśin. 4,16), with *ē* for *i* according to §119. Dropping off of the final syllable occurs in *ova* (elephant-trap; Deśin. 1,49)=*\*avapata*, AMg. *oā* (Āyār. 2,1,5,4), beside *oāa* (Deśin. 1,166)=*avapāta*; *kisala=kisālaya* (Hc. 1,269); cf. *pisalla* (§232); M. AMg. JM. *je*, *Ā. ji* for *jeva=eva* (§336); M. *dā* for *dāva=tāvāt* in *mā dā* (R. 3,10.27) against the dialect (§185); Mg. *ghaḍukka=gnaṭotkaca* (Mṛcch. 29,20). In *sahia=sahṛdaya* (Hc. 1,269) we should not assume dropping off of a syllable. The word is=*\*sahṛd* with a regular descent to the *a*-declension. Likewise is *hia* (Mk. fol. 33), AMg. *hiya* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5)=*hṛd*, Mg. *hadakka* (§194)=*\*hṛdaka*.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 173; BOHTLINGK on Śak. 4,4 p 149, etc.—2 Bhag. 1, 422 ff.—3 FISCHEL on Hc. 1,89.

## k) SAMPRĀSARANA

§151. Samprasāraṇa takes place in Pkt. in the same cases as in Śkt.; *ya* in an unaccented syllable becomes *i*, and *va* becomes *u*: Ś. *iṭṭhi*=*iṣṭi* from *yaj* (Śak. 70,6); M. *utta*=*upta* from *vap* (G); M. AMg. JM. *sutta*=*supta* from *svap* (H; Kappas.; Erz.). Pkt. has, however, this change of sound also in a number of cases in which Śkt. shows *ya* and *va*. Thus *ya* becomes *i*: AMg. *abhintara*=*abhyantara* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *tiṛikkha*=*\*tiṛyakṣa* from *tiṛyak* (Thān. 121,336; Sūyag 298; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); M. Ś. A. *tiṛicchi* (Hc. 2,143; 4,295; Karp. 37,5; Mallikām. 74,2 [text °ra°]; Hc. 4,414, 3,420,3), Mg. *tiliṣci* (Hc. 4, 295 [so it is to be read]); Ś. *tiṛiccha* (Bālar. 68,14; 76,19; 246,9; Viddhaś. 34,10; 124,3); AMg. *viṭṛiccha* (Vivāhap. 253); AMg. *paḍiṇiya*=*pratyanika* (Ovav. §117; *viana*=*vyajana* (Vr. 1,3; Hc. 1,46; Kī. 1,2; Mk. fol. 5); M. *vīta*=*vyalika* (Hc. 1,46; H.); in future such as *kāhimi* from *\*karsyāmi*, *dāhimi* from *\*dāsyāmi*, and the endings *-ihisi*, *-ihii* in M. AMg. JM. (§520ff.). On *bāhim* see §181. In AMg. sometimes even the secondary *ya*, which has taken the place of some other consonant, becomes *i*: *āriya* beside *āyariyā*=*ācāryā* (§81.134), *rāiṇṇa* for *\*rāyāṇṇa*=*rājanyā* (Thān. 120; Sam iv. 232; Vivāhap. 800; Ovav.; Kappas.).<sup>1</sup> *ya* has become *i* in AMg. *viikkanta*=*vyatikrānta* (Āyār. 2,15,2,25 [text vi°]; Nāyādh.; Kappas. s.v. *viikkanta*; Uvās. s. v. *vāikkanta*); *viivayamāna*=*vyativrajamāna* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.); *viivaitiā*=*\*vyativrajitoā* (Ovav.)<sup>2</sup>. For *yā* has developed *i* in *thiṇa*, *ṭhiṇa*=*styāna* (Hc. 1,74; 2,33,99), beside *thiṇṇa*, M. *thiṇna* (R.).

1. So more correctly than in KZ. 34,570; felsely JACOBI, KZ. 35,573. The frequent intetchange of *ya* and *i* in Jaina manuscripts need not be assumed here, because the word is always written with *i*, and for *āriya* the change to *i* has been explicitly taught by the grammarians — 2. From the v.l. I feel assured to admit that it is *vi*, and not *vi* or *va* that is to be written. The lengthening of the second *i* is explained according to §70.

§ 152. *va* is changed to *u*, before double consonants also to *o* (§125) AMg. *amsoṭtha*, *assoṭtha*, *āsoṭtha*=*asvasthā* (§74); *gāū*=*gavayā*, femin. *gāū* (Hc. 1,54,158; 2,174; 3,35); A. *jāū*=*yāvat*, *tāū*=*tāvat* (Hc. 4,406,423,3; 426, [read *jāū*]); M. A. *turiā*=*tvaritā* (Vr. 8,5; Hc. 4,172; G.H.R.; Piṅgala 1,5), AMg. JM. *turiya* (Pāyā. 173; Vivāhap. 949; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), Ś. *turiā* (Mṛcch. 40,24; 41,12; 170,4; Ratn. 297, 12; Vcṇis. 22,20; Mālatim. 284,11; 289,6 etc.), Mg. *tulidā* (Mṛcch. 11,21; 96,18; 97, 1; 98,1,2; 117,15; 133,11; 171,2; Caṇḍak. 43,8), A. D. Ā. *turiā* (Vikr. 58,4; Mṛcch. 99,24; 100,3,11); *viṣum*=*viṣvak* (Hc. 1,24,43,52); M. *suāi*, *suai*, JM. *siyāi*=*\*svapāti*=*svapiti*, JM. Ś. *suwāmi*, A. *suahī* (§497), AMg. *suviṇa*, *sumiṇa*, A. *suviṇa*=*svāpnā* (§177) with reference to the verb; M.Ś. *soṭthi*=*svasti* (Kī. 2,148; H.; Mṛcch. 6,23; 25,4; 54,11,19; 73,18; Vikr. 15,16; 29, 1; 44,5 etc.), *soṭthivāṇa*=*svastivācana* (Vikr. 43,14; 44,13), *soṭthivāṇā* (Vikr. 26,15), AMg. *soṭthiya*=*svastika* (Paṇḍāv. 283,286; Ovav.); AMg. *soutiṇya*=*śauvanika* (dog-keeper; Sūyag. 714; but *sovaṇiya* 721). Also secondary *va*, which has first arisen in Pkt., sometimes becomes *u* through ablaut in the prefix *upa* (§155); further in A. *ṇāū* from *\*ūṇāvam*=*nāma* (Hc. 4, 426,1). Secondary *u* is sometimes also raised, as in *sovai*, JM. *soveṇti*, *sovaṇ*, A. *soevā*; *sovaṇa*, AMg. *osovaṇi*, *sovaṇi* from *svap* (§78.497); AMg. *sovāga*=*śvapāka*, *sovāgi*=*śvapākī* (§78), and *o* arising from *u* is lengthened, as in M. *soṇāra*=*svaṇakāra* (§66).—*vā* appears as *ū* in the absolutive in PG. M. AMg. JM. *-tūṇam*, P. *-tūnam*, M. AMg. JM. *-ūṇam*, M. AMg. JM. *-tūna*, P. *-tūna*, JŚ. *-dūna*, M. AMg. JM. *-ūna*=Vedic *tūṇam*, as in PG. *kātūṇam*, P. *kātūnam*, AMg. JM. *kāūṇam*, JŚ. *kādūna* M.



JM: *kāūpa* = \**kartvānam*, \**kartvāna* (§ 584 ff.). On *do*, *du* apparently = *doi*, see § 435.

§ 153. Under the law of *saṃprasāraṇa* falls also the change of *aya* into *e* and of *ava* into *o*. Thus *aya* becomes *e* in verbs of the 10th class, causatives and similarly formed denominatives, such as PG *aṇuvatthāveṭi* = *anuprasthāpayati*, AMg. *thāvei*, M. AMg. JM. *thavei* = *sthāpayati* (§551f.); M. AMg. *kahei*, Mg. *kadhedi* = *kathayati*, Ś. *kadhedu* = *kathayatu* (§490); Ś. *sīdalāvedī* = *sītalayati* (§559). Further in cases like M. *nei*, JM. *nei* = *nayati*, Ś. *nedu* = *nayatu* (§474); M. JM. *dei*, Ś. *dedi* = \**dayati*, Mg. *dedha* = \**dayata* (§474); AMg. *terasa*, A. *teraha* = \**trayadaśa* = *trayodaśa* (§443), AMg. JM. *tevisam*, A. *teisa* = \**trayaviṃśati* = *trayoviṃśati*; AMg. JM. *tēttisam*, *tittisam* = *trayastrīṃśat* (§445); AMg. *nissenī* = *nīhśrayanī* (§149).—AMg. *lena* = *layana* (Sūyag. 658; Ṭhān. 490.515; Paṇhāv. 32.178.419; Vivāhap. 361 f. 1123. 1193; Ovav.; Kappas.).—M. Ś. A. *e'ttia* (Hc. 2,157; G. H.; Mrcch. 41,19;60,12;77,10,24; Vikr. 45,4; Mālav. 26,10; Mālatim. 82,9; Uttarar. 18,2;66,1;72,6; Hc. 4.341.2), JM. *e'ttiya* (Āv. 18,6; Erz.), Ś. Mg. *e'ttika* (Śak. 29,9;59,3;70,10;71,14;76,6; Vikr. 25,7;46,8;84,9; Mg. Mrcch. 125,24;165,14; Śak. 114,11), *ittia* (Hc. 2,156) can neither with LASSEN<sup>1</sup> be referred directly to \**ati* nor with S. GOLDSCHEMIDT<sup>2</sup> with the support of Hc. directly to *iyat*, but it presupposes one \**ayāt*, from which was derived \**ayattya*, with a separation-vowel \**ayattiya*, corresponding to Skt. *ihatya*, *kvatya*, *tatraiya*. In the same way M. Ś. A. *ke'ttia* (Hc. 2,157; H.; Mrcch. 72,6; 88,20; Vikr. 30,8; Hc. 4,383,1), JM. *ke'ttiya* (Erz.) = \**kayattya*, \**kayattiya* from the stem *kaya-*. So we must explain *e-* and *ke-* also in the first member of compounds in AMg. M. Ś. (§149). Analogous formations are M. *je'ttia* (Hc. 2,157; G.H.R.), Mg. *ye'ttika*, *ye'ttia* (Mrcch. 132,13;139,11); *jittia* (Hc. 2,156), M. Mg. A. *te'ttia* (Hc. 2,157; G.H.R.; Mrcch. 139,12; Hc. 4,395,7), Mg. *te'ttika* (Mrcch. 132,14); *tittia* (Hc. 2,156). Derivatives are *e'ttula*, *ke'ttula*, *je'ttula*, *te'ttula* (Hc. 2,157), JM. *e'ttilliya* (Āv. 45,7), A. *e'ttula*, *ke'ttula*, *je'ttula*, *te'ttula* (Hc. 4, 435).

1. Inst. p. 125.—2. Prākṛtica p. 23.

§154. *ava* becomes *o* through *au*, e.g. in M. *oaraṇa* = *avataraṇa* (G.H.); M. *oāra* (G.H.), Ś. *odāra* (Śak. 21,8), beside *avadāra* (Vikr. 21,1) = *avatāra*, Ś. *odaradi* = *avatarati*, Mg. *odāla* = *avatara* (§477); JŚ. *ōggāha* = *avagraha* (Pav. 381,21); AMg. *oma* = *avama* (Ṭhān. 328; Uttar. 352.768.918), *aṇoma* = *anavama* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3), *omāna* = *avamāna* (Uttar. 790), *vodāna* = *vyavadāna* (Sūyag. 523), and so very frequently in all the dialects in the prefix *ava* (Vr. 4,21; Hc. 1,172; Mk. fol. 35); AMg. *osā* = *avaśyā* (Sūyag. 829; Uttar. 311; Dasav. 616,21), also *ussā* for *o'ssā* (Ṭhān. 339; Kappas. S. §45; v.l. *osā*, as should read be everywhere), *bahuosa* (Āyār. 2,1,4,1), *appaṣa* (Āyār. 1,7,6,4;2,1,1,2); M. Ś. *osāa* = *avaśyāya* (R. Vikr. 15,11 [read so with v. l. and the Drāviḍa recension 625,11, ed. PISCHEL]); M. AMg. JM. *ohi* = *avadhi* (H.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. *joṇiyā* = *yavanikā* (Vivāhap. 792; Ovav.; Nāyādh.), but *javana* (Paṇhāv. 41; Paṇnav. 58), *javoṇiyā* (Kappas.); M. Ś. *nomāliā* = *navamālikā* (Hc. 1,170; H.; Mrcch. 73,10; Lalitav. 560,9.17.20 [a proper noun]; Mālatim. 81,1; Śak. 9,11;12,13;13,3;15,3), *nomāliā* = *navamālikā* (Vr. 1,7); M. *nohaliā* = *navaphalikā* (Hc. 1.170; Kī. 2,148 [aṇ]; H.); M. AMg. JM. A. *loṇa* = *lavāna* (Vr. 1,7; Hc. 1,171; Kī 1,8; Mk. fol. 6; G.H.; Kāleyak. 14,13; Āyār. 2,1,6,6,9;2,1,10,7; Sūyag. 337.834.935; Dasav. 614,15.16;625,13; Āv. 22,39; Hc. 4,418,7.444,4), PG. JM. *alona* = *alavaṇa* (6,32; Āv. 22,39), JM. *loṇiya* *aloniya* (Āv. 22,14.30.31). According to Mk. fol. 66 Ś. has *lavāna* only. M. AMg. JM. A. *hoi*, JŚ. *hodi*, Ś. Mg. *bhodi* = *bhavati* (§475f).

The secondary *ava* derived from *apa* also may become *o* (Vr. 4,21; Hc. 1,172; Mk. fol. 35), as in M.JM. *osarāi=apasarati*, JM. *ś. osara=apasara*, Mg. *osaladi=apasarati* (§477).—*āva* appears as *o* in M. *oli=āvali* (Hc. 1,83, who equates it as=*āli*; G.H.R.) and in *loṅna=lāvanya* (Mk. fol. 6), A. also *salona=salāvanya* (Hc. 4,444,4) in rhyme with *lona=lavaṇa*. According to Mk. fol. 66 Ś. has *lāvanya* only, and so it occurs in Śak. 158,10.

§155. According to Hc. 1,173, *upa* may become either *ū* or *o*. His examples are : *ūhasiām, ohasiām, wāhasiām=upahasiām*; *ujjhāo, ōjjhāo, wājhhāo=upādhyāyāḥ*; *ūāso, oāso, wāvāso=upavāsah*. Mk. fol. 35 mentions that these do occur according to somebody (*kasyacinmate*). *ujjhāa*, that is found in poetry in JM. (Erz. 69,28;72,39), stands for *\*ujjhāa* from *\*uujjhāa*=M. Ś. *wājhhāa* (H.; Karp. 6,3; Vikr. 36,3.6.12; Mudrār. 35,9;36,4 6;37,1; Priyad. 34,14.17.21;35,15), AMg. JM. *wājhhāya* (Āyār. 2,1,10,1;2,3,3,3ff; Samav. 85; Thān. 354f. 366.384ff; Erz.)=*upādhyāya*. There arises, therefore, *u* from *va* according to §152 and the two colliding *u*'s have been contracted into one. The same process is effective in *ūhasia* (Hc.) from *\*uuhasia=wahasia=upahāsita*, beside the dialectical *ūhaṭṭha* (laughter; Deśin. 1.140)=*\*upahasia*; further in *ūāsa* (Hc.)=*\*uūāsa=wavāsa=upavāsa*; *ūnandīa* (overjoyed; Deśin. 1.141)=*\*upanandīa*; *ū'atṭha=\*upavṛṣṭa* (Pāiyāl. 197); *ūsitta=upasikta* (Pāiyāl. 187)<sup>1</sup>. Against these there occur the parallel forms with *o*, not going back to *upa*. In *ōjjhāa*, from which is derived NI. *ojhā<sup>2</sup>*, *o* is to be explained according to §125, in AMg. *paḍḍyāra=pratyupacāra, paḍḍyārei=pratyupacārayā'i* (§163) *o*, if the reading is correct, must be explained according to §77; in all other cases *o=ava* or *apa* according to §154, even when no corresponding word is found in Skt. Thus :—*ohasia* (Hc.)=*apahāsita*, as *ohaṭṭha* (Deśin. 1,153)=*\*apahasta*, *oāsa* (Hc.) is=*\*apavāsa*; *ositta* (Deśin. 1,158)=*avasikta*. *ua* never becomes *o*, for the Pāli, M. *o* (R.), that is equated by Hc. 1,172 and most of the scholiasts to=*uta*, and by others is explained with *atha vā<sup>3</sup>*, is=Pāli *ādu<sup>4</sup>*, AMg. *adu* (Sūyīg. 118.172.248.253.514; Uttar. 90), *adu vā* (Sūyīg. 16,46.92.142; Uttar.28.116.180.328; Samav. 82.83), *adu va* (Sūyīg. 182.249; Samav 81), Ś. Mg. *ādu* (Mṛcch. 2,23;3,14;4,1;17,21;51,24;73,4; Mālatim. 77,3; Priyad. 30,13;37,14; Adbhutad. 53,3; Mg. Mṛcch. 21,14; 132,21;158,7), which, as sometimes *o*, is explained as=*atha vā*. *o* has, therefore, developed from *\*āu*, *\*au<sup>5</sup>*.

1. In the last two examples *ū* can be equated also as=*ud*, as usually it is according to § 64.327a.—2. CROOKE, An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India (Allahabad 1894) p. 96 note. False with others, FISCHER, GGA. 1894.419, note 1.—3. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvanavaho s. v. o.—4. KERN, Bijdrage tot de Verklaring van eenige Woorden in Pāli-Geschriften voorkomende (Amsterdam 1886) p. 25 wrongly equates the word as=Vedic *ād u*. Cf. also FAUSBØLL, Nogle Bemærkninger om enkelte Vanskelige Pāli-ord i Jātaka-Bogen (Kopenhagen 1881) p. 25ff. The words do not have something in common in meaning.—5. Falsely JACOBI ZDMG. 47,578; KZ. 35,578. Pāli *oka=udoka* is to be explained from *\*ukta*, *\*o kka* according to 66. AMg. *adu* cannot be=*atah* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,422; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p.36), because *ta* does not become *da* in AMg. Cf. S203.204.

### 1) VOCALIC SĀMDHI

156. Similar vowels, when they meet together in compounds, are generally contracted, as in Skt. : *a, ā+a, ā* becomes *ā*; *i, ī+i, ī=ī*; *u, ū+u, ū=ū*. PG. *mahārājādhirājo* (5,2), *ārakhādhikate=ārakṣādhikṛtān* (5,5), *sahassāṭireka=sahasāṭireka* (7,42), *vasudhādhīpataye=ōpatin* (7,44), *narādhamo* (7,47); M. *kaḍvārāha=kṛtāparādha* (H.50); AMg. *kālākāla* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1); JM.

*iṅgiyākāra* (Āv. 11,22); JŚ. *surāsura* (Pav. 379,1); Ś. *kilesāṇala*=*klesāṇala* (Lalitav. 562,22); Mg. *yūdiālāvamāna*=*dyūtakarāvamāna* (Mṛcch. 39,25); A. *sāsāṇala*=*svāsāṇala* (Hc. 4,395,2); M. *puhavisa*=*prthivīsa* (H. 780); A. *amsūsāsahī*=*aśrūcchvāsahī* (Hc. 4,431). So also in secondary vowels in M. *īśisa*, *īśisi*=*īśat+īśat* (§102). Before double consonants a long vowel is shortened according to §83: M. *uddhaccha*=*ūrdhvākṣa* (H. 161), *kaīnda*=*kavindra* (Karp. 6,9); JŚ. *adīndiyatta*=*atīndiyatva* (Pav. 381,20); AMg. *gunat̥thi*=*gunārthīn* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1); JM. *rattaccha*=*raktākṣa* (Āv. 12,27); Ś. *jammanīare*=*janmāntare* (Mṛcch. 4,5); Mg. *anṇagāmāntala*=*anyagrāmāntara* (Mṛcch. 13,8); PG. *aggiṭṭhomaṅṇajapeyassamedhvyāji* (5,1). S) also in the verse before a simple consonant in AMg. *rāyamacca*=*rājāmāya* (Sūyag. 182; Dasav. 624,22). In AMg., more rarely in JM. JŚ., however, similar vowels often remain uncontracted, particularly in dvandva compounds. Thus: *-a+a*: AMg. *samaṇamāhaṇaṇāhi*=*śramaṇabrāhmanātīthi* (Āyār. 2,1,11,9; 2,2,1,2,2,8; cf. 2,10,4), *puvavidehaavaravideha* (Jiv. 161.174f. 210; Aṇuog. 396.397; Bhag.), *saṅgu*=*svāṅga* (Sūyag. 364), *saat̥tha*=*sārtha* (Sūyag. 579), *kharapharusaasiniddhadītaṇiṭṭhāsasubhāppiyākāntavagnubhīsa* (Nāyādh. 757), *puḍhavidagaagāṇi*=*prthvyudakāṅni* (Pañhāv. 353), *indaṇilaajysi-kusuma*=*indrānilātasikusuma* (Ovav. §10), *maṇaagutti*, *kāyaagutti*=*manogutti*, *kāyāgutti* (Vivāhap. 1462); AMg. *suraasurā*=*surāsūrāh*, JM. *suraasura-maṇṇyamahiyā*=*surāsuramanuṇyamahitāh* (Āyār. 2,15,12; Kk. 269,26); JM. *egaakkhara*=*ekākṣara* (Āv. 7,27), *āiregaat̥thavāsa*=*alirekāṣṭavara* (Āv. 8,9) *sayalaat̥thamiyajjīyaloa*=*sakalāstamitajjīvaloka* (Āv. 8,22); JŚ. *savaat̥thesu*=*sarvārthesu*, *vandanaat̥tham*=*vandanārtham* (Kattig. 399.313; 402,356). *-a+a*: AMg. *akiriyaājyā*=*akriyātmānaḥ* (Sūyag. 410; *-a* for *ā* according to §97), *selagajakhaāruhaṇa*=*sailakayakārohaṇa* (Nāyādh. 966). *-ā+a*: AMg. *mahā-aḍavi* (Nāyādh. 1449), beside JM. *mahāḍavi* (Erz.); JM. *dhammakahā avasāna*=*dharma-kathāvasāna* (Āv. 7,27), *mahāakkanda*=*mahākranda* (Dvār. 505,20). *-i+i*: AMg. *maūḍdhīgārava*=*matyrdhīgaurava* (Dasav. 635,38), where, therefore, the second *i* is secondary. *-u+u*: AMg. *bahuṇṇijjīya-dhammiya*=*bahūṇṇitadhārmika* (Āyār. 2,1,10,4,11,9; Dasav. 621,6), *bahuudaga*=*bahūdaka* (Sūyag. 565), beside *bahūdaja* (Thān. 400), *bahuṇṇipala*=*bahūt-pala* (Nāyādh. 509), *devakuruuttarakuru* (Jiv. 147.174.194.205.209.211; Aṇuog. 396), *kuruga* (Vivāhap. 425), *devakuruuttarakurū* (Samav. 111), *kurayāo* (Samav. 114), *suuddhara* (Dasav. 636,30), *suṇṇujjāra*=*svṇṇukāra* (Sūyag. 493), in which the second *u* is secondary. The vowels remain uncontracted in M. very rarely, somewhat more frequently in Ś. as M. *paḍalaan̄kuraa*=*pravālān̄kuraka* (H. 680), *piāhara*=*priyādhara* (H. 827), *dhavalaamsua*=*dhavalāmsūka* (R. 9,25; cf. also the v.l.); Ś. *piamvadaāṇusūo*=*priyamvadaāṇusūye* (Śak. 67,6), *puṇṇikadaajjīuṭṭakittī*=*puṇṇikṛtāryaputarakittī* (Bālar. 289,20), *aggisaraṇaālinda*=*agnīśaraṇālinda* (Śak. 97,17), *cedīāaccanā*=*ceṇṇīkārcanāya* (false dative), *pūārīha*=*pūārīha* (Mukund. 17,12,14). So also in A. *addhaaddha*=*ardhārdha*, *biaaddha*=*dvitīyārdha* (Piṅgala 1,6,50). In cases like Piṅgala 1,24,25 we must not assume composition, but the stem, used as nominative. Too general is Hc. 1,4.

§157. *a*, *ā*, with short dissimilar vowels before single consonants in compound, undergo, the same sandhi as prescribed in Skt.: *a*, *ā+i* becomes *ē*; *a*, *ā+u*=*o*. Thus for example M. *disēbha*=from *disā*=\**disā=dig+ibha* (G. 148), *samdat̥ṭṭebhamōtia*=*samdaṣṭṭebhamauktika* (G. 236), *pañcesu*=*pañcesu* (Karp. 12,8; 94,8), *kisoari*=*kr̄śodari* (H. 309), *sāmoa*=*śyāmodaka* (R. 9,40.43,44), *girilulioahī*=*girilulitodadhi* (G. 148). Likewise in the other dialects. Contraction takes place in the case of secondary *i* and *u* as well, so

AMg.Ś. *māhesi* from *mahā + isi = ṛṣi*, M.Ś. : *āesi* from *rāa = rāja - + isi = ṛṣi* (§57); AMg. *sāvouya* from *savva = sarva + uuja = ṛtuka = sarvartuka* (Paṇhāv. 259; Samav. 237; Vivāgh. 10; Vivāhap. 791; Nāyādh. 527; Paṇnav 111; Ovav.; Kappas.), *niccouga*, *ṛja = nīrvartuka* (Samav. 233; Thān. 369), *anouya = anṛtuka* (§77; Thān. 369). In AMg. the vowels often remain uncontracted : *savvaṅoarilla* (Jiv. 878f.), beside *savvupparilla* (Jiv. 879); *paḍhamasamajāvāsanta = prathamāsamajopāśānta* (Paṇnav. 65); *kakkolaiṣṭra* (Paṇhāv. 527); *āyariyāvajjhāya = ācārropādhya* (Thān. 354f. 366.384ff.; Samav. 85); *heṭṭhimāvarima* (Samav. 68; Thān. 197 [hi<sup>2</sup>]); *vōjyāghanāidahi vātaghanodadhi* (Vivāhap. 102); *kaṇṭhasuttaratta = kaṇṭhasūtroraṣṭha* (Vivāhap. 791); *appaūdaya = alpodaka* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17), *divadisāud ihīnam = dvīpadigudadhīnam* (Vivāhap. 82). *mahāudaga = mahodaka* (Uttar. 714); also in the secondary second vowels : *ihāmigaūsabha = ihāmgarṣabha* (Jiv. 481.492.508; Nāyādh. 721 [ʰa]); Ovav. §10; Kappas. §44); *khaggaūsabha = khadgarṣabha* (Ovav. §37). In other dialects the vowels seldom remain uncontracted, such as in JM. *paṇvayanaivaghāyaga = pravacanopaghātaka*, *saṃjamaūva ghāya = saṃyamopaghāta* (Kk 261,25.26); Ś. *vasantussavaiāna = vasantotsavopāyana* (Mālav. 39,10; uncertain; cf. v.l.); and in the secondary second vowel Ś. *visajjidaīsīdāraa = visarjitarīsīdāra* (Uttar. 123.10).

§158. If the second member of a compound begins with *i, u*, followed by a double consonant or with either original or secondary *ī, ū*, the final of the first member is, as a rule, discarded. (C.2,2; of Hc. 1.10). So M.A. *gaīnda = gājendra* (G.H.R.; Vikr. 54,1), A. *gaīndaa* (Vikr. 59,8;60,21;63,2); JŚ. Ś. A. *narīnda = narendra* (Kattig. 400,326; Mālatim. 206,7 [so to be read]; 292,4; Pīngala 1,21.24), Mg. *nalīnda* (Mṛcch. 40,6); AMg. Ś. Mg. *māhīnda = mahendra* (Thān. 266; Mālatim. 201,5; Mṛcch. 128.8); AMg. JŚ. *devīnda = devendra* (C. 2,2; Hc. 3, 162; Kattig. 400,326); AMg. *joīsīnda = jyoṭīsēndra* (Thān. 138); AMg. JM. JŚ. *jīnīnda = jinendra* (Ovav. §37; Āv. 7,24; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 382,42); Ś. *māīnda = mājendra* (Śak. 155,1 [to be so read]; 156,7) and so many compounds with *indra* in all the dialects (cf. §159); JM. *māīndajāla = māyendrajāla* (Āv. 8,53); AMg. *egīndriya = ekēndriya* (Vivāhap. 100.109.144); AMg. *soīndriya, ghānīndriya, jībīndriya, phāsīndriya = srotēndriya, ghrānēndriya, jīhēndriya, sparsēndriya* (Thān. 300; Vivāhap. 32; Ovav. p. 40, VI; Uttar. 822), A. *jībīndriya = jīhēndriya* (Hc. 4,427 [so to be read]); M. *taddīasīndu = taddīvasēndu* (G. 702); *ūāsīsa = tridāsēsa* (Hc. 1,10); JM. *rāsīra = rājēśvara* (Erz.); *paṇvadisāra = parvatēśvara* (Mudrār. 40,6;46,9;216,13); M. *kaṇṇuppala = kaṇṇōṭpala* (G.760), AMg. JM. *nīluppala, Ś. nīluppala = nīlōṭpala* (Uvās. §95; Ovav. §10; KI. 18 [nī<sup>2</sup>]; Erz. 79,8; Priyad. 15,8;33,2;39,2); Mg. *naḥuppala = nakhoṭpala* (Mṛcch. 122,19); M. *khandhukkheva = skandhoṭkhepa* (G. 1049), CP. *pātukkheva = pādōṭkhepa* (Hc. 4,326); AMg. *gandhuddhūya, A. gandhuddhua = gandhōddhuta* (Ovav. §2; Vikr. 64,16); JM. *rajanūjāla = ratnōjāla* (Āv. 8,4); Ś. *mandamāruduvvēllīda = mandamārutōdvellīta* (Ratn. 302,31; cf. Mālatim. 76,3), *paṇvadummūlīda = parvatōmmūlīta* (Śak. 89,13); Mg. *sāvuyyāna = sarvōyāna* (Mṛcch. 113,19); M. *kaūsāsa = kṛtōcchōsa, liḍhūsa = liḍhōsa* (G. 387.536), *gamaṇūsua = gamānōtsuka* (R. 1,6); AMg. *egūna = ekona* (§144), *pañcūna* (Samav. 208; Jiv. 219), *desūna* (Samav. 152.219), *bhāgūna, koṣṭīna* (Jiv. 228.231); M. *gāmūsava = grāmōtsava* (G. 598); M. JM. Ś. *mahūsava = mahōtsava* (Karp. 12,9; Erz., Mṛcch. 28,2; Ratn. 292,9.12;293,13;295,19; 298,30; Mālatim. 29,4;119,1;142,7;218,3 etc.; Uttarar. 108,2;113,6; Caṇḍak. 93,6; Anarghar. 154,3; Nāgān. 42,4 [text 'ūsā<sup>2</sup>]; 53,19; Vṛṣabh. 11,2; Subhadra. 11,5.17); Ś. *vasantūsava = vasantōtsava* (Śak. 121,11; Vikr. 51,14; Mālav. 39,10 [so to be read]). So also in the case of secondary

second vowels : AMg. *uttamiḍḍhi* = *uttama* + *ṛddhi* (Ṭhāṇ. 80), *deviḍḍhi* (Uvās. *mahiḍḍhi* (Ṭhāṇ. 178), *mahiḍḍhiya* (Ovav.); very seldom before a simple consonant, as in JM. *visesuvaogo* = *viśeṣopayoga* (Kk. 277,9) and Ā. *addhuia* = *ardhodita* (Mṛcch. 100,12).

§159. In the cases mentioned in §158 contraction takes place, sometimes, when the second member begins already in Skt. with *i*, *ū* and is followed by a simple consonant : Ś. *vāderida* = *vāterita* (Śak. 12,1); M. *kariaroru* = *kariara* + *ūru* = *karikaroru* (H. 925), *piṇoru* = *piṇa* + *ūru* (R. 12,16), *pāaḍoru* = *prakaḍoru* (H. 473), *valioru* = *valitoru* (G. 1161); AMg. *varoru* (Kappas. 33.35), *piवारoru*, *disāgaīndoru* = *diggajendroru* (Kappas. §36), *egoruja* = *ekoruka* (Paṇṇav. 56), but *egūruya* (Jiv. 345ff.; Vivāhap. 717); JM. *karikaroru* (Erz. 16,12); Ś. *mantharoru* (Mālatim. 108,1), *piवारoru* (Mālatim. 260,3 [so to be read]). If the first member is a prefix, the vowels in contact are always contracted: Mg. AMg. JM. *pe'chāi*, JŚ. *pe'chadi*, Ś. *pe'kkhadi*, Mg. *pe'skadi* = *prekate* (§84); M. *aṇave'kkhia* = *anapekṣita* (R.), JM. *ave'kkhāi* (Erz.); Ś. *ave'kkhadi* = *apekṣate* (Śak. 43,10; 130,2); M. *uve'kkhia* = *upekṣita* (H.); M. *pe'llia* = *prerita* (G.H.). Also in the case of *i*, *u* with double consonants following, contraction occurs, but only seldom without a v.l. Thus: M. *nisārenda* = *niśācendra* (R. 7,59); M. Mg. *mahenda* = *mahendra* (R. 6,22; 1320; Mṛcch. 133,12); M. *rakkhasenda* = *rākṣasendra* (R. 12,77); Ś. *narenda* = *narendra* (Mālatim. 90,4; 179,5); *rattō'ppala* = *raktō'pala* (Mṛcch. 73,12). JŚ. *pañcendīya* = *pañcendriya* (Pav. 388,9) must be an error. Beside it, almost always, is found also the v.l. with *i*, *u*, as for example Ś. *mahenda* (Vikr. 5,10; 6,19; 8.11.13; 36,3; 83,20; 84,2) which always occurs as *mahinda* in the Bengālī recension, as it occurs also otherwise in Ś. (§158)<sup>1</sup>; for Ś. *ṇiṇṇō'ṇāda* = *niṇṇonnata* (Śak. 131,7) we should read *ṇiṇṇuṇṇāda* with the v.l., as there stands in M. *ṇiṇṇuṇṇāa* (G. 681); for Ś. *i'phō'ṇha* (Śak. 29,6), the correct form will be *uṇḥuṇha*, for Ś. *maddalō'ddāma* = *mardaloddāma* (Ratn. 292,11), *maddaluddāma*<sup>2</sup>. Contraction might correctly be required in cases like JM. *ahe-sara*, *khaḥāresara*, *naresara* (Erz.); Ś. *paramesara* (Prab. 14,9; 17,2), which were probably first contracted with secondary *isara*, and certainly in Ś. *purisō'ttama*, Mg. *pulisō'ttama* = *puruṣottama* (§124), since as a proper noun, it has directly been taken from Skt. Otherwise one says AMg. *purisuttama* (Dasav. 613,40 [at the original place Uttar. 681 has °so°]; Kappas. §16 [so it is to be read with v.l.]; Ovav. §20 [so it is to be read; cf. the following *loguttama*]).

1. In any case BOLLENSSEN is in the wrong when he, on Vikr. 8,11p.176, considers that *mahinda* has transgressed the boundary of high Pkt., by which he means Ś.—2. Explanation of ° in such cases, according to §125, does not appear likely in the face of a large number of counter-examples. Presumably in cases of this sort we have examples of Sanskritism that are to be corrected. Cf. LASSEN, Inst. p. 175, note.

§160. In AMg. *a*, *ā* is often retained, even when a double consonant follows *i*, *u*, as with simple consonants (§157; cf. §156). So AMg. *kakkeyaṇāindaṇila* = *karkatanendranila*, *mādambiyaibbha* = *mādambikebhya*, *koḍumbiyaibbha* = *kaḍumbikebhya* (Ovav. §10.38.48); *pisāyāinda* = *piśācendra* (Ṭhāṇ. 90), but *pisāinda* (Ṭhāṇ. 138.229); *bhūyāinda* = *bhūtendra* (Ṭhāṇ. 90), but *bhūinda* (Ṭhāṇ. 229), beside *jakkhinda*, *rakkhasinda*, *kinṇarinda* etc. (Ṭhāṇ. 90; cf. §158); *annāya-ūñcha* = *aññatōñcha* (Dasav. 636,17); *lavaṇasamuddaūtaraṇa* = *lavaṇasamudrotaraṇa* (Nāyādh. 966); *pehuṇaūkkhevaḡa* = *preñkhaṇotkṣepaka* (Paṇhāv. 533); *nāvāussināca* = *nāvoisīncaka* (Āyār 2,3,2,19.20); *indīyaūddesa* = *indriyoddesa*, *dugullasukumālaūtariija* = *dukūlasukumārōttariya*, *anegaiūtama* = *anekōttama*, *bhaḥā-ūvviḡga* = *bhaḥāvviḡga*, *sohammakappāūddhaloya* = *saudharmakalṇapordhvaloka* (Vivāhap. 177f. 791.809.835.920); *āyāmaūsseha* = *āyāmoṣsedha* (Ovav. §10). Very

rarely the vowels remain beside one another in other dialects, as M. *paraññāyijjā*=*pranaṣṭoddyota*, *khañpā*=*khotpāta* (R. 9,77,78), *piñatthaññāññā*=*pinastanotthambhīññā* (H. 294), *muhāyuvūḍha*=*mukho-dyūḍha* (Śak. 88,2). False is Ś. *mōttīyūppatti*=*mauktikotpatti* (Viddhaś. 108,2), for which we should read *mōttīyūppati* [v.l. °*ppa*°]; as for example M. *piñmahuppatti*=*pitāmahotpatti* (R.1,17), AMg. *añkuruppatti* (Pañnav. 848) remain, and in Prab. 17,2 Ś. *pabohōppatti*=*prabodhoipatti* is to be corrected to *pabohuppatti*. Hiatus is the rule in all dialects in *ittihī*=*strī* (§147): AMg. *asurakumārāittihī*, *thanīyakumārāittihī*, *tirikkhajonīyāittihī*, *mañussāittihī*, °*devāittihī* (Vivāhap. 1394); JŚ. *paraññāññāloa*=*parastryāloka* (Kattig. 401,344), *bhūsaññāññāsaṃsagga* (Kattig. 402,358); Ś. *anteurāittihī* (Śak 38,5). However, there occurs also AMg. *mañussittihī*, *deviittihī*, beside *tirikkhajonīittihī* (Thāñ. 121); JŚ. *purisittihī* (Kattig. 401.345).

§161. Falling out of *a*, *ā* is also to be assumed before original or secondary *e*, *o*, but not before the *e*, *o* going back to Skt. *ai*, *au*<sup>1</sup>: *gāmeñī* (goat; Deśin. 2,84)=*grāma*+*eñī*; M. *ṇavelā*=*nava*+*elā*, *phullelā*=*phulla*+*elā* (R. 1,62,63), *ukkhaññīkkapāsa*=*uikhaññītaikapārśva* (R. 5,43); Ś. *avalambiderāvañahattha*=*avalambitairāvañahasta* (Mṛcch. 68,14), *silādālakkadesa*=*silātālakkadesa* (Śak. 56,11), *karuṇēkkamaṇa*=*karuṇāikamaṇas* (Mālatim. 251,7); M. *kusumōtthā*=*kusumāvastṛta* (R. 10,36), *paḍhamosaria*=*prathamāpasṛta* (H. 351), *bāhvaṃṭṭha*=*bāṣpāvamiṣṭa* (R.5,21), *jāloli* from *jāla—jvāla*+*oli*=*āvali* (§. 154; H. 589), as *vañoli*=*vana*+*āvali* (Hc. 2,177=H. 579, where *vañāli*, *vāoli*=*vāta*+*āvali*, *paholi*=*prabhā*+*āvali* (G. 555.1008); AMg. JM. *udāōlla* from *udaka*+*ōlla*=*\*udra*, (§111; Dasav. 625,27; Āv. 9,3), beside AMg. *udāōlla*=*udaka*+*ōlla* (Āyār. 2,1,6,6; 2,6,2,4); AMg. *vāseṇōlla*=*vārseṇa*+*ōlla*=(Uttar. 673); AMg. *mālohaḍa*=*māla* (platform; pedestal; Deśin. 6,146)<sup>2</sup>+*ohaḍa*=*avahṛta* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1; Dasav. 620,36), *maññiōlitta*=*maññī*=*mṛtīkī*+*olitta*=*avalīpta* (Āyār. 2,1,7,3); JM. *jaloḥa*=*jalaugha* (Erz. 3,26), *saññhāññasappiñi*<sup>3</sup>=*saññhāññasārjñi*<sup>3</sup> (Rṣabhap. 47); Ś. *guḍo-daṇa*=*guḍaudana* (Mṛcch. 3,12), *vasantodāra*=*vasanīvatāra* (Śak. 21,8), *kararuḥorampa*=*kararuḥa*+*orampa* (attack; Mālatim. 261,2; so to be read; cf. Deśin. 1,171; Pāiyāl. 198). Sometimes the vowels remain beside one another, as M. *vāñdolaṇaṇāṇāvia*=*vātāñdolanāvañamita* (H. 637); AMg. *khuddagaṇḍāvali*=*ksudrakakāvali* (Ovav. [§38]), *vīppahāyāolamba*=*vīprabhājītāvalamba* (Ovav. §4); JM. *sabhāōvāsa*=*sabhāvakāśa* (Āv. 15,12).

1. In cases like *ṇavelā*, *jaloḥa*, *guḍoḍaṇa* one may be in doubt. The proposition is proved with the-help of the compounds with secondary *e*, *o*, *o*, that have, therefore, been quoted as examples copiously.—2. Cf. JACOBI, SBE. XXII, 105 note 1.

§162. *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, as a rule, do not undergo *sañdhi* with a following dissimilar vowel (Hc. 1,6): M. *ṇahapḥahāvalīaruṇa*=*nahapḥahāvalīaruṇa* (Hc. 1,6), *rattīandhaa*=*rātryandhaka* (H.669), *saññhāvaḥavavūḍha*=*saññhāvaḥavavūḍha* (Hc.1,6); AMg. *jāññāriya*=*jāññāriya* (Thāñ.4,14), *jāññāndha*=*jāññāndha* (Sūyag. 438), *sattīagga*=*śaktyagra* (Dasav. 634,11), *puḍhaviñā*<sup>4</sup>=*\*prthivyāpāḥ* (Pañnav. 742), *paññavahiivaaraṇa*=*prāñtopadhīyupakarṇa* (Uttar. 350), *paḍāvīvasanta*=*prakṛtyupaśānta* (Vivāhap.100.174), *puḍhaviñāḍhaloḥa*=*prthivyūrdhvaloka* (Vivāhap. 920), *kadalūsuga*=*kadalī*+*ūsuga* (middle, inside; cf. BÖHLINGK 2, ūsa 1) b) c); Āyār. 2,1,8,12), *suhijjiya*=*svadhīta* (Thāñ. 190. 191), *bahuaññāriya*=*bahvasīka* (Āyār. 2,1,10,5 [to be read thus]. 6; Dasav. 621,4), *sāhuajjava*=*sādhvārjava* (Thāñ. 356), *sualāññiya*=*sualāññiya* (Dasav. 632,39), *kavīkacchuagaṇi*=*kavīkacchvagni* (Pañhāv. 537), *bahūosa*=*bahūosa* (Āyār. 2,1,4,1); also in secondary second vowels, as in AMg. *suisī*=*surī* (Pañhāv. 448), *bahūiddhi*=*bahūyādhi* (Nāyād. 990). Beside AMg. *caḅkkuññiya*=*caḅkkuññiya* (Samav. 17) more frequent is *caḅkkuññiya*=*caḅkkuññiya*

*cakṣas*+*indriya* (Samav. 69.73.77ff; Vivāhap. 32; Uttar. 822; Ovav. p. 40, VI). JM. *osappiṇiussappiṇi*<sup>0</sup>=*anasarpiṇyutsarpiṇi*<sup>0</sup> (Rṣabhap.47), *suṇṇuyatta*=*svanuvrtta* (Āv. 11,15), *meruāgāra* (7.5.8); Ś. *santiudaa*=*śāntyuṭaka* (Śak. 67,4), *uvarialindaa*=*uparyalindaka* (Mālatīm. 72,8;187,2), *uvvasiakkhara*=*urvaśyaḥṣara* (Vikr. 31,11), *sarassadīuvāṇa*=*sarasvatyupāyana* (Mālav. 16,19), *sīdāmaṇḍaviummilā*<sup>0</sup>=*sītāmāṇḍavyūrmilā*<sup>0</sup> (Bālar. 151,1), *dehacchavūlluṇṇicā*=*dehacchavyulluṇṇicā* (Prab. 45,11). Quite isolated is the dropping off of *i* in AMg. *itthatta*=*stryartha* (Dasav 638,18) and *kiṃcūna* from \**kiṃcūna*=*kiṃcidūna* (Samav. 153; Ovav. 30,II,e), as well as of the initial *i* in AMg. *bendīya* (Ṭhān. 275; Dasav. 615,8), *tendīy* (Ṭhān. 275.322), beside *beindīya*, *teindīya* (Ṭhān. 25,122.322 [ve<sup>0</sup>]; Samav. 228; Vivāhap. 30.31.93.144; Dasav. 615,8 [te<sup>0</sup>]=*dvindriya*, *trīndriya*. AMg. *īsāsa*=*iṣvāsa* (§117) is directly derived from Skt.

§163. *i* and *u*, as the final sounds of prefixes, with the following dissimilar vowels, undergo the same saṃdhi as prescribed in Skt. The group of sounds thus arising is treated according to the rules holding good for the individual dialects. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *accanta*=*atyanta* (G.; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Pav. 380,12;389,1; Mṛcch. 60,25; Mālav. 28,13); AMg. *accei*=*atyeti* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3); AMg. JM. *ajjhovavanna*=*adhyupapanna* (§77); M. *abbhāga*=*abhyāgata* (H.); JM. *abbhuvagacchāvīya*, *abbhuvagāya*=*abhyupagamita*, *abhyupagata* (Āv. 30,9.10); Ś. Mg. *abbhuvavanna*=*abhyupapanna* (Mṛcch. 28,18; Vikr. 8,12; Mg. Mṛcch. 175,18); M. AMg. Ś. A. *pañjatta*=*pariyāpta* (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Śak. 71,7; Vikr. 25,6; Hc. 4,365,2); M. Ś. *nivvūḍha*=*nirvūḍha* (G.H.R.; Mālatīm. 282,3); M. *aṇṇesai*, Mg. *aṇṇesadi*=*aṇṇesati* (G.; Mṛcch. 12,3); JM. Ś. Ā. *aṇṇesanta*=*aṇṇesat* (Erz.; Vikr. 52,20; Mṛcch. 148,7,8). The sound-groups *ty*, *ry*, especially in AMg. JM., are often divided by separation-vowels, in which case *y* disappears often in AMg. and JM., and always in the other dialects, so that the vowels, as in §162, come beside one another. M. *aiāra* (H.); JM. *aiyāyara* (Erz.)=\**aiyādera*=*atyādera*; AMg. *ṇāiunha*=*nātyuṣṇa* (Vivāhap.954), beside AMg. *accusiṇa* (Āyār.2,1,7,5), M. *accuṇha* (H.); M. *aiiujja* (H.), Ś. *adiujja* (Ratn. 309,24; Priyad. 43,15)=*atyujka*; AMg. *ahiyāsiijanti*=*adhyāyante* (Ovav.); JM. *paḍijjāgāya*=*pratyāgata* (Erz.), beside M. *pacāgāa* (H.), JM. *pacāgāya* (Erz.), Ś. *pacāgāda* (Uttārar. 106,10); AMg. *paḍijjākkhiya*=*pratyākkhiyāta*, beside *pacākkhāa* (§565); AMg. *paḍiuccāreyavva*=*pratyuccārayitavya* (Vivāhap. 34); AMg. *pariyāvanna*=*pariyāpanna* (Āyār. 2,1,9,6.11,7,8); AMg. *paliucchūḍha*=*paryutkṣubha* (§66); M. *viola*=*vyākula* (§166). In AMg., and sometimes in other dialects, the *i* of *prati* too, is thrown out before a dissimilar vowel following it. Thus beside AMg. M. *pāḍiēkka*=*pratyeka* (Hc.2,210;R.; Nāyādh. 1224; Vivāhap. 1206; Ovav. [read so in all the places for *pāḍiyakka*]) also *pāḍikka* for \**pāḍēkka* (§84; Hc. 2,210); *paḍamsuā*=\**pratyāśrut* (§115); *paḍāyāṇa*=\**pratyāḍāna* (§258); AMg. *paḍucca* for \**paḍiucca* from *vaccāi*=*urajati* (§202.590), *paḍucciya*=*prātītika* (Ṭhān. 38); AMg. *paḍuppanna*=*pratyuppanna* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1; Sūyag. 533; Ṭhān. 173.174; Vivāhap. 24.78.79.80.651; Jiv. 337.338; Anuog. 473.510ff.; Uvās.), JM. *apaḍuppanna* (Āv. 17,31); AMg. *paḍoyāra*=*pratyavatāra* (LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. and=*pratyupacāra* (§155; Vivāhap. 1235.1251), *paḍoyāreu*=*pratyupacārayatu*, *paḍoyāreha*=*pratyupacāreyata* *paḍoyāreṇti*=*pratyupacārayantu*, *paḍoyarijamaṇa*=*pratyupacāryamaṇa* (Vivāhap.1235.1251). On M. *pattīai*, JM. AMg. *pattiyāi*, Ś. Mg. *pattīādi*, AMg. *pattēya* see §281.487.

§164. A vowel, which remains after dropping off of a consonant (§186), is called *udvṛtta*<sup>1</sup>. An *udvṛtta* vowel, as a rule, undergoes no saṃdhi with a vowel previously existing (C.2,1 p. 37; Hc. 1,8; cf. Vr. 4,1). So

M. *uaa*=*udaka* (G. H. R.<sup>2</sup>); *gaa*=*gaja* and *gata*; *paavi*=*padavi* (G.H.); *saala*=*sakala*; *anurāa*=*anurāga*; *ghāa*=*ghāta* (H. R.); *kai*=*kati* (R.), = *kapi* (G. H. R.); *kavi* (G. H.); *jai*=*yadi*; *nai*=*nadi*; *gāi*=*gāyikā* (H.); *taūsi*=*trapuṣi* (H.); *paīra*=*pracura* (H.); *piā*=*priya*; *piāma*=*priyatama*; *piāsā*=*piṅpāsā* (H.); *riu*=*riṅpu*, *juala*=*yugala*; *rūa*=*rūpa*; *sūi*=*sūci* (G. H.); *aṇea*=*aneka* (G.H.); *joṇa*=*yojana* (R.); *loa*=*loka*. The rule holds good also for compounds of all kinds : M. *aira*=*acira*; *aūva*=*apūva*; *avaamsa*=*avatamsa* (H.R.); *āaa*=*āyata* (H.R.); *uwaūḍha*=*upagūḍha*; *paāva*=*pratāpa*; *paīva*=*praḍīpa*; *dāhiṅamsaāḍa*=*dakṣiṅāmśataḍa* (G.104); *saāṅha*=*satṅṣṅa* (H.). *golāāḍa*=*godātata* (H. 103); *disāāla*=*diktala* (R. 1,7); *vasahāindha*=*vrṣabhacihna* (G. 425); *niṣiara*=*niṣicara* (R.); *sāūrisa*=*satpuruṣa* (G. 992); *gandhatūḍi*=*gandhakuḍi* (G. 319); *golāūra*=*godāpūra* (H.231); *viiṅṅaūra*=*viṅṅatūrya* (R. 8,65); *guruṅa*=*guruṅana* (H.). So in all other dialects under similar conditions.

1. Hc. 1,8 calls the vowel *udvṛtta*. In C. 2,1 p. 37 it is called *uddhṛta*. Triv. 1,1,22; Sr. fol. 9; Narasiṅha 1,1,29; Appayadikṣita 1,1,22 call it *śeṣa*, a term that is not recommended, as Hc. 2,89 and Triv. 1,4,86 employ it for the consonant that is retained out of a group.—2. These quotations hold good for all the following words, under which nothing has not been noted.

§165. Udvṛtta vowels are sometimes contracted with preceding similar vowels. Thus *a*, *ā* with *a*, *ā* : *attamāṅa* beside *avatamāṅa*=*āvartamāṅa* (Hc.1,271); AMg. *āra* from *\*aara*=*avara* (Sūyag. 106.322) and JM. *āḍara* (Kk. II); *oāva* (time of the sun'set; Deśin. 1,162) = *\*oāāva*=*apagatātapa*, whereas *oāāa* (Triv. 1,4,121; ed. *oāava*; cf. also BB.13,13) is=*apavātaka*; *kālāsa* beside *kālāasa*, as according to Mk. always in Ś., =*kālāyasa* (Vr. 4,3; Hc. 1,269); A. *khāi* beside *khāai*=*khādai* (Vr. 8,27; one : Ki. 4,77; Hc. 4,228;419,1); A. *khāti*=*khānti*, *\*khānti*=*khādanti* (Hc. 4,445,4), *khāu*=*khādau* (Bh. 8,27), from which a root *khā* has been deduced, from which have been formed a future *khāhi* (§525), a second person singular imperative A. *khāhi* (Hc. 4,422,4.16) and a past passive participle *khāa*=*\*khāta* (Hc. 4,228); *gāṅa* from *gāṅa*=*gāyana* (Deśin. 2,108); *gāṅi* (trough for cattle; Deśin. 2,82) from *\*gāāṅi*, AMg. *gavāṅi* (Āyār. 2,10,19) =*gavādani*; Mg. *gomāṅ* from *\*gomāao*=*gomāyavaḥ* (Mṛcch. 168,20); A. *campāvaṅṅi*=*campakavarṅi* (Hc. 4,330,1); *chāṅa* (clothing; Deśin. 3,34) =*chādana*; A. *jāi* from *jaai*=*jayati* (Piṅgala. 1,85<sup>a</sup>); *dhāi* beside *dhāvai*=*dhāvati* (Vr. 8,27; Hc. 4,228), M. *uddhāi*=*uddhāvati* (R.), from which is deduced, as in the case of *khā*, a root *dhā*, from which are formed *dhāu* (Bh. 8,27), *dhāha* (Hc. 2,192), *dhāhi* (§525), *dhāo* Hc. 4,228); AMg. *pacchitta* (Samav. 91; Hc. 4,428), beside AMg. *pāyacchitta* (Jiyak. 18; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav; Kappas.) =*prāyascitta*; *pāvadaṅa*, beside M. *pāvadaṅa* (H. <sup>o</sup>pa<sup>o</sup>) =*pādapatana* (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 1,270; Mk. fol. 31); M. JM. Ś. *pāikka*=*pādātika* (§194) (Hc. 1,270; Mk. fol 31); AMg. *bhānti*=*pāvīdha* beside *pāvīdha*=*pādapīṭha* (Hc. 1,270; Mk. fol 31); AMg. *bhānti*=*bhadantah* (§366<sup>b</sup>); *bhāṅa*=*bhāṅana* (Vr. 4,4; Hc. 1,267; Ki. 2,151), whilst Ś., as noted by Mk., has only *bhāṅa* (Mṛcch. 41,6; Śak. 72,16;105,9; Prab. 59,4; Venis. 25,3,5; Mallikām. 289,3; Adbhutad. 2,15). On forms like *gāi*=*gāyati*, *jhāi*=*dhyāyati*, *jāi*=*jāyate*, *palāi*=*palāyate* see §479. 487,567.—*i*, *ī* get contracted with *udvṛtta i*, *ī* in M.A. *bia* (Hc. 1,5,248; 2,79; G. s.v. *viya*; H. s.v. *vīa*; R. s.v. *biia*; Piṅgala, 1,23,49.56.79.83), A. also *bia* (Piṅgala. 1,50), AMg. JM. *biya* (Vivāhap. 55; Uvās.; Kappas.; Ki. 21; Erz.), beside M. *biia*, AMg. JM. *biīya* (§82) =*divīya*; A. *īia* from *\*īiia*=*īṛīya* (Piṅgala. 1,49.59.70); AMg. *paḍiṅa*, *uḍiṅa*=*praticīna*, *udīcīna* (Āyār. 1,4,4,4; 1,6,4,2; Ovav. §4), *paḍiṅa* (Vivāhap. 1675f.), also shortened prosodically *paḍiṅa* (Dasav. 625,37; cf. §99); AMg. *siā*=*śibikā* (Āyār. p. 127,26; Nāyādh. 865ff.; 1021f, 1074.1097.1189.1497; Nirāyāv. 61.62;



Vivāhap. 275.277.362.1262; Ovav.; Kappas.), beside AMg. JM. *siṅyā* (Āyār. 127,15 [to be read so]; Ovav.; Erz.); in future, as JM. *hohi* beside M. JM. *hohi*=\*bhohiyati=\*bhaviṣyati (§521). JM. *vināsihī* (§527), *jarehī*, *nivārehī* (§528), *ehi*, A. *eṣi* (§529), JM. *dāhi* (§530), *sakkehī* (§531), AMg. JM. *kāhi* (§533), AMg. *nāhi* (§534). M. *cia* (H. 104) is=\*cīa from \*cītiya=cīya, AMg. *cī* in *civandana*=*cāityavandana*, according to Hc. 1,151 is=\*cūi=Skt. *citi*.-u, ū with the udvṛtta -u, ū, are contracted in AMg. *umbara* from *uumbara*, \**umbara*=*udumbara* (Vr. 4,2; Hc. 1,270; Kī. 2,152; Anuttar. 11; Nāyādh. §137; p 289.439; Ṭhān. 555; Jiv. 46.494; Niraṣvāp. 55, Paṇṇav. 31; Vivāhav. 807.1530).

§166. Sometimes *a*, *ā* becomes contracted with an udvṛtta *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*: *keṛi* from \**kāilī*=\**kadilī*=\**kadālī*' with *i* according to §101, and on the same model *kela* from \**kāila*=\**kadhla*=\**kadala* (Hc. 1,167.220)<sup>1</sup>; M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. thera* from \**thāira*=\**sthavira* (Hc. 1,166,2,89; Pāiyāl. 2; Deśin. 5,29; H. 197 [to be read so]; text *thera*); Kāvyaṣṛaṅgā 73,9=H. 983 [to be read so according to the best MS.; text *thera*]; Sarasvatik. 8,13 [*thera*]; Acyutaś. 32 [*thera*]; Ṭhān. 141.157.286; Vivāhap. 131.132.169.172.173.185.792; Uttar. 786; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Kk.; Anarghar. 63,4 [*thera*]; M. *Ṣ.* also *thavira* (Prab. 38,10 [ed. Bomb. P.M. *thavira*]; Nagān. 3,2 [v.l. *thavira*, *thera*]; M. *theri* (Pāiyāl. 107; H. 654 [text *theri*]; ed. Bomb. 7,52 *thera*<sup>0</sup>); AMg. *theraya* (Sūyag. 176), *theraga* (Sūyag. 334), *theriyā* (Kappas.); *therāṣaṇa* (lotus; Deśin. 5,29), *therosana* (lotus; Triv. 1,4,121)=\**sthavirāvāsana*<sup>2</sup>; *meḍambha* from \**māḍambha*=\**mṛgīdambha* (noose for catching a roe; Deśin. 6,139); *mehara* beside \**māihara*=\**matidhara* (headman; Deśin. 6,121); AMg. *vera* (Kappas. §45) from *vāira* (§135)=*vajra*; A. *eha*, *jeha*, *teha*, *keha* (H. 4,402) from and beside *aīsa*, *jāisa*, *tāisa*, *kāisa* (Hc. 4,403)=*īdrśa*, *vādrśa*, *tādrśa*, *kīdrśa* (§121); A. *j* for the common *jāi*=*yadi* (Piṅgala. 1,4<sup>a</sup>. 97 [GOLDSCHMIDT *jam*]); A. *de* beside *dāi*=*Ṣ. dāia*, absolutive from *daya* (§594). In AMg. A. -*ai*=*ati*, the ending of the third person singular, is sometimes contracted into -*e* in poetry. So AMg. *aṭṭe* (Sūyag. 412) from *aṭṭāi* (cf. *pariṭṭāi* (Hc. 4,230)=\**aṭya*'i from *aṭ* (not from *aṭṭa*=*ārta*), *kappe*=\**kalpati* (Āyār. 1,8,4,2), *bhuñje* from *bhuñjāi* (§507)=*bhunakti* (Āyār. 1,8,4,6,7), *abhībhas*=\**abhībhasate*, *paḍijākkhe*=\**pratyākhyāti* (§491), *seve*=\**sevati*, *paḍiseve*=\**pratiṣevati* (Āyār. 1,8,1,7.14.17.4,5); A. *ṇacce*=\**nṛiyati*, *sadde*=\**śabdati*=\**śabdayati*, *gaṅge*=\**garjati*, *boḷle*=\**boḷlāi* (Hc. 4,2), *ugge* from \**uggai*=\**udgāi* (goes up; Piṅgala. 2,82.90.228.268), *hose* (Prabandhac. 56,6) from *hosai* (Hc. 4,388.418,4)=\**bhoṣyati*=\**bhaviṣyati* (§521). Similarly are explained also AMg. *bemi* from \**bāimi*=\**bravimi* (§494).—A. *co*=\**cūi*=*catur* (Piṅgala. 1,65; GOLDSCHMIDT, however, reads *aṭṭha vi lahuā* for *co laghu kattha vi* of the ed. Bomb.), *covīsa*, *covisa* beside *cāūvisaha*=\**caturvimsati*, *cōūlisaha* beside *cāūūlisā*, AMg. *cōyālisam* beside *cāūyālisam*=\**caturvimsati*, *cōūtisam*=\**caturvimsati*, etc. (§445); M. *cōūtha* beside *cāūṭtha*=\**caturtha* (§449); *cōūddaha* beside A. *cāūddaha*, AMg. *cōūddasa* beside *cāūddasa*=\**caturdasa* (§443), AMg. *cōūddasama*=\**caturdasama* (§449); *cōūgguna* beside *cāūgguna*=\**caturguṇa*, *cōūvāra* beside *cāūvāra* (Hc. 1,171); *tovaṭṭa* beside *tāūvaṭṭa* (an ear-ornament; Deśin. 5,23,6,89); M. AMg. *poṃma*=\**padma* (Hc. 1,61; 2,112; Mk. fol. 31; Kāleyak. 14,15; Pārva ip. 28,15; Uttar. 752 (text *poṃam*)), *poṃmā*=\**padmā* (H.); M. *Ṣ. poṃmarā*=\**padmarāga* (Mk. fol. 31; H.; Karp. 47,2; 103,4 (Ṣ.); Viddhaś. 113,7 (Ṣ.); Pras. 121,8 [Ṣ.; text *poṃ*]); Bālar. 157,12 (Ṣ.); 168,4 (Ṣ.); M. *poṃmāsaṇa*=\**padmāsana* (Kāleyak. 3,11), from and beside M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. paūma*, *paūmarā* (§139); *bohāri* beside *bāūhāri* (brush; Deśin. 6,97; 8,17); A. *bhōhā* from \**bhāūhā*=\**bhamuḥa* (Piṅgala 2,98; §124.251); *moḍa* beside *maūḍi* (tress; Deśin. 6,117; Pāiyāl. 57), M. AMg. JM. *Ṣ. A. mora* (Vr. 1,8; Kī. 1,7; Mk. fol. 6; Pāiyāl. 42, H.;

Ānuog. 502,507; Nandis. 70; Paṇṇav. 526; Rāyap. 52; Kappas.; Kk.; Śak. 155,10; 158,13; Uttarak. 163,10; Jivān. 16,12; Vikr. 72,8; Piṅgala 2,90), A. *moraa* (Piṅgala 2,228), femin. M. Ś. *morī* (Śak. 85,2; Ś. Śak. 58,8; Viddhaś. 20,15), Mg. *mōlī* (Mr̥cch. 10,4 [to be so read], AMg. *moraga*=*mayūra*ka (Āyār. 2,2,3,18) from and beside M. AMg. JM. Ś. *maūra* (Grr.; G.; Paṇṇav. 54; Dasav. N. 662,36; Erz.; Vikr. 32,7; Mallikām. 220,20), AMg. *mayūra* (Vivāgas. 187,202), *mayūratta*=*mayūrata* (Vivāgas. 247), Mg. *maūlaka* (Śak. 159,3), femin. AMg. *mayūri* (Nāyādh. 475,490,491). *mora* has gone into Skt. too, and consequently it has been treated as Skt. by Hc.1,171. M. *mōha*=*mayūkha* (Grr.; R.1,18) from and beside M. Ś. *maūha* (Grr.; Pāiyāl. 47; G.H.R.; Prab. 46,1); M. *viola* from \**viāula*=*vyākula* (Deśin. 7,63; R.; cf. §162)<sup>4</sup>; A. *saṁhāro* from *saṁharau*=*saṁharatu* (Piṅgala 2,43). Cf. also *kohala*, *samāra*, *somāla* §123, o §155. M. AMg. *bora*=*badara* (Vr. 1,6; Hc. 1,170; Kī. 1,8; Mk. fol. 5; G.H.; Paṇṇav. 531; Vivāhap. 609,1256,1530), AMg. *borī*=*badarī* (Hc. 1,170; Mk. fol. 5; Pāiyāl. 254; Anuttar. 9) presuppose one \**badura*, \**badurī*<sup>5</sup>. AMg. *būra* (v.l. *pūra*; Jiv. 489,509,559; Rāyap. 57; Uttar. 986; Vivāhap. 182; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.) is not=*badara*, but=*pūra* (citron-tree) which will be the correct reading. The scholiasts generally explain it as *vanaspativiśeṣa*.<sup>6</sup> Obscure is *pora*=*pūta* (Hc. 1,170).

1. FISCHEL, KZ. 34,572; not correctly JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,575; KZ. 35,573.—  
2. FISCHEL BB. 13,3.—3. FISCHEL, Deśin. Introduction p. 7.—4. FISCHEL, GGA., 1880, p. 335.—5. FISCHEL, KZ. 34,572; falsely JACOBI, ZDMG: 47,575; KZ. 35,573. According to Mk. fol. 66 Ś. has *baara* only.

§167. In compounds too the udvṛtta vowel is sometimes contracted with the final vowel of the first member: M. A. *andhāra*=*andhakāra* (Mk. fol. 31; H.; Piṅgala. 1,117<sup>a</sup>; 2,90), A. *andhāraa* (Hc. 4,349), M. *andhāria*=*andhakārita* (H.), JM. *andhāriya* (Erz.; Kk.), beside M. Ś. *andhāra* (G.H.R.; Mr̥cch. 44,19; 80,9; 88,17; 138,3; Śak. 141,7; Priyad. 51,12; Karp. 85,6; Mallikām. 209,17; Prab. 14,17; Cait. 40,15), Mg. *andhāla* (Mr̥cch. 14,10 22; 16,22), AMg. JM. *andhāyāra* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; R̥sabhap.), JM. *andhāyāriya* (Erz.); M. JM. A. *āa* from and beside *āaa*=*āgata* (Hc. 1,268; H.; Āv. 8,47; Piṅgala 2,255,264); *kamśāla*=*kām-syātāla* (Hc. 2,92), Ś. *kamśātāla* (Mr̥cch. 69,24); AMg. *kammāra*=*karmakāra* (Jiv. 295) and other compounds with *kāra*, like AMg. *kumbhāra*=*kumbhakāra* (Hc. 1,8; Mk. fol. 32; Uvās.), beside *kumbhāra* (Grr.), AMg. *kumbhakāra* (Uvās.), JM. *kumbhagāra* (Erz.), D. *cammaāraa*=*cammakāraaka* (Mr̥cch. 104,19), M. *mālārī*=*mālākārī* (H.; Deśin. 1,146,114), AMg. *lohāra*=*lohakāra* (Jiv. 293), M. *valāraa*=*valayakāraaka* (H.), *soṇāra*=*svaṇṇakāra* (§66), AMg. *dodhāra*=*dviddhākāra* (Thān. 401); A. *piārī*=*priyakārī* (Piṅgala 2,37); JM. *khandhāra*=*skandhāvāra* (Mk. fol. 32; Erz.), beside *khandhavāra* (Erz.); M. *cakkāa*=*cakravāka* (Hc. 1,8; Kī. 2,151; Mk. fol. 32; Candrasekhara on Śak. 88,2 p. 192; G.R.; Śak. 88,2), AMg. *cakkāga* (Paṇṇav. 54); AMg. *ṇiṇṇāra*=*nirṇagara* (Vivāhap. 1277); AMg. *nimboliyā*=*nimbagulikā* (Nāyādh. 1152,1173); *talāra*=*talavāra* (Deśin. 5,3; Triv. 1,3,105; FISCHEL, BB. 3,261); *pāra* beside *pāara*=*prākāra* (Hc. 1,268); M. *pāraa* (Hc. 1,271; H.; Ind. Stud. 16,78, at 184) beside *pāvāraa*=*prāvāraaka*; *pārāa* beside *pārāvaa*=*pārāvata* (Bh. 4,5; cf. §112); M. *pāvālīa*=*prapāpālīkā* (H.); JM. *varisāla*=*varśākāla* (Erz.); *vāraṇa* beside *vāraṇa*=*vyākaraṇa* (Hc. 1,268); M. *sālāhaṇa*=*sātāvāhana* (Hc. 1,8,211; H.); M. *sāhāra*=*sāhakāra* (Karp. 95,1); AMg. *sūmāla* beside *sukumāla*=*sukumāra* (§123); *sūrisa*=*beside suurisa*=*supuruṣa* (Hc. 1,8). As compounds are treated M. *jālā*, *tālā* (Hc. 3,65; Mk. fol. 46; Dhvanyāloka 62,4) too; falsely even in Ś. (Mallikām. 87,11; 124,14) and Mg. (Mallikām. 144,3) = \**yāt kālāt*, \**tāt kālāt*, *kālā* (Hc. 3,65; Mk. fol. 46) = \**kāt kālāt* (FISCHEL, BB. 16,172). Cf. also §254.

§168. In some cases *a* at the end of the first member of a compound is elided before a dissimilar udvṛtta vowel that is at the beginning of the second member : *indova* from \**indaova*=*indragopa* (Pāiyā. 150; Deśin. 1,81), beside AMg. *indagova* (Aṇuog. 344), *indagovaga* (Uttar. 1062), °*ya* (Paṇṇav. 45); *indovatta*=\**indragopātma* (cochineal; Deśin. 1,81); *gharoli* from \**gharaoli*=\**gharagoli*=*grhagoli* (domestic multipede; Deśin. 2,105), AMg. *gharoliyā*=*grhagolikā* (Panhāv. 22; Paṇṇav. 53 [text *gharoilā*]); *gharola* from \**gharaola*=\**gharagola*=*grhagola(ka)* (a kind of home-made pastry; Deśin. 2,106); M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. Dh. *deula*=*devakula* (Hc. 1,271; Mk. fol. 33; H.; Aṇuog. 387; Nāyādh. 535; T. 4,9,7,18; Erz.; Mṛcch. 151,14; Kārṇas. 25,1; Mṛcch. 29,24;30,11.12), beside and from JM. Ś. *devaūla* (Hc.; Mk.; Erz.; Vidhās. 59,7; Cait. 134,10.14), AMg. *devakula* (Āyār. 2,2,2,8;2,10,14;2,11,8; Panhāv. 521; Nāyādh. 581; Kappas.); JM. *deuliyā*=*devakulikā* (Āv. 31,10); JM. D. *rāula*=*rājakula* (Bh. 4,1; Hc. 1,267; Mk. fol. 32; Erz.; Mṛcch. 105,4), Mg. *lāula* (Lalitav. 565,7.9.15;566,13.12; Mṛcch. 36,22; 135,2), falsely in Ś. (Prab. 47,5,9;49,13.15; ed. M. has throughout *lāūla*, ed. P. 47,9), where *rāūla* (Grr.) is to be read, as stands in Śak. 115,3.6; 119,1; Ratn. 309,9; Nāgān. 57,3; Priyad. 9.13. In Prab. 32,9 for Mg. *lājāūla* (ed. M. *rājāūla*) we should read *lāūla*; JM. has *rājāūla* (Erz.)<sup>1</sup> also; Mg. *lāūtta* from \**lāūtta*=*rājaputra* (Śak. 114,1; 115,7.9; 116,9; 117,5); *vāūtta* beside *vāūtta*=*vātaputra* (Deśin. 7,88).

1. Cf. Candrasekhara on Śak. 114,1 (p. 197) *rāulaśabda* [so to be read] *iṣvare deśi*. In this sense the word stands in Prab. as in Skt. too in the inscriptions (KIELHORN, EI.4, 312, note 7). Quite falsely JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,576.

§169. In the sentence as a rule vowels remain unchanged in the auslaut, whether they originally stood next to one another or have afterwards come together through dropping out of a consonant. PG. *kāmcipurā aggiṭṭhoma*° =*kāncipurād agniṣṭoma*° (5,1), *sivakhaṇḍavamo amhaṇ visaye*=*śivaskandavarmas-mākaṇ viṣaye* (5,2), *govallave amacce ārahādihikate*=*govallavān amātyān ārah-ṣādihikrān* (5,5), *tī api ca āpiṭṭiyam*=*ityapi cāpīṭṭiyām* (6,37), *tī eva*=*ityeva* (6,39), *tasa khu amhe*=*tasya khalvasme* (7,41), *sakakāle uparilikhitam*=*svakakāla uparilikhitam* (7,44); M. *na a me icchāi*=*na ca ma icchayā* (H. 555), *taṇ si aviniddā*=*tvamasyaviniddā* (H. 66), *duṭṭhūna uṇṇamante*=*drṣṭvonnamatā* (H. 539), *jivie āsaṅho*=*jivitā āśamsā* (R. 1,15), *paattāū uahī*=*pravartatām-udadhī* (R. 3,58); *āmuai aṅgāim*=*āmuñcatyaṅgāim* (R. 5,8), *jāo elāsura-himmi*=*yāta elāsuraabhau* (G. 417), *so esa kesavo vvasamuddam uddāma*°=*sa eṣa keśava upasamudramuddāma*° (G. 1045); AMg. *atthi me āyā ovavāie*=*asti ma ātmaupapātikah* (Āyār. 1,1,1,3), *cattāri ee*=*catvāra ete*, (Dasav. 632,7) *tāo ajjāo ejjamāṇo pāsai*=*tā āryā eyamānāḥ paṣyati* (Nirayāv. 59), *ege āha*=*eka āha* (Sūyag. 74), *klūne āummi*=*klūṇa āyusi* (Sūyag. 212), *jo imāo diśāo anudisāo atusamcarai*=*ya imā diśā anudisāo nusaṃcarati* (Āyār. 1,1,1,4). So also the rest of the dialects.

§170. *na* (not) not rarely undergoes saṁdhi with the initial vowel of the following word, especially when the latter is a verb : M. AMg. JM. JŚ.Ś. *natthi*=*nāsti* (e.g. G.H.R. s.v. *as*; Āyār. 1,1,1,3; Āv. 9,9; Pav. 380,10; Mṛcch. 2,24), Mg. *nasti* (e.g. Mṛcch. 19,11 [text *natthi*]); M. *nāmi*=*na + amī* (G. 246), *nalliai*=*na + alliai* (R. 14,5); M. JŚ.Ś. *nāham*=*na + aham* (H. 178; Pav. 384,36; Vikr. 10,13); M. *nāulabhāva*=*na + ākulabhāva* (G. 813), *nāga*=*na + āgata* (H. 856), *nālavai*=*na + ālapati* (H. 647); AMg. JŚ. *neva*, *neva*=*na + eva* (Āyār. 1,1,3,3.4,1; Pav. 384,59), M. *nea* (G.H.R.); AMg. *nānāgama*=*na + anāgama* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2), *nābhijānai*=*nābhijānāni* (Āyār. 1,5,1,3), *nārabhe*=*na + ārabheta* (Āyār. 1,5,3,4), *nābhībhāsiṃsu*=*na + abhi*°, *nāivattai*=*na + ativartate* (Āyār. 1,8,1,6); Ś. *nāgādā*=*na + āgata* (Mālatīm. 72,6); Mg.

*nāścadi*=*na*+*āgacchati* (Mṛcch. 116,5,19;117,11); AMg. JM. *nāidūra* (Uvās. §208; Ovav. §33; Nāyādh. §7; Erz. 22,23), Ś. *nādidūra* (Mālatim. 30,8), Mg. *nādidūla* (Caṇḍak. 66,13)=*na*+*atidūra*; Ś. *nārihadī*=*na*+*arhati* (Sak. 24,12); M. *ne'cchai*=*na*+*icchati* (H. 205), Ś. *ne'cchadi* (Śak. 73,4), Mg. *ne'ścadi* (Mṛcch. 11,1); Ś. *nālaṅkīdā*=*na*+*alaṅkīyā* (Mṛcch.18,10), *nodaradi*=*na*+*avatarati* (Mṛcch. 108,21). In such cases *na* is proclitic and is treated as the first member of a compound. This holds good also for the root *jñā*, which after *na* very often, drops its initial *ja*, which, as in the anlaut, is changed into *ya* in AMg. JM.: M. *na ānāmi*, *na ānāsi*, *na ānāi*, *na ānāmo*, *na ānaha*, *na ānanti*; AMg. JM. *na jānāmi* (Nāyādh. 84; Āv. 29,19), JM. *na jānāsi*, *na jānāi*, AMg. *na jānāmo*; Ś. *na ānāmi* (Mṛcch. 52,16;65, 11; Vikr. 43,14;46,1); Mg. *na ānāmi* (Mṛcch. 140,12); Ś. D. *na ānādi*; D. *na ānāsi*, Ś. *na ānādi*=*na jñāyate*; M. AMg. Ś. *na āne*=*na jāne*. References in § 457.510.548. This formation is quite analogous to compounds such as Ś. *aānāntena*=*ajānatā* (Mṛcch. 18,22;63,24). *aānā*=*ajānāvā* (Śak. 50,13), AMg. *viyānāi*, Ś. Mg. *viānādi*, AMg. *pariyānāi*, Mg. *paccahīnādi* (§510). In most of the cases, however, *na* is not proclitic, and, therefore, as a rule it remains unchanged before all vowels, as M. *na ittham*=*neṣṭam* (H. 501), *na īsā*=*nerṣyā* (H. 829), *na uttarai*=*nottarati* (H. 271), *na ei*=*naiti* (R. 14,43). *na ohasi*=*nāvahasitā* (H. 60); AMg. *na ambile*, *na unḥe*, *na itthi*, *na annahā*=*nāmlaḥ*, *noṣṇaḥ*, *na stri*, *nānyathā*, beside *natti* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4), and so in all dialects.<sup>1</sup>

1. Cf. LASSEN, Inst. p. 193; BOLLENSON on Vikr. p. 193,302; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 32,104.

§171. As in isolated cases in Skt., *na* may be used as the first member of a compound instead of *a*, *an* in Pkt. too. M. *naśahiāloa*=*asodhāloka* (G.364), *naśahiapaḍiboha*=*asodhapratibodha* (G. 1162), *naḥapuppanta*=*aḥrabhat* (G.16, 46), *naḥahutta*=*aḥrabhūta* (G. 114), for which R. 3,57 has *naḥahutta* with *pa* treated as a medial sound for the sake of rhyme. One may also like to consider this *na* in AMg. in cases like *taṃ maggaṃ nūttaraṃ*=*taṃ mārgam-anūttaram* (Sūyag. 419); *disaṃ nantajineṇa*=*disamanantajinena* (Āyār. 2,16,6); *diṭṭhiṃ nantāhiṃ*=*drṣṭibhiranantābhīḥ*, *muttisuhāṃ nantāhiṃpi* [text vi] *vaggāvaggūhiṃ*=*muktisukham anantairāpi vargavagnubhiḥ* (Paṇnav. 135); *aggivannāṃ negaso*=*agnivarnāny anekasaḥ* (Uttar. 598); *egapaḥ negāṃ padāṃ*=*ekapade'nekāni padāni* (Paṇnav. 63), *e'ssanti nantaso*=*esyantyanantaśaḥ* (Sūyag. 45.56.71); *bandhaṇehi negehi*=*bandhanairanekaiḥ* (Sūyag. 225); *gaṇḍavacchāsu* [text °vatthā°] *negacittāsu*=*gaṇḍavacchāsvanekacittāsu* (Uttar. 252); *itto nantagunīyā*=*ito* \**nantagunīkāḥ* (Uttar. 599); *virāyae negagunovavee*=*virājate nekagunopetaḥ* (Sūyag. 309); *buddehi nāṇṇā*=*buddhair anācīrṇā* (Dasav.627,16). As, however, the dropping off of the initial *a* occurs in all the analogous cases (§175), and the texts always write *n*, never *na*, we shall have here to assume the dropping off of *a*. Hence in transcription we should write *maggaṃ nūttaraṃ*, etc.

§172. Besides in the case of *na* contraction takes place within the sentence more frequently only when one of the words is a pronoun, an adverb, a preposition, or in the case of a substantive used as a preposition, in which proclisis or enclisis of the particles has to be assumed. Such a contraction occurs especially in AMg. JM. So AMg. *ahāvarā*=*athāparā* (Āyār. 2,1,11, 4ff.; 2,2,3,19ff.; 2,5,1,7ff. etc.), *na jāham*=*na cāham* (Āyār. 1,7,6,1), *jeṇāham*=*jeṇāham* (Uttar. 241); JM. *jeṇāham* (Erz.17,14), *jeṇāṇijāham*=*jeṇānitāham* [Erz. 8,23], *ihāḍavie*=*ihāṭavyām* (Erz. 30,13), M. *sahasāgaassa*=*sahasāgatasya* (H. 297); AMg. *purāsi*=*purāsiti* (Sūyag. 898); JM. *sahāmaccena*=

*sahāmātyena* (Āv. 11,18); AMg. *dāriḡeyam*=*dārikeyam* (Dasav. N. 648,2); M. *na hujjalā=na khalūjjvalā* (on H. 993); AMg. *no hūvaṇamanti=no khalūpanamanti* (Sūyag. 100), *ē'thovarae=atroparataḡ* (Āyār. 1,6,2,4); JM. *siharovari=śikharopari* (T. 5,10); Ś. *mamovari=mamopari* (Mṛcch. 41,22); JŚ. *jassedha* [text °eha]=*yasyeha* (Pav. 382,24). On *ajjāvi, keṇāvi, teṇāvi* etc. see §143. Contraction occurs more rarely in other cases, like AMg. *samāsajjāvitahaṃ=samāsādyāvitatham* (Āyār. 1,7,8,17), *jānittāyariyassa=jñātoścāryasya* (Uttar. 43), *kammāṇāṇaphalā=karmānyajñānaphalāni* (Uttar. 113), *tahosuyāro=tatheśuk-āraḡ* (Uttar. 422), *iṣiṇāhāra-m-āṇi=rṣiṇāhārāḡini* (Dassav. 626,6); JM. *mānuse-sūvavannā, tirikkhesūvavannā=manusyēśūpapannā, \*tiryakṣēśūpapannā* (Āv. 17,22, 23), *paḡikappienāḡao=pratikalpitenāḡataḡ* (Erz. 32,18), *subuddhināmeṇāmac-ceṇa=subuddhināmnāmātyena* (Erz. 17,19). In AMg. in verses sometimes even the vowels, that have come together, first after a secondary fashion, are contracted. So : *esovarae=eṣa uparataḡ* (Āyār. 1,1,5,1); *wasaggā bhīmāsi=upasargā bhīmā āsan* (Āyār. 1,8,2,7); *tamhāvivijjo=tasmād atividyah* (Āyār. 1,4,3,3); *buddhāṇusāsanti=buddhā anuśāsati* (Uttar. 33); *parājyāvā-sappāmo=parājitā apasarpāmaḡ* (Sūyag. 186); *akayākara nāṇabhigayā'ya=akṛta-karaṇā anabhigatāś ca* (Jiyākappa 73). Also after a toneless nasal in *maggā-ṇusāsanti* for *maggā anuśāsanti=mārgamanuśāsati* (Sūyag. 465.517), *addhā-ṇugacchāi, panthāṇugāmie* for *addhā aṇugacchāi, panthā aṇugāmie=adhvānam aṇugacchāi, panthānam \*aṇugāmikah* (Sūyag. 59). Cf. §173.175.

§173. In the auslaut vowels are often thrown out in M. JŚ., and especially in JM.AMg. before a vowel in the anlaut : M. *jeṇ' ahaṃ=yenāham* (H. 441), *tu jjh' avarāhe=tavāparādhe* (H. 277); JM. *kuṇāleṇ' imaiṃ=kuṇālenemam* (Āv. 8,16), *tāyass' ānaṃ=tātasayājñām* (Āv. 8,18), *jeṇ' evaṃ=yenāvam* [Erz. 14,8] *iḡ' eva=ihaiva* (Āv. 29,14; Erz. 17,3;20,14), *jāv' eṣā=yāvad eṣā* (Erz. 53,28), *taḡ' eva=tathaiva* (Āv. 12,26;27,19), *tass' aṇṇesaṇattham=tasyāṇveṣaṇārtham* (Erz. 13,18); JŚ. *ten' iha* (Pav. 387,21) *jatth' atthi=yatrāsti* (Kattig. 401, 353), *ten' uvāiṭṭho=tenopadiṣṭah* (Kattig. 398,304); AMg. *akkhāy' anelisam=ākhyāyānidṛśam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,15), *jatth' atthamie, jatth' avasappanti, jatth' agani=yatrāstamitah, yatrānūvasarpanti, yatrāḡṇiḡ* (Sūyag. 129.181.273), *vuḡḡheṇ' aṇusāsie=vrddhenānuśāsitaḡ* (Sūyag. 515), *ubhāyass' antareṇa=ubhaya-syāntareṇa* (Uttar. 32), *vinnavaṇ' itthiṣu=vijñāpanā strīṣu* (Sūyag. 208.209), *jeṇ' uvahammāi=yenopahanyate* (Dasav. 627,13), *jaḡ' ē'ttha=yathātra* (Āyār. 1,5,3,2), *vipḡadivann' ege=vipratipannā eke* (Sūyag. 170), *tass' āharaha=tasyā-harata* (Āyār. 2,1,11,2). *i* has dropped off e.g. in AMg. JM. *nattḡ' ē'ttha=nāstyatra* (Āyār. 1,4,2,5; Erz. 10,21) against Ś. *natti ē'ttha* (Śak. 121,5); AMg. *jam' ime=yasminnime* (Āyār. 1,2,6,2), *sant' ime=santime* (Āyār. 1,1,6,1; Sūyag. 65; Uttar. 200; Dasav. 625,25;626,36); *vāyanti' ege=vadantyeke* (Sūyag. 37), *cattār' itthiyāo=catasrah striyaḡ* (Ṭhāṇ. 247), *cattār' antaradivā=cavāro 'ntara-dvipāḡ* (Ṭhāṇ. 260) in poetry, beside °ri a° in prose and *cattāri agani=caturō ḡṇiḡ* (Sūyag. 274) in poetry, *kīlanti' anne=krīḡantanyane, taranti' ege=tarantyeke* (Uttar. 504.567), *tinn' udahī, doṇni' udahī=traya udadhayaḡ, dāvū-dadhī* (Uttar. 996.1000), *dalām' ahaṃ=dalayāmy.* (=dadāmy) *aham* (Uttar. 663). *e* has dropped off for example in AMg. *s' evam=sa evam* (Āyār. 1,7,3,3;2,3,1, 1ff.), *paḡḡham' ittha=prathamō'tra* (Nandis. 74), *tubbh' ē'ttha=yuṣme atra, im' ee=ima ete, manṇ' erisam=manya idṛśam* (Uttar. 358.439.571), *im' eyāṛive=ayametadrūpaḡ* (Vivāgas. 116; Vivāhap. 151.170.171; Uvās.). *o* has dropped off in AMg. *gurun' antie* for *guruṇo antie=gurorantike* (Uttar. 29; Dasav. 632,22). Anusvāra has dropped off after weakening of the nasal sound, for example, in AMg. *niyājivāṇ' aṇantāṇam=niyogajivāṇām anantāṇām* (Paṇṇav. 42), *cariss' ahaṃ* for *carissam ahaṃ=carisyāmyaham* (Sūyag. 239), *puccḡiss' ahaṃ* for *puccḡissam ahaṃ=apṛākṣamaham* (Sūyag. 259), *veṇāyāṇ' u vāyam=vainyikāṇām u vādam* (Sūyag. 322), *vipḡarijās' uve ni=viparyāsam upayanti*

(Sūyag. 468,497), *dukkhāṇ' antakaro=dukkhānām antakaraḥ* (Uttar. 1005), *siddhāṇ' ogāhaṇā=siddhānām avagāhaṇā* (Ovav.171), *paḍham' ittha=prathamam- atra* (Kappas. Th. §9), *im' eṅārūvaṃ=imametadrūpaṃ* (Āyār. 2,15,24; Kappas. §94), *im' erisaṃ aṅāyāraṃ=imamīḍṣasamanācāraṃ* (Dasav.626,27); JM. *moriyavaṇṣāṇ' amhaṃ=mauryavaṇṣānāmasmākam* (Āv.8,17), *im' erisaṃ=imamīḍṣam* (Āv. 25,26). Almost all the examples are found in verses. In the very frequent AMg. *no iṅ' atthe samatthe* (Sūyag. 852,986,992; Paṇṇav. 366; Nāyādh. 570; Vivāhap. 37.44.46ff.79.106.112ff.204; Ovav. § 69,74; Uvās. s.v. *samattha*), beside *no iṅam atthe samatthe* (Ovav. §94) "that is not the case" *iṅ'* is to be taken, with Hc.3,85, as the nom. sing. of the neuter, which, otherwise also in AMg. (§357), is connected with the masculine.<sup>1</sup> Very rarely a final vowel has dropped off in other dialects, as in Ś. *etiḥ' antare* (Mṛcch. 40,23; also in JM. Erz. 17,30); Mg. *tav' edeṇa=tavaitena* (Mṛcch. 12,19) in the verse.

1. Not correctly WEBBER, Bhag. 1,409, where occurs a collection on the *saṃdhi* from Vivāhap., E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 50, HOERNLE, Uvās. Translation, note 107. Cf. LEUMANN, WZKM. 3,344f.

§174. In AMg. the final vowels of *api* and *iti*, with an initial dissimilar vowel, sometimes undergo the *saṃdhi* prescribed in Skt.: *appa=apy* fuses with *eka* and *\*ekatyā* into one word, as in Pāli: *appege=\*apyekaḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5f.), *appege=\*apyeke* (Āyār. 1,1,6,5), *jaṃsi, taṃsi 'pbege=yasmin tasminn \*apyeke* (Āyār. 1,8,2,13), beside medial *vi ege* (Āyār. 1,5,4,1), *vi ee* (Uttar. 1016), and *v' ege* (Āyār. 1,5,5,2; 1,6,4,1; Sūyag.234), *v' ee* (Vivāhap. 101,180), *v' eg'evam āhaṃsu=\*apyeka evam āhuḥ* (Sūyag. 240), *evam p' ege* (Āyār. 1,6,1,1.2), *puvvaṃ p' eyaṃ paçchā v'* [so to be read] *eyaṃ=pūrvama- pyetatpaścādapyetat* (Āyār. 1,5,2,3); AMg. *appegāyā=Pāli appekacce=\*apyekatyāḥ* (Ovav.); also in JM. *io pp' eva=ito 'pyeva* (Āv. 19,23). Likewise *ii*: AMg. *iccāi=ityādi* (Kappas. § 196ff.); *iceva* (Āyār.1,5,5,3; Sūyag.557), *icce' ege* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2), *iccattham* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1), *iccevaṃ* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3), *iccee* (Āyār. 1,1,3,7.4,7; 1,5,4,5), *iccehim* (Āyār. 1,2,1,5), *icceyāo icceyāsīm* (Āyār. 2,1,11,10.11), *icceyāvanti* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4). In Ś. Mg. *nu*, before *etad* becomes *no* and then fuses with it in a word: Ś. *evam (ēvām) nedaṃ=evam noeta* (Mṛcch. 22,16;57,20; Śak. 2,5;45,13;71,6; Prab. 8,6; Ratn. 292,8), *kiṃ nedaṃ=kiṃ noeta* (Mṛcch. 3,2;27,17;40,17;54,15;60,4;97,14; 117,17;169,20;171,4;172,22; Vikr. 25,18;31,4; Ratn. 301,28), likewise Mg. (Mṛcch. 40,8;134,17;171,5), and against the dialect (§429) *taṃ nidam=tannvidam* (Lalitav. 566,20).

§175. An initial *a* in verses, after *e*, *o*, is sometimes elided as in Skt. M. *piō' 'jja=pryo'dya* (H. 137); AMg. *āsine 'nelisaṃ=āsino 'nīḍṣam* (Āyār. 1,7,8,17), *phāse 'hiyāsae=sparśānadhyaṣayet* (Āyār. 1,7,8,18), *se 'bhinnāyadāsaṇe=so' bhinnātmadarśanaḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,10), *sisam se 'bhitāvejanti=śiṛsamasyābhitāpayanti* (Sūyag. 280), *se 'nutappaḥ=so 'nutapyate* (Sūyag. 226), *wasante 'nihe=upaśānto 'nihah* (Sūyag. 365), *tīppamāno 'hiyāsae=īṣyamāno 'dhyāṣayet* (Āyār. 1,7,8,10), *inaṃo 'bbavī=īdamabravīt* (Sūyag. 259), *ābhogao 'ibahuso=ābhogato 'tibahuṣaḥ* (Jīyak. 44), *bālo 'varajjhaḥ=bālo 'parādhyate* (Dasav. 624,32); Mg. *snāde 'ham=snāto 'ham* (Mṛcch. 136,11). In prose dropping off of *a* occurs in the standing formula AMg. *ṇamo' 'tthu ṇam=namo 'stu nūnam* (§498) and in JM. in *aham*, as in *tie 'ham=tasyāmaham* (Erz. 12,22), *tao 'ham=tato 'ham, jāo 'ham=jāto 'ham* (Erz. 9,36;53,34). In AMg., seldom in JM.M., in poetry, initial *a* too frequently drops off even after vowels other than *e*, *o*. Thus after *ā* in *paḷijjamaṇā' 'ttataram=pāyyamānā' ārtataram* (Sūyag.282); after *i* in *jāja-rāmaranehi' bhiddūa=jājjarāmaranairabhidrutah* (Sūyag.156), *ciḥṭhanti' bhitappa-*

*mānā*=*tiṣṭhantyaabhitapyamānāh* (Sūyag. 274), *sūlāhi* 'bhitāvayanti=*sūlābhir abhitāpayanti* (Sūyag. 280.289), *jāvanī* 'vijjāpurisā=*yāvanto 'vidyāpuruṣāh* (Uttar. 215), *novālabhāmi* 'ham=*nopalāhe 'ham* (Uttar. 575), *cattārī* 'bho 'jāim=*catvāry-abhōjyāni* (Dasav. 626,6), *jai* 'ham=*yadyaham* (Dasav. 641,21), as M. too has *vejaraṇī* 'bhiduggā=*vaitaranyabhidurgā* (Sūyag. 270), *lahai* 'bhidugge=*labhate 'bhidurge* (Sūyag. 277), *jamsī* 'bhidugge=*yusminnabhidurge* (Sūyag. 287.297 [°*duggamsī*]), *nadi* 'bhiduggā (Sūyag. 297); after *u* in JM. *dosu* 'bhiggā=*dvayorabhiḡrahaḡ* (Āv. 19,36); also after anusvāra with weakening of the nasal sound, as in AMg. *kaham* 'bhitāvā=*kathamabhitāpāh* (Sūyag. 259), *vejaraṇim* 'bhiduggam=*vaitaranimabhidurgām* (Sūyag. 270), *vajraṇam* 'bhiuṅje=*vacana-mabhiyuṅje* (Sūyag. 529). False in prose is *tesim* 'tie (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), for which, according to the commentators, we have to write *tesim antie*. Cf. §171.172.173. Even vowels, other than *a*, sometimes drop off in AMg. after *e*, *o*; so *i* in *je* 'me for *je ime*=*ya ime* (Sūyag. 454), *je* 'ha for *je iha*=*ya iha* (Sūyag. 304); *e* in AMg. *akāriṇo* 'ttha=*akāriṇo 'tra* (Uttar. 290), *anno* 'ttha=*anyo 'tra* (Uttar. 791), M. ko 'ttha (H. 364), *a* d after the weakened nasal sound in M. JM. *kim tha*=*kim e'ttha*=*kim atra* (H. s.v. *tha*; Āv. 26,9).

#### m) EPENTHESIS

§176. The separation vowel *i* in the sound-group *ry* (§134) has sometimes made its way into the preceding syllable, and with an *a*, *ā* of the same become fused into *e*: M. AMg. *acchera*, AMg. JM. *accheraṇya*, AMg. *accheraḡa*, beside M. S. *accharia*, JM. *acchariya*, Ś. *accharia*, M. *aścala*, dialectically *accharijja* and *acchaara*=*āścarya* (§138) also; M. *kerā*=*kārya*<sup>1</sup> (belonging to; Mk. fol. 40; Kāmsav. 52,11, *keram* (on account of; Kāvya-prakāśa 28,7), Ś. *amhakra* (Hc. 2,147; Jivān. 19,9), *tumhakra* (Hc. 2,147; Jivān. 104,6), *parakera* (Mālav. 26,5), otherwise in Ś. *keraka*, *kerāa* (Mṛcch. 4,3; 38,3; 53,20; 63,16; 64,19; 65,10.11; 68,11; 74,8; 153,2; Śak. 96,10; 155,9; Mālatim. 267,2; Mudrār. 35,8; Priyad. 43,16; 44,6; Jivān. 9,1; Kāmsav. 50,11); also in Ā. *keraka* (Mṛcch. 100,18); femin. Ś. *kerikā* *keriā* (Mṛcch. 88,24 [read *kerika tti*]; 90,14; 95,6; Vidhāś. 83,4), also in Ā. *kerikā* (Mṛcch. 104,9); Ś. *parakeraattana*=*\*parakāryatvana* (Mālatim. 215,3); Mg. *kelaka*, *kela* (Mṛcch. 13,9; 37,13; 40,9; 96,21.22; 97,3; 100,20; 112,10; 118,17; 119,5; 122,14.15 [read *kelakāim*]; 130,10; 132,2; 133,2; 146,16; 152,6; 173,9; Śak. 116,11; 161,7); also to be mentioned here Prab. 32,8, where *bhaṭṭālakakelakehim*, according to II, 34.115, is to be read; femin. *kelikā*, *kelīā* (Mṛcch. 21,21; 132,16; [read *kelikāe*]; 139,16 [read *kelikā*]; 164,3,8; 167,3,21); A. *kerā* (Hc. 4,422.373), *kerāa* (Hc. 4,359.373); M. AMg. Ś. *peranta*=*pariyanta* (Vr. 3,18; Bh. 1,5; Hc. 1,58; 2,65.93; Ki. 1,4; 2,79; Mk. fol. 5,22; Pāyāl. 173; G.H.; Ovav.; Lalitav. 555,11; 567,23; Vikr. 31,17; Mālatim. 76,5; 103,3; 118,6; 248,5; Mahāv. 97,13; Bālar. 49,2; 67,15; 76,16; 226,3; 278,20; 287,9; Anarghar. 58,9; Mallikām. 55,10; 57,17), AMg. *pariperanta* (Nāyādh. 513.1383ff.; Vivāgas. 107); *bamhacera* (Hc. 1,59; 2,63.74.93), AMg. A. *bamhacera* (Hc. 2,74; Āyār. 1,5,2,4; 1,6,2,1; 1,6,4,1; 2,15,24; Sūyag. 81.171.318.643.652.759.866; Vivāhap. 10,135.722.726; Dasav. 618,33; Dasav. N. 649,38; Uvās.; Ovav. §69; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Erz. 3,24), beside *bamhacaria* (Hc. 2,63.107)=*brahmacarya*; AMg. JM. *merā*=*maryā*<sup>2</sup> (frontier; Hc. 1,87; Āyār. 2,1,2,5; 2,3,1,13; 2,5,1,2; 2,6,1,1; Āv. 47,23,25; Kk.); AMg. *nimmera*=*nirmarya* (Thān. 136.143 [nī°]; Vivāhap. 483.1048; Qvav.), *samera*=*samarya* (Thān. 136 [text *sammera*]. 143); AMg. JM. *pāḍihera*=Pāli *pāṭihāriya*=*prāṭihārya*<sup>3</sup> (Vivāhap. 1047.1189; Ovav.; Āv. 14,2), JM. *pāḍiherattana* (Āv. 13,25); AMg. *pariheraga*=*pari-*

-hāryaka (Ovav.); M. Ś. *sundera*=*saundarya* (§84). On *ukkerā* see §107, on *dera*, §112. Isolated in Mg. *śeṇam* from \**śaṇiam* (Mṛcch. 134,24) =M. Ś. *śaṇiam*, AMg. JM. *saṇijam*=Pāli *sanikam* (§84). Epenthesis of *u* occurs in AMg. *pora-*=*parvan* from \**paurya-* (Āyār.2,1,8,11).

1. FISCHEL, IA. 2,121ff.; 966ff.; on Hc. 2,174. HOERNLE, JASB. 41,1, 124ff.; IA. 2,210 ff. Comp. Gr. §377 and BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 2,281 ff. derive the word from *krta*.—  
2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. *nimmera*, Hc. and Triv. derive it from *mirā*.—3. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.

#### n) ASSIMILATION OF VOWELS

§177. Dialectically the vowels of the neighbouring syllables have sometimes been assimilated to one another. AMg. *mirī*=*māricī* (Jiv.542; Pañhāv. 254 [text °*riya*]; Ovav. [§38]. 48 [so to be read]; Nāyādh. §122), *samirīya*=*samarīcika* (Samav.211 [text °*ma*°]; Ovav.); AMg. *mirīya*=*marīca* (Hc. 1,46; Āyār. 2,1,8,3; Pañnav. 531.); M. *avarim*=*upāri*; M. *avahoāsa*, *avahovāsa*=\**ubathahpārśva* (§212), *avajjhā*=*upādhyāya* (§ 123); *bhamajā* beside M. *bhumaā*, AMg. *bhumajā*=\**bhruvakā* (§124); M. AMg. JM. *ucchu*=*ikśū*; AMg. *usu*=*i'su*, *susu*=*śiśu* (§117); AMg. *puhutta*=*prhaktiva* beside *puhatta* (§78). As in Sanskrit, there occur beside one another AMg. *niuramba*=*nikuramba* (Ovav.) and AMg. *niurumba*=*nikurumba* (Samav. 211; Ovav.), beside *sarisiva*=*sarisrpa* there are often found the variants *sirisiva*, *sirisiva* (§81). M. Ś. *siṇa*=*svaṇa* (Vr. 1,3,3,62; C. 3,15<sup>a</sup> p. 49; Hc. 1,46,259;2,108; Kī. 1,2,2,59; Mk. fol. 5,29; H. R.; Pratāp. 212,9; Vṛṣabh. 14,6;17,1,2), M. Ś. *siṇā*=*svaṇaka* (H. 2,186; H.; Karp.75,4; Lalitav.554,21,22; 555,1; Vikr.24,17; Mālav.62,5; Mālatim. 179,9; Bālar 238,14; Karp.70,3.11.12;71,1,73,4; Venīs.18,13.20.21; Nagān. 12,11;13,4;23,3; Kārṇas. 16,9,12); M. *paḍisiviṇa*=*pratisvaṇaka* (Karp. 75,5); *siṇina* (C. 3,15<sup>a</sup> p. 49; Hc. 1,46,259), beside AMg. JM. *suṇina* Sūyag. 838ff; Vivāhap. 943ff. 1318ff.; Uttar. 249.456; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), A *suṇa* (Hc. 4,434,1), and AMg. JM. *sumina* (Hc.1,46; Thān. 567; Nandis. 365; Samav. 26; Vivāhap. 947.1318; Nāyādh.; Nirāyāv.; Kappas.; T. 7,16; Erz.), JM. *suṇinaga*, *suminaga* (Erz.)=*svaṇaka* (§133 152.248). The forms like *kilimmaī*, *kilimmiḥii*, *kilinta* beside *kilammaī*, *kilanta* are not to be considered as correct with S. GOLDSCHMIDT<sup>1</sup>, but they rest upon the variation with the frequent v.l. *kilissai*<sup>2</sup>. On future forms like *bhavissidi* see § 520.

1. ZDMG. 32,107.—2. FISCHEL, GGA. 1880,328 f. Cf. §136.

### 3. ANUSVĀRA AND THE NASAL VOWELS.

§178. Beside anusvāra, Pkt. possesses two nasal vowels, of which one is expressed by the sign of anusvāra and the other by that of Anunā-sika. The distinction between anusvāra and the first nasal vowel is not definite in all cases, particularly in the final syllable, where their treatment is mostly the same and the origin cannot be traced definitely. Thus for example in the inst. plur. in *-him*, beside which *-hī*, *-hi* are used. Ś. *devehim* (Śak.21,5) is equated to Vedic *devēbhīh*, which I regard as correct; so a nasal vowel is to be assumed; on the other hand it is equated as =*θε'οφιν*<sup>1</sup>, as the usual hypothesis is and, therefore, anusvāra is more probable. Likewise a nasal vowel will have to be assumed in cases, like *aggim*=*agnih* beside *aggi* and *vāum*=*vāyuh* beside *vāū* (§72), on the other hand anusvāra, for example, in the genitive plural *devāṇam*, beside which occur also *devāṇā* and *devāna*, exactly as *devehī*, *devehi*, has to be assumed. In adverbs like *uparim* beside *vari*=*upari* anusvāra is probable, and in *bāhim*=*bahīh*, a nasal



vowel. In words where *m̄* may be traced back to *n*, *m* I assume anusvāra, otherwise, however, a nasal vowel, as a rule.<sup>2</sup>

1. The equation naturally holds good for the ending only.—2. On anusvāra and the nasal vowel see the literature in WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gr.* §223.224.

§179. As in the Veda<sup>1</sup>, so in Pkt. too, the *anunāsika*, is not mostly indicated in the manuscripts so that in very many of the cases its existence is to be deduced only from the statements of the grammarians. Thus in H. 651, the MSS. write *jāi vaaṇāi*, the Bombay edition, *jāṇi vaaṇāṇi*, whilst Hc.3,26 explicitly demands *jāi vaaṇāi* which does not, as WEBER thinks<sup>2</sup>, go against the metre, since ardhacandra<sup>3</sup> never makes position. In Śak.116,3 in Mg. we have *śaūlāṇam muham̄=svakulānām mukham*, the MS. Z reads *śaṇṇāṇam muham̄=svajanānām mukham*; according to Hc. 4 300 there should be read *śaṇṇāḥ muham̄*, which no MS. has. Vr. 2,3; Kī.2,5; Mk. fol. 14 teach that in *yamunā* the *m* drops out. Hc.1,178, on the other hand, teaches, without doubt more correctly, intrusion of *anunāsika*: *jāuṇā*. The manuscripts and the texts write in M.AMg. *jāuṇā* only, in Ś. *jamunā* (§251). In the Sattasāi, the manuscript *ψ* sometimes write ardhacandra instead of bindu of the rest, but not always in the right place<sup>4</sup>. For Apabhramśa Hc.4,397 teaches entry of *ṽ* for *m*, e. g. *kāvālu* beside *kamalu=kamalam*. The manuscripts ordinarily write *mv*. Therefore, the use of ardhacandra can not be determined from the manuscripts.

1. MAX MÜLLER on the Rgvedaprātisākhya 64; WEBER on the 'Vājasaneyiprātisākhya 4,9 13.—2. On H.651.—3. So I take, with WEBER, H.p. 4, the mark for *anunāsika*. Wrongly equate B.-R. s.v, according to WEBER, *Die Rāma-Tāpaniya-Upanishad* (Berlin 1864), p. 394, ardhacandra=anusvāra. The name for the sign for anusvāra is bindu, as has been said in the preceding and following paragraphs.—4. WEBER, H. p. 4; cf. on H. 274.289.292.489.507.548.556.572.597 and *γ* on 5.

§180. The grammarians teach that in Pkt. and A. the syllables *-im̄*, *-him̄*, *-um̄*, *-hum̄*, *-ham̄*, at the end of a pada, according to Saṃgītaratnākara *-hum̄*, *-im̄* in A., even in the middle of a pada, may be reckoned short (Āv. p. 6, note 4; Saṃgītaratnākara 4,55.56; Piṅgala 1,4; Hc. 4,411). Therefore, formerly these syllables were allowed to stand even before vowels and consonants, when a short vowel was necessary. WEBER<sup>1</sup> in this case wishes to irradicate bindu everywhere and he is followed by all the modern European editors.<sup>2</sup> Sh. P. PANDIT in his edition of the Gāḍḍavaha puts a sign of shortness *˘* over the bindu, e.g. 1,16 *angaim̄ viṇhuṇo*, *bhariām̄ va*, and with the same end DURGĀ PRASĀD; ŚIVADATTA and PARAB, in their editions of the Sattasāi, of Rāvaṇavaha, of Piṅgala and of Karpūramāñjarī, have employed ardhacandra.<sup>3</sup> BOLLENSSEN<sup>4</sup> even wished to regard ardhacandra as a sign of elevation, which WEBER<sup>5</sup> rightly rejects. Hc.3,7.26 teaches *-hi*, *-hī*, *-him̄* and *-i*, *-im̄* and the MS. R<sup>6</sup> of the Rāvaṇavaha tends to write *-i*, *-hī* when a short is requisite.<sup>6</sup> Likewise writes the edition of Samav. in the verses, p. 232.233.239, as *tih̄ tih̄ saehim̄*, *chah̄ purisasaeh̄ nikkhanto*, *saveijātoraneh̄ uvevejā=tribh̄is tribh̄ih̄ sataih̄*, *ṣḍbh̄ih̄ puruṣasatair̄ niṣkr̄antah̄*, *savedikātorañaiḥ̄ upetāḥ̄*. This place, without doubt, gives the correct direction with regard to the employment of ardhacandra. It will have to be written when a short syllable is requisite and the following word begins with a vowel or the preceding or the following word ends in *m̄*, as is the case in Samav. at two of the places adduced. We shall, therefore, have to write, for example *sālam̄karāṇā gāhānam̄* (H.3); *silummūliāī kūlāim̄* (H. 355); *tumheh̄ uvekkhio* (H.420) *pasāhiāī āngām̄* (H.578); *paṇḍūr̄ī sāliāī* (G. 577); *vevirapaoharānam̄ disāṇā* *tanumajjhānam̄*. . . *nimūliāī muhām̄* (R.6,89) *dhūsarāī muhām̄* (R.8,9); *khaṇacumbiāī bhamaresh̄ uaha suamarakesarasah̄im̄* (Śak.2,14). ardhacandra has to be written also in

cases like *taṇāim so'ttum diṇṇāi~jāi* (H.379), *jai vaṇṇāi* (H.651), which is expressly testified to by Hc. (§179); further in cases like A. *taruhū vi* (Hc.4,341,2); *atthē hū satthē hī hatthē hī vi* (Hc.4,358,1); *mukkāhū vi* (Hc. 4,370,1), where bindu would be incorrect as instead of *vi* there would have to stand *pi* after it. *m* always makes position, which  $\sim$  never does (§348.350).<sup>7</sup>

1. On H. 3.—2. As S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. XIX. Against him KLATT, ZDMG. 33,45ff.—3. Cf on Hc. 1,2, note 3.—4. On Vikr. p. 521, note; p. 521f., note.—5. On H. 481.—6. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. XIX, note 2.—7. The nasal vowel uttered with bindu is more strongly nasalized than that indicated by ardhacandra. BOPP was not wrong to the extent assigned by BERGAIGNE (Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris 2,204, Note 1.

§181. After the vowels, that are final either by origin or become so due to dropping off of a consonant, anusvāra is frequently added in M.AMg. JM. in adverbs except in the cases discussed in §75.114. M. *ajjam* (H.R.) beside *ajja=adya*; AMg. JM. *iham* beside *iha=iha* (Hc. 1,24; Āyār. 1,1,3,7; Jiv. 305; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kk.)<sup>1</sup>, also *ihayam* (Hc. 1,24); AMg. JM. *īsim* beside M. Ś. *īsi* (§102); AMg. JM. *pabhiim=prabhṛti* (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *uppim*, M. AMg. JM. *uvarim*, M. *avarim*, beside M. JM. Ś. *uvari*, Mg. *uvali=upari* (§123.148); AMg. *sāim=sakri* (Āyār. 2,1,1,5; Uttar. 201.235), *asaīm=asakri* (Āyār. 1,2,3,1; Jiv. 308; Uttar. 201); AMg. *jugavam+yugapat* (Ṭhāṇ. 227; Vivāhap. 1440; Uttar. 870.878.881. 1032; Ovav.); AMg. *jāvam, tāvam=yāvat, tāvat* (Vivhāp. 268.269). In M. AMg. JM. *bāhim* (Hc. 2,140; Mk. fol. 40; Pāiyal. 224; G.; Āyār. 2,7,2,1; 2,10,6; Sūyag. 753; Nāyādh. §122 [so to be read]; Erz.), also in *bāhimsalla=bahihśalya* (Ṭhāṇ. 314) and *bāhimhinto* (Ṭhāṇ. 408) and in AMg. *pāum=prādūh* (§341) and *muhum=muhuh* (Uttar. 197) a nasal vowel has probably to be assumed (§178). Perhaps, however, *bāhim* should be equated as=*bāhyam* according to §151. Since Mk. fol. 40 teaches *bāhim* as well perhaps this explanation is more correct. It might also be better to separate *bāhim* from *bahim*. Cf. also *saṇimcara* (§84) and §349.

1. Cf. HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 217.

§182. In M. anusvāra is sometimes added to the final *a* in the instr. sing. of the masculine and neuter *a*-stems (Hc. 1,27); *sabbhāveṇam=sabbhāvena* (H. 286); *paruṇṇeṇam muheṇam=parurūṭitena mukhena* (H. 354); *samaavaseṇam=samayavaśena* (H. 398); *°loaṇeṇam, °seeṇam=°locanena, °svadena* (H. 828); *kavādantareṇam=kapōṭāntareṇa* (G 212); *pañjareṇam* (G.301); *°visaamseneṇam=°viśadāmsena* (R. 3,55). This sort of addition is very frequent in AMg. JM. So AMg. *teṇam kāleṇam teṇam samaeṇam=tena kālena tena samayena* (e.g. Āyār. 2,15,1.6.17.22; Uvās. §1ff. 9.75ff.; Nāyādh. §1.4.6; Ovav. § 1.15.16.23ff.; Kappas. § 1.2.14 etc.); AMg. *samaṇeṇam bhagavāyā mahāvireṇam=śramaṇena bhogavatā mahāvireṇa* (e.g. Nāyādh. § 8 [where, in addition, 21 instrumental forms in *-ṇam* follow; shortened, e.g. Uvās. § 2.78.91]), *koṇeṇam māṇeṇam lobheṇam=krodhena mānena lobhena* (Vivāhap. 85), *sakkeṇam devindeṇam devaranneṇam=sakreṇa devendreṇa deva-rājena* (Nāyādh. 852), *paravāgaraneṇam=paravyākaraṇena* (Āyār. 1,1,1,4; 1,7, 2,3), *hiraṇṇeṇam=hiraṇyena* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3); JM. *vaccanteṇam=vrajatā, vaddeṇam saddeṇam=vaddeṇa śabdena, upphaṇeṇam=utpathena, sureṇam=sureṇa* (Āv. 11,19; 23,14; 36,32.37), *saṇamkumāreṇam nāyāmaccaṇuttanteṇam kovam uvagaṇeṇam=sanātkumāreṇa jñātāmātyavṛtāntena kopam upagatena* (Erz. 3,29). Similarly also in adverbially used instrumental forms, like AMg. *āṇupuvveṇam=āṇupūrvyeṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1; 1,7,7,5; [anu°]; Nirayāv. § 13; Nāyādh. §118 [anu°]) *parampareṇam* (Kappas. S. § 27); AMg. JM. *suheṇam=sukhena* (Vivāgas. 81; Ovav. §16; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Erz.); AMg.

*majjheṇaṃ* = *madhyena* ( Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Niraṃyāv.; Vivāhap. 236; Ovav. §17).<sup>1</sup> In the nomin. and acc. plural of the neuter Vr. 5,26 teaches the ending -i : *vaṇāi, dahī, mahūi* = *vanāni dadhīni, madhūni*, Mk. fol. 43: -im: *vaṇāim dahīm, mahūim*, Kī. 3,28 beside -im in *dhaṇāim, jasāim, dahīm* and according to the opinion of some in *dhaṇāmim, vaṇāmim* with anusvāra even before the ending, Hc.3,26, ī -, -im. In prose in all the dialects there occurs only -im, so AMg. *se jājām kulāim* = *sa yāni kulāni* ( Āyār. 2,1,2,2 ) beside *kulāni* (§ 367); JM. *pañca egūṇāim addāgasajāim...pakkhittāim* = *pañca-ikonāny ādarsasātāni...prakṣiptāni* ( Āv. 17,15); Ś. *rāarakkhidāim tavovaṇāim* = *rājarakṣitāni tapovanāni* ( Śak. 16,13); Mg. *śavalāim duśśagandhiāim civalāim* = *śabalāni dūśyagandhikāni civarāni* ( Mṛcch. 113,22); Dh. *bhūdāim suvaṇāim* = *bhūtāni suvarṇāni* ( Mṛcch.36,21). In verses -i is written, when the metre requires a short, surely in many cases and probably in all cases (§179.180) wrongly. Hc. points to ̃, and in Vr. 5 26 -i is probably a false reading for -im. The statement in Kī. 3,28, that some scholars required -im before anusvāra ought to teach probably more correctly the forms *dhaṇāmim, vaṇāmim* instead of *dhaṇāimim, vaṇāimim* given in the text, corresponding to AMg. *mahāmāsa* for *mahanta + āśva* = *mahāśva* (§74). The anusvāra stands here instead of the long. In the loc. plur. of all stems is found beside in -su, also in -sum, which preponderates in Ś.Mg. (§367). The nom. acc. sing. of the neut. in -i, -u has frequently -im, as in *dahim, mahum* beside *dahi, mahu* (§379), probably with a leaning to the neut. forms in -am; according to Hc. 3,25 some taught also *dahī, mahū*. Beside *mama* M. AMg. JM. have *mamam* (§418; H.; Vivāgas. §121.122; Uvās.; Bhag.; Āv.72,28). In the imperative in -hi the presses, according to the MSS.,<sup>2</sup> prin<sup>1</sup>, often wrongly -him for -hi ( e. g. Āyār. 2,1,5,5 *paribhāehim*, read <sup>o</sup>hi; p. 126,7 *pavattehim*, read *pavattehi*; Nāyādh. 144; Vivāhap 612.613 *bhuñjāhim*, read <sup>o</sup>hi; Kappas. §114 *jñāhim*, read <sup>o</sup>hi, *vasāhim*, read <sup>o</sup>hi, *mihañāhim*, read <sup>o</sup>hi; Vivāhap. 612.613 *śalajāhim*, read <sup>o</sup>hi). Sometimes anusvāra is introduced on account of meter, as in *devaṇṇāgasuvaṇṇa* = *devunāgasuparṇa* ( Hc. 1,26 ); AMg. *chandaṇniroheṇa* = *chandonirodhena* ( Uttar. 195). Compounds like M. *uvarimdhūmanv.sa* = *uparidhūmaniveśa* ( G. 140), AMg. *uvarimpuñchaṇiō* = *uparipucchinayah* ( Rāyap. 108; text <sup>o</sup>pucchaṇiū), according to §181, AMg. *tiriyamvāya* = *tiryagvāta, tiriyambhāgi* = *tiryagbhāvin* ( Sūyag. 829), according to §75, are to be explained.

1. To these instr. in -eṇaṃ, perhaps both the Vedic instr. forms *ghanēnā* and *tējaneṇā* are to be compared ( LANMAN, NOUN-Inflection p. 331), with difficulty the instr. in -eṇā ( LANMAN, l.c. p. 332).—2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. p. 58, note 9.

§183. Final *n* and *m* as a rule become anusvāra, which in AMg. M. JM. often vanishes before both the vowels and consonants (§348ff.). A short nasal vowel and anusvāra alternate more often with non-nasalized long vowels (§72.74.75.86.114). Before an immediately following sibilant, *r, h* a short nasal vowel is often lengthened accompanied with loss of the nasal tone (§76). A long nasal vowel and a long vowel with anusvāra following them either become shortened (§83), or the nasal tone vanishes (§ 89), before consonants and in the auslaut of the latter, also with a short vowel ( § 72.173.175.350 ).

## B. THE CONSONANTS.

## I. CONSONANTS IN FREE POSITIONS.

## 1. GENERAL REMARKS RELATING TO WHOLE OR SEVERAL CLASSES.

§184. Initial consonants, other than *n*, *y*, *ś*, *ṣ*, remain as rule unchanged. In the beginning of the second member of a compound they are generally treated between vowels as in the interior of a word according to §186.188; more frequently, however, the initial of verbal roots remains unchanged even after prefixes ending in a vowel<sup>1</sup>: M. *paṅsei* = *prakāśayati* (G.); *bhamaraūla* = *bhramarakula* (H. 668) beside *mahuarakula* = *madhukarakula* (G. 468); *āṅṅa* = *ākīrṅa* (G.), *paṅṅa* = *prakīrṅa* (G.H.R.); *āaa* (H.) beside common *āga* (G.H.R.) = *āgata*; *vasahāindha* = *vr̥ṣabhacihna* (G.) beside *aṇumaraṇamaṇḍaṇacindha* (G. 479); *karaala* = *karatala* (H. 170) beside *calaṇatala* = *caranatala* (R. 9,37); *waṅsai* = *upaḍisati* (H.); *avasāria* = *apasārita*, *vihalavasāria* = *vihvalaprasārita* (R. 1,1;13,27), and so against §189 also PG. *aṇuwaṅṅhāveti* = *anuprasthāpayati* (7,45)<sup>2</sup>; *gahavai* = *gr̥hapatī* (H.); *vamsavatta* = *vamsapattra* (H. 676) beside *ankollapatta* (H. 313); Ś. *ajjāṅṅita* = *āryaputra* (e.g. Mṛcch. 53,18) beside Mg. *ayyapuliśa* = *āryapuruṣa* (Mṛcch. 132.23). Aspirates, according to §188, may become *h*: M. *vālahilla* = *vālahhilla* (G.), *rāihara* = *ratighara* (H.), *jalahara* = *jaladhara* (G.H.R.), *muṭṭāhala* = *mukṭāphala* (G.), *thaṇahara* = *stanabhara* (H.), beside M. *sarisavahala* = *sarsapakhala* (Hc.1,187), *palaaghaṇa* = *pralayaghana* (R.5,22), *vammahadhāṇu* = *manmāthadhanuḥ* (R. 1,29), *ṅimbaphala* (H.248), *rakkhābhuaṅga* = *rakṣābhujāṅga* (G.178). In the same way, most of the enclitics and sometimes words standing behind proclitics after vowels are treated as in inlaut: Ś. Mg. D. *adha im* = *atha kim* (e.g. Ś. Mṛcch. 17,24;60,6;67,11; Mg. Mṛcch. 14,7;22,1;118,2.4.6.25; D. Mṛcch. 101,3); M. Ś. Mg. D.Ā.A. CP. (Hc. 4,326) *a*, AMg. JM. JŚ. *yī* = *ca*; M. *ira* = *kira* = Skt. *kila* (Vr.9,5; Hc.2,186; G.R.); M. JM. Ś. Mg. *uṇa* = *punar*, in the sense of "now", "how-ever" (Hc. 1,65.177; Mk. fol. 39; G.H.R.; Āv. 8,33; Erz.; Kk.; Ś. e.g. Mṛcch. 9,8;13,22;25,1;29,6 etc.; Mg. e.g. Mṛcch. 14,22;38,8;43,4;127,24 etc.) also after anuvāra, like M. Ś. *kim uṇa* = *kim punar* (H.25.417; R.3,28.32;4,26;11,26; Mṛcch. 3,20;18,3; Prab. 15,9;38,6;42,6); M. *ṅhim uṇa* = *idāṅim punar* (H. 307), *hiām uṇa* = *hydayām punar* (H. 660); Ś. *sampadam uṇa* = *sāmpratām punar* (Mṛcch. 18,23), *ahām uṇa* (Mṛcch. 25,14); *tassim uṇa* = *tasmin punar* (Vikr. 35,5), *kadhām uṇa* = *katham punar* (Vikr. 73,14); Ś. Mg. *kinṅimittam uṇa* (Mṛcch. 88,16;151,2; Mg. 19,5); *vi* = *api* (§143); M. *na vahuttam* = *na prabhūtam* (R. 3,57) for the sake of assonance<sup>3</sup>, beside *apahutta* (H.277.436). In A. the secondary *pa*, originating from *tva* (§300) as well, is treated in the absolute, as in *pe kkhēviṇu*, *pe kkhēvi*, *pe kkhāvi* = *\*prekṣitvī*, *bhaṇivī* = *\*bhanitvī*, *piavi* = *\*pibaitvī*, *ramevi* = *\*ramayitvī* (§588). M.A. *ṇavara*, *ṇavaram*, JM. *navaram*, (Erz.; R̥ṣabhap.) "only" (Vr.9,7; Hc. 2.187; G.H.R.; Hc.4,377.401,6 [so to be read]), P. GOLDSCHMIDT<sup>4</sup> conjectures = *na param*, hardly rightly, as the anuvāra appears to be secondary. Certainly wrong is the interpretation of M. A. *ṇavari* (Vr. 9,8; Hc. 2,188; G.H.R.; Hc. 4,423,2), JM. *navari* (Pāṇyā. 17; Erz.; Kk.) "thereon", "so forth" from *na pare*, against which is the *i* (§85). Very frequent is the dropping off of the *ja*, after *na* in *jñā* in all the dialects; AMg. JM. have *ja* more often as in inlaut (§170).

1. For the rules, that are common to all the dialects, for the sake of brevity, examples will be given generally only from M.—2. FISCHL, G. N. 1895, p. 211.—

3. Assonance was also the determinant for the dropping off of the initial consonant in cases, like *o'vvañām* for *jo'vvañām* (R. 7,62), *ṇa ṇaṇ* for *ṇa dīṇaṇ* (R. 8,61), *aṇehiṇ* for *jaṇehiṇ*, *ūraṇ* for *dūraṇ* (R. 8,65). The other places mentioned by S GOLDSCHMIDT (ZDMG. 32,105) do not have "better and weightier" readings but quite false ones (PISCHEL, GGA. 1880,327).—4. GN. 1874,573; note; cf. S. GOLDSCHMIDT. ZDMG. 32 105.

§ 185. In *tāvāt*, *tu*, *te* "your", "to you", "thine" and "these" *t* becomes *d* dialectically. Hc. 4,262.302.323 mentions the transition in *tāvāt* for *ś*. Mg. P. In *ś*. Mg. it is the rule after all vowels and anusvāra, as in *ś. ciṣṭha dāva* (Mṛcch. 138,16;139,3; Śak. 125,1), Mg. *ciṣṭha dāva* (Mṛcch. 9,24;14,12)=*tiṣṭha tāvat*; *ś. Mg. D. mā dāva*=*mā tāvat* (Mṛcch. 18,2;29,11;55,15; Mg. 117,14;151,25;170,24; D. 100,17); *ś. vvaṇehi dāva*=*ūpanaya tāvat* (Mṛcch. 61,10); Mg. *yāñāhi dāva*=*jāñāhi tāvat* (Mṛcch. 80,21); *ś. ciṣṭhadu dāva*, Mg. *ciṣṭhadu dāva*=*tiṣṭhatu tāvat* (Vikr. 34,5; Mṛcch. 167,21); *ś. qjjuāe dāva*=*āryāyai tāvat* (Mṛcch. 94,7); *tumhe dāva*=*yuṣme tāvat* (16,20); *ś. Mg. Ā. ido dāva*=*itastāvāt* (Mṛcch. 3,3; Vikr. 45,17; Mg. Mṛcch. 16,16; Ā. Mṛcch. 99,20); *ś. aṇaṅgaṇ dāva* (Ratn. 298,13); *daiśśam dāva*=*\*dayiśyāmi tāvat* (Mṛcch. 35,8); *ś. Mg. ēvvaṇ dāva*=*evam tāvat* (Mṛcch. 12,25;24,20;29,1; Mg. 123,4;126,8). The same transition is found also in M. (H.R.), but very seldom without the variant reading *tāva*, as in R. 3,26,29, so that for M., as for AMg. JM., *tāva* only will be correct, which in *ś*. Mg. as well always stands at the beginning of a sentence.<sup>1</sup> On M. *dā* see §150.—*tu* (however) has become *du* in JŚ. after vowels (Pav. 381,18.20;384,58;385,64; Kattig. 404,388), after anusvāra it remains *tu* (Pav. 382,23), as also in M. (G. 947), AMg. (Sūy. g. 188.414.429.437.439.497), JM. (Āv. 19,32;20,8) *ś*. (Vikr. 40,20), D. (Mṛcch. 325,19). Except in JŚ. *tu* is rare in all the dialects; it occurs more frequently in *ś*. only in *kim tu* (Mṛcch. 53,20; Śak. 17,11;50,11;51,12;54,9; 73,8;78,7;98,7;119,2;126,8; Vikr. 33,11;40,6) for which the Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions of Śak. and the Dravidian recension of Vikr. wrongly write *kim du*<sup>2</sup>. The *u*, that occurs in M. (G.964) JM. (Āv.7,38;8,1 [yu]; 19,30.34;20,1.3.7; Erz.; Kk.) and especially in AMg. (e. g. Sūy. g. 50.170.204.297.312.316.330.403.406.410.415.416.465 etc.; Ūtar. 43.219.295.312ff. 329f.353; Dasav. 622,11.27; Niraṣṭāv. §2; throughout in the verse) is to be derived neither with Sh. P. PANDIT<sup>3</sup> and JACOB<sup>4</sup> from *tu*, nor with WARREN<sup>5</sup> from *ca*, but it is *=u*, that occurs also in M. *kim u* (Karp. 78,9.13.14).—*te* of the pronoun of the second person, in *ś*. Mg. Ā. D. after vowels or anusvāra becomes *de*. So *ś. ṇa de*=*na te* (Śak. 65,10), *aṇubhva dāva de* (Śak. 67,12), *mā de* (Vikr. 6,17), *kā vi de* (Mṛcch. 5,2), *parihādi de*=*parihāyate te* (Śak. 91,5), *suṣṭhu de*=*suṣṭhu te* (Mṛcch. 29,14), *amadaṇ kḥu de*=*amṛtaṇ kḥalu te* (Vikr. 9,11), *eso de* (Mṛcch. 7,3), *kudo de* (Mṛcch. 36,7), *piduno de*=*pituste* (Mṛcch. 95,15); so to be read with the v.l. in GODABALE, p. 271), *sāodaṇ de*=*svāgṇam te* (Mṛcch. 3,6), *jaṇ de*=*yate te* (Mṛcch. 55,4; Vikr. 41,18), *mantidaṇ de*=*mantritāṇ te* (Vikr. 44,9); *ś. matthaṇ de*, Mg. *mastaṇ de*=*mastiakaṇ te* (Mṛcch. 18,5;21,22); Mg. *ede vi de*=*ete pi te* (= *tvām*; Mṛcch. 128,12) *tado de*=*tatas te* (Prab. 50,14), *paṇhaṇ de*=*praśnaṇ te* (Mṛcch. 80,18), *ēvvaṇ de*=*evam te* (= *tvām*; Mṛcch. 128,14); *Ā. piḍā vi de*=*pitāpi te*, *jaḍi de*=*yadi te* (Mṛcch. 104,17; 105,3); D. *ahinṇāṇam de*=*abhijñāṇaṇ te* (Mṛcch. 105,9). This phonetic transition is seemingly to be assumed in M. also. Without a v.l. are found *vi de*=*api te* (H. 737); *vva de*=*iva te* (R. 4,31); *pariaṇa de*=*parijanena te* (R. 4,33); *pi de* (R. 11,83), *a de*=*ca te* (R. 11,126). At all other places, with the exception of the Telugu recension of H., the v.l. has *te*, particularly even always after anusvāra (H. s.v. *de*; R. s.v. *tu*)

so that the correct reading remains doubtful.—After other pronominal forms *te* (these) also becomes *de* in Ś.Mg. (§425). So also M. *jālā de* = \**yāt kālāt te* (Dhvanīyāloka 62,4=H.989). On M. *dāvai*=*tāpayati* see §275.

1. CAPPELLER, *Jenaer Literaturzeitung* 1877, p.125; BÖHTLINGK, *Sanskrit-Chrestomathie*<sup>2</sup> p. 369. Cf. FISCHEL on Hc. 4,262; BOLLENSSEN on Mālav. p.122.—2. Cf. §275.—3. G. s. v.—4. Erz. s. v.—5. Nirayāv. s.v.

§186. In the middle of a word, in most of the dialects, intervocalic *k, g, c, j, t, d* usually, *p, b, v* sometimes, and *y*, except in PG.VG. P. GP., are always dropped (Vr. 2,2; C. 3,34; Hc. 1,177; Ki 2,1; Mk. fol. 14). So M. *uaa*=*udaka* (G.H.R.)<sup>1</sup>; *loa*=*loka*; *saala*=*sakala* (H.R.); *sua*=*suka* (H.R.); *anurāa*=*anurāga*; *juala*=*yugala*; *naara*=*nagara* (G.H.); *turaa*=*turaga* (G.R.); *nārāa*=*nārāca* (R.); *paūra*=*pracura* (H.); *vīi*=*vīci* (G.R.); *gaa*=*gaja*; *nīa*=*nija*; *bhoṇa*=*bhojana* (H.); *raaa*=*rajata* (R.); *kaania*=*kṛtānta* (G.R.); *niamba*=*nitamba*; *rasāala*=*rasātala* (G.R.); *gāa*=*gadā* (R.); *pāa*=*pāda*; *maṇa*=*madana* (H.R.); *hīaa*=*hrdaya*; *niṇa*=*nipuṇa* (H.R.); *rii*=*riṇu*; *rūa*=*rūpa*; *alāu, lā i*=*alābū* (§141); *vūha*=*vibudha* (Hc.); *chāā*=*chāyā*; *pīa*=*priya*, *vīaa*=*vīyoga* (H.R.); *jīa*=*jīva*; *dīaha*=*divasa*; *lāaṇa*=*lāṇya* (G.); *vaḷaāṇala*=*vaḷavānala* (Hc.). Cf. §199.

1. These citations hold good for all the words for which no references have been given. Cf. also §184, note 1.

§187. In place of the consonants that have dropped off a weakly articulated *ya* (*laghuprayatnata yakāra*, is uttered, that is indicated in this grammar by *ya* (§45; C. 3.35; Hc. 1,180; Ki.3.2). Except in the MSS. written by Jains this *ya* is not indicated. Hc. 1,180 teaches that it comes in between *a*, and *ā* only, but he recognises also *pijāi*=*piḃati* and 1,15 *sariyā*=*Pālisaritā*=*sarit*. Mk. fol. 14 adduces a quotation, according to which *yaśruti* occurs when one of the vowels is either an *a*- or an *i*-sound : *anādāu aditau varṇau paḥitayau yakāravat iti pāḥaśikṣā*. In KI. *ya* is generally written only between *a*-sounds, as : 1 *saḃalāna*, 9 *paḃyā*, 10 *nāya*, *maṇajam pi* (sic), 11 *saḃalam pi* (sic); on the other hand, it is mostly wanting after an *i*-sound. But the inscription is not uniform. Beside *ṇi a* (9) stands *nīa* (12); in 14 there is *iya* and in 13, *ṇeya*=*nāva* also. The oldest M.S. write *ya* after all vowels before *a*, *ā* in AMg. JM. JŚ., and for these dialects *ya* is a characteristic.<sup>1</sup> There are, therefore, the correct ways of writing, as *indīya*=*indriya*, *hiyāya*=*hrdaya*; *giya*=*gita*; *dihiyā*=*dīrghikā*; *vyā*=*ruta*; *dūya*=*dūta*; *teya*=*tejas*; *loya*=*loka* One s ys, however, only *ei*=*eti*; *loe*=*loke*; *dūo*=*dūtaḥ*, *uiya*=*ucita*, *uūim*=\**rtūni*. Numerous examples are found in the preceding and following paragraphs. The Jains erroneously transfer this and other ways of writing from AMg. JM. JŚ. to other dialects too (§11.15).

1. HOEFER, ZWS. 3,366; WEBER, Bhag. 1,397 ff.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 4 f.; FISCHEL, Hc. 1, p. x f.; ON 1,180; KLATZ, ZDMG. 33,447; JACOBI, ZDMG. 34,181; KZ. 25,295; STEINTHAL, Specimen p.3.

§188. Aspirates, except *ch, jh, ṭh, ḍh*, generally become *h* between vowels (Vr. 2,27; Hc. 1,187; Ki 2,14; Mk. fol. 16). So M. *muha*=*mulha* (G.H.R.)<sup>1</sup>; *mehalā*=*mekhalā*; *sāhā*=*sākhā*; *jahaṇa*=*jaghana*; *meha*=*megha*; *rahuṇāha*=*raghunātha* (R.); *lahua*=*laghuka*; *aha*=*aḥa*; *jūha*=*yūtha*; *mahu-mahaṇa*=*madhumāthana*; *raha*=*raḥa*; *ahara*=*adhara*; *ruhira*=*rudhira* (G.R.); *vahū*=*vadhū*; *sīhu*=*sīdhu* (G.H.); *sahara*=*śaphara* (G.); *sehālīā*=*sephālīkā* (H.); *ahīnava*=*abhinava*; *naha*=*nabhas* and =*nakha*; *rahasa*=*rabhasa*; *sahā*=*sabhā* (R.); *serīha*=*sairibha* (G.H.). On *ph* see further especially §200.

In the initial syllable transition to *h* is just sporadic: *hammāi* (goes to) with the compounds *ñhammāi*, *ñhammāi*, *āhammāi*, *paḥammāi* (Hc. 4,162), *ñhammia* (gone out): (Deśin. 4,43), M. *paḥammanti* (G. 871 v.l.)=Pāli *ghammanti*. The word has *h* already in Skt. and is attributed to the dialects of Surāstra<sup>2</sup>, by Haripāla on G. 871, to that of Kamboja. Dialectically initial *bh* has frequently become *h* in the root *bhū* and its compounds, which has probably resulted from the forms used enclitically. So AMg. JM. *havāi*, JŚ. *havādi*, M. JM. A. *hoi*, JŚ. *hodi*=*bhavati*, M. *hvantī*=*bhavanti*, PG. *hojā*, P. *huveyya*=*bhavet*, Mg. *huviadi*=\**bhūyate*, Ś. *havissadi*, Mg. *haviśśadi*=*bhaviṣyati*, AMg. JM. *ho jāva*, Ś. Mg. *hodava*, Mg. *huidava*=*bhavita*, M. JM. *houm*, JŚ. *hodum*=*bhavitum* (§475.476.521,570). The Telugu recension of H. has pretty often *h* for *bh*: *haṭṭha*=*bhraṣṭa*; *hanida*=*bhanita*; *haniri* for *bhaniri*; *haṇḍaṇa*=*bhaṇḍana*; *hamira*=*bhamira*; *hāā*=*bhrātā*; *huaga*, *huamga*=*bhujaga*, *bhujamga*; *humaā* for *bhumaā*; *hūsaṇa*=*bhūṣaṇa*; *hea*=*bheda*; *hoṇa*=*bhojana*.<sup>3</sup> On aspirates at the beginning of the second member of a compound see § 184.

1. Cf. §186, note 1.—Patañjali, Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya I, p. 9,26 ed. KIELHORN; Naighaṇṭuka 2,14 (p. 14,17 ed. Roth=1,238 ed. SATYAVRATA SĀMASRĀMĪ); WEBER, IS. 13,363 f.; E. KUHN, Beiträge p.42.—3. WEBER, H. s.v.

§189. In PG. VG. all consonants, including the aspirates, with the exception of *bh* in *hojā* (§188), remain unchanged: PG. *ārakhādḥikate gumike iūthike*=*ārakṣādḥikr̥tān gulmikān tīrthikān* (5,5); *udakādīm* (6,29); *jāmātukasa*=*jāmātyakasya* (6,14); *nāganamḍisa*=*nāganandīnah* (6,25); *patibhāga*=*pratibhāga* (6,12); *mahārājādhivājo* (5,1); *appatihata*=*apratihata* (6,19); *varisatasahasatīreka*=*varṣasatasahasrātīreka* (7,42); *āpiti* (6,8.37); *api* (6,37); *parihāpetava*=*parihāpayitavya* (6,37); *paṃukhāṇam*=*pramukhāṇam* (6,27.38); *uparilikkhatam* (7,44); *atha* (6,40); *tūthike*=*tīrthikān* (5,5); *assamedha*=*aśvamedha* (5,1); *narādhamo* (7,47); *vasudhādhipataye*=*vasudhādhipatīm* (7,44); °*cchobham*=°*koṣobham* (6,32); *vallabhamadena* (6,40). Exceptions are *kassava*=*kāśyapa* (6,18); *kāravejjā*=Pāli *kārāpeyya* (6,40); *aṇuvaṭṭhāveti*=*anuprasthāpayati* (§184); *vi*=*api* (5,6;6,29); *bhaḍa*=*bhaṭa* (5,7;7,43); *koḍi*=*koḍī* (6,10); *kaḍa*=*kṛta* (7,51). Cf. BÜHLER, EI. 1,3 and §10.

§190. In P. most of the consonants are retained in the initial and medial syllables (Hc. 4,324; Nāmisādhu on Rudraṣṭa, Kāvyaḷaṅkāra 2,12); *anekapa*; *makaraketu*; *sagaraputtavacana*; *vijayasenena lapīam*; *pāṭaliputta*; *paṭākā*; *vetasa* (Hc. 4,307); *pāpa*; *āyudha*; *mukha*; *megha*; *sabhā*; *kamatha*; *maṭha*. In the initial and medial syllables *da* becomes *ta* (Hc.4,307), according to Nāmisādhu, optionally: *tāmotara*=*dāmodara*; *tiṭṭha*=*dr̥ṣṭa* (Hc. 4,314, 321.323); *taṭṭhūna*, *tatthūna* (Hc. 4,313.323); *tātisa*=*tādṛśa*, *yātisa*=*yādṛśa* (Hc. 4,317); *teti*=\**dayati* (Hc. 4,318); *tevara*=*devara* (Hc. 4,324); *matana*=*madana*, *satana*=*sadana*, *patasa*=*pradeśa*, *vatanaka*=*vadanaka* (Hc. 4,307).—*tha* becomes *dh* according to Hc.: *adha*=*a...a* (Hc. 4,323), *kadhūna*=*kathitvāna* (Hc. 4,312); *pudhuma*=*prathama* (Hc. 4,316); *kadhām*=*katham* (Hc. 4,323); according to Nāmisādhu it is retained: *pathama*=*prathama*; *puthuvi*=*prthvi*.

§191. In CP. remain, not only are the tenues retained as in P., but all medial, in the initial and medial syllables, are changed into tenues (Hc. 4,325; Ki. 5,102)<sup>1</sup>: *kakana*=*gagana*; *kirita*=*girita*; *kamma*=*gharma*; *khata*=*ghṛta* (§ 47); *cāta*=*jāta*; *cimūta*=*ṣimūta*; *chacchara*=*jharjhara*; *chamkāla*=*jhaṅkāra*; *tamaruka*=*ḍamaruka*; *ṭimpa*=*ḍimba*; *ṭhakkā*=*dhakkā*; *tāmotara*=*dāmodara*; *thūli*=*dhūli*; *pālaka*=*bālaka*;

*pisa*=*bisa*; *phakavatī*=*bhagavatī*; *phūta*=*bhūta*; *nakara*=*nagara*; *mekha*=*megha*; *rāca*=*rājan*; *taṭāka*=*taḍāga*. *kāṭha*=*gādha*; *matana*=*madana*; *mathura*=*madhura*; *sāṭhu*+*sādhu*; *raphasa*=*rabhasa*. According to Hc. 4,325 and Kī. 5,103 the change takes place in secondary sounds too, as in *cacana*=Pkt. *jajana*=Skt. *yajana*; *paṭimā*=*paḍimā*=*pratimā*; *tāṭhā*=Pkt. *dādhā*=*daṃṣṭrā* (§76). According to Hc. and Kī. conjunct consonants too undergo the change : *tukkā*=*durgā*; *makkana*=*mārgaṇa*, *vakkha*=*vyāghra*; *caccara*=*jarjara*; *nicchara*=*nirjhara*; *kaṇṭa*=*ganda*; *maṅṭala*=*maṅḍala*; *saṅṭha*=*saṅḍha*; *kantappa*=*kandarpa*; *panthava*=*bandhava*; *ṭimpa*=*dimba*; *ramphā*=*rambhā*. Vr. 10,3 teaches that initial and conjunct consonants remain unaltered. Examples of this rule in Bh. are: *gakana*=*gagana*, against *kakana* in Kī.; *gamana*; *dasavatana*; *gopinta*=*govinda*; *saṃgāma*=*saṃgrāma*; *vaggha*=*vyāghra*, against *vakkha* in Hc. Of these *nt* in *gopinta* is against Vr., but it is in accord with Hc., Kī., as also the examples of Bh. for the inlaut *mekha*, *rāca*, *nicchara*, *vaṭisa*=*vaḍiṣa*, *māthava*=*mādhava*, *saraphasa*, *salapha*=*śalabha*. Hc. 4,327 mentions that according to the opinion of other teachers the change does not take place in consonants in the initial syllable and in the root *yuj* : *gati*; *ghamma*, *ṣimūta*; *jhacchara*; *ḍamaruka*; *ḍhakkā*; *ḍāmotara*; *bāḷaka*; *bhakkavatī*; *niyojita* against *niyocita* in 4,325. Doubtful is the treatment of *va*. Bh. has *gopinta*=*govinda*, *kesapa*=*keśava*, but *vaṭisa*=*vaḍiṣa*, *dasavatana*=*daśavadana*, *māthava*=*mādhava*, *vaggha*=*vyāghra*. In Hc. original *va* is consistently retained : *vakkha*=*vyāghra*; *panthava*=*bāndhava*; *phakavatī*=*bhagavatī*; *vasuthā*=*vasudhā*. Kī. has 5,108 *ḥala*=*vana*, but 5,110 *vañña*=*varṇa*, and he retains it also in 5,107 *thvalati*=*dhvanati*, *thvalita*=*dhvanita*<sup>2</sup>. Seemingly *pa* is to be written, unless, here too, different dialects have got mixed up promiscuously. Secondary *va*, that originated from *ya* (§254), has become *pa* in P. *hitapa*=*hṛdaya* (Sr. fol. 64), *hitapaka*=*hṛdayaka* (Vr. 10,14; Hc. 4,310; Kī. 5,112; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa 2,12; Simhadevaganin on Vāgbhaṭālamkāra 2,3)<sup>3</sup>. Mk. has *pisesa*=*viśeṣa* (fol. 86), *kupa ci*=*kva cid*, *pisumaa*=*vismaya* (fol. 87) in the section on Kaikeyapaisācika. On *piva* see §336, on an analogous shifting in the Gipsy, Dardu and Kāfir languages see MIKLOSICH, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Zigeunermundarten (Wien 1874.1878 I. II. p. 15ff.; IV. p. 51. Cf. §27 notes 7.8.

1. It has already been noted above, §27, that the grammarians do not sharply distinguish between P. and CP. In Vr. and Kī. by P, is clearly meant CP., while the rule for P. given in Hc. 4,304 on *rājan* is a characteristic of CP., since Hc. 4,304 has *rājā*, against *rācā*, *rācānaṃ* in Bh. 10,12 and 4,323 has *rājāṃ rājā*, against that 4,325 has *rācā* for CP. In Hc. 4,326 in CP. *aggalaggapatibimbam*, *luddam samuddā* are in accord with 4,327, on the other hand, *ḥpāṭukkhevena* is to be corrected to *ḥpena*.—2. So reads also the Paris manuscript according to LASSEN, Inst. p.441; cf., however, §243.—3. For the false reading *hitaakam* in Vr. (cf. v.l., where *va* has been wrongly read for *pa*) and in Kī. we have to read *hitapakam*.

§ 192. In A., according to Hc. 4,396, intervocalic *k,t,p* shift to *g,d,b* respectively instead of dropping off, and *kh, th, pha* become *gh, dh, bh* respectively instead of changing into *h* (§188). Examples of this rule are not very abundant: *khaagāli*=*kṣayakāle* (Hc. 4,377); *ṇāgu*=*nāyakah* (Hc. 4,427); *vicchogagaru*=*viksobhakaram* (Hc. 4,396,1); *sughe*=*sukhe* (Hc. 4,396,2); *āgado*=*āgataḥ* (Hc. 4,355.372); *karadi*, *ciṭṭhadi*=*karoti*, *tiṣṭhathi* (Hc. 4,360); *kiladi*=*kṛḍati* (Hc. 4,442,2); *kṛdantaho*=*kṛtāntasya* (Hc. 4,370,4); *ghaḍadi*, *praḥvadi*, *ṭhido*=*ghaṭate*, *praḥpatih*, *sthitah* (Hc. 4,404); *maḍi*=*maṭi* (Hc. 4,372); *viṇimavidu*, *kidu*, *radiē*, *viḥidu*=*vinirmāpitam*, *kṛtam*, *ratyāḥ*, *vihitam* (Hc. 4,446); *gañjidu*, *maḷidu*, *harāvīdu*, *bhāmīdu*, *himsīdu*=*\*gañjitam*(=*piḍitam*; Hc. 4,409; cf. Āryasaptaśatī 384.685; Gītagovinda 1,19), *marditam*, *hāritam* *bhṛāmitam*, *hīn-*



*ṣīam* (Kk. 260,43ff.); *sabadhu*=*śapatham*, *kadhidu*=*kathitam*, *sabhalāñ*=*saphalākam* (Hc. 4,396,3). By far in most cases A. follows the rules that are applicable to M.; A. of Piṅgala always does it except in the case of *madagala*=*madakala* (§ 202), so does Kālidāsa as well: hence this phonetic law can be considered to hold good just dialectically (§28).

§193. In lieu of dropping off of a consonant or of overstepping of some aspirates to *h*, there often occurs their reduplication. The aspirates are doubled by the corresponding non-aspirate sounds, so that when doubled they appear as *kkha*, *ggha*, *ccha*, *jjha*, *ṭṭha*, *ḍḍha*, *ṭṭha*, *ḍḍha*, *ppha*, *bbha* (Vr. 3,51; C. 3,26; H. 2,90; Ki. 2,108; Mk. fol. 26). The preceding and the following paragraphs contain numerous examples. In PG. the doubled aspirates, in agreement with the method of writing of the other inscriptions, are partly written by means of the simple aspirates: *ārakhādhikate*<sup>1</sup> *āraksādhikṛtān* (5,5); *vadhanike*=*vardhanakān* (6,9); *dakhīna*=*dakṣiṇa* (6,28); *puṣpha*=*puṣpa* (6,34). The inscription, however, mostly follows the method of writing of manuscripts: *aggitthoma* [so to be read]=*agniṣṭoma* (5,1); *savathīa*=*sarvatra* (5,3); *raṭṭhika*=*rāṣṭrika* (5,4); *ēṭṭha*=*īṭhā* (5,7); *vatthavāna*=*vāstavyānām* (6,8); *raṭṭhe*=*rāṣṭre* (6,27); *araṭṭha*=*arāṣṭra* (6,32); *vēṭṭhi*=*viṣṭi* (6,32); *°cchobham*=*kṣobham* (6,32); *kaṭṭha*=*kāṣṭha* (6,33); *aṭṭhārasa*=*aṣṭādaśa* (6,34); *addhikā*=*ardhakāḥ* (6,39); *anuvāṭṭhāveti*=*anuprasthāpayati* (7,45); *vigghe*=*vighnān* (7,46); *sahattha*=*svahasta* (7,51). In *abhatthemi*=*abhyarthayāmi* we have both the methods of writing conjoined. In the manuscripts, that are in the Dravidian script from which the Nāgarī manuscripts have been transcribed, hence in the South Indian impressions too the aspirates like other consonants are either printed double or are mostly indicated as to be doubled by a small circle in the interval before the aspirate (a somewhat rare point): *aghgha*=or *aogha*=*aggha*=*arghya*; *abhbhaththaṇā* or *aobhaothaṇā*=*abbhatthaṇā*=Skt. *abhyarthanā*; *vakhkhaththala* or *vaokhaththala*=*vaḥṣaththala*. *cha* and *dha* are most seldom written doubled; in relation to the other aspirates the manuscripts waver. In the Bengali manuscripts the doubling occurs very seldom; it is sometimes so also in older editions, as in that of Prabodhacandrodāya, Pūnā śāke 1773 in some aspirates, such as *kha*, e.g. in *rakhkhasī*=*rākṣasī* (fol. 13<sup>a</sup>); *gha*, e.g. in *ughghāḍiadi*=*udghāṭyate* (fol. 12<sup>b</sup>); *ṭha*, e.g. in *suṭṭhu*=*suṣṭhu* (fol. 19<sup>b</sup>), *pha*, in *viphphuramīa*=*viṣphurat* (fol. 16<sup>b</sup>), *bha*, e.g. in *ṇibbhatsida* (sic) for *ṇibbhacchida*=*ṇirbhartsita* (6<sup>a</sup>). The edition writes in Sanskrit too *ujjhita* (fol. 13<sup>a</sup>). Clearly it goes back to a South Indian text, since it often agrees with the Telugu edition of Madras. Sh. P. PANDIT has retained this orthography, strictly depending on his manuscripts, in his editions of Mālavikāgnimitra and Vikramorvaṣīya in the case of all the aspirates, so that he too writes for example *puchchidum*, *diṭṭhim*, *ṇijjhānti*, *ṣiṇḍḍham* (Mālav.5), *ubhbhīṇa*, *paṭṭhidā* (p.6) etc. also<sup>2</sup>. Doubling also occurs in the manuscripts of Hālā and in isolated cases especially in *bha*, also in some Calcutta editions, of Jaina books, as in Paṇhāv. *khokhubhhamāna* (169.210); *paḥbhāṭṭha* (216); *labhbhā* (363.466); *viḥbhhamo* (227.468); *abhbhuṇṇaya* (284); in Vivāgas. *tubhbhim* (17); *tubhbham* (20.21); *ukkhatta* (214); *pāmoḥkkham* (215), *pāmoḥkkhānam*, *pāmoḥkkhehim*, *abhbhūgae* (216); in Jīv. *sattakkhutto* (621), *dakkhimiilla* (842), *savvabhbhan-tarilla* (878f.), *°nakkhānam* (883.886.887), *majjhimiṇṇā* (905ff.), *avadhḍha* (1055f.) etc. This method of writing has merely orthographic, but not a phonetic meaning (§ 26).

1. So to be read; see LEUMANN, EI. 2.484.—2. Cf. PANDIT, Mālav. 2 (Bombay 1889) p. v.—3. WEBER, Hālā<sup>1</sup> p. 26f.

§194. Instead of dropping off, or in the case of aspirates, becoming *h*, an intervocalic consonant is often doubled, if it originally stood before an accented vowel. Semivowels and nasals also undergo this doubling. So AMg. *ukkhā=ukhā* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); AMg. *ujju=jjū* (§57); A. *keṭṭhu=kathā* (§107); JM. *jitta=jitā* (Erz. 13,6); AMg. *nijjitta=nirjita* (Sūyag. 704); M. *nakkha*, AMg. *nakkha* beside *ṇaha, naha=nakhā* (Bh. 3,58; Hc. 2,99; Kī. 2,212; Mk. fol. 27; Pāiyāl. 109; H.R.; Uvās.); A. *ṇimma=niyamā* (§149); M. AMg. *ṇoḷḷai, ṇullai=nuddāti* (§244); M. *phuṭṭai=sphuṭṭāti* (Hc. 4,177,231; G.H.R.); A. *phuṭṭi=sphuṭṭeh* (Hc. 4,357,4), *phuṭṭisu=sphuṭṭi-ṣyāmi* (Hc. 4,422,12); *phīṭṭai=\*sphīṭṭāti* (Hc. 4,177,370) beside *phuḍḍai, phīḍḍai; soḷḷai=suddāyati* (§244); *hatta=hatā* in *ohatta=avahata* (bent downward; Deśin. 1,156), *pasuhatta, parasuhatta=parśuhata, paraśuhata* (tree; Deśin. 6,29); A. *duritta=duritā* (Piṅgala 2,17.35.43 [dūrītā]. 186), *mālati=mālāti'* (Piṅgala 2,113), *vratu=vratām* (Hc. 4,394). The same accent is to be assumed in the suffix *-ka* in M. *śisakka=śiṣaka* (R. 15,30); *leḍḍukka, leḍḍukka=leṣṭuka* (§304); M. JM. Ś. A. *pāikka=pādātika* (Hc. 2,138; R.; Erz.; Mālatim. 288,6; Bālar. 199,10; Priyad. 44,18 [so to be read with ed. Cal. 49,2]; Piṅgala 1,107.121.143<sup>a</sup>.152<sup>a</sup> [pā°; text *paika*]; 2,138)<sup>1</sup>; Mg. *hadakka=\*hydaka* (§150; Vr.11,6; Kī.5,89 [text *hḍakko*; in LASSEN, Inst. p. 393 *hladakko*]; Mṛcch. 79,11;114,14.16.18;115,23), in verses also *haḷaka* (Mṛcch. 9,25 [Śakāra] and *hadaka* 30,21); Mg. *hagge=\*ahakah* (§142.417); *aakka* beside *aaga=ajaka* (demon; Deśin. 1,6)<sup>2</sup>; A. *kālikā=kālikā* (Piṅgala 2,43); Ś. °*caccika=carcika* (Mṛcch. 73,15); A. *nāakka=nāyaka* (Piṅgala 1,34.57.116), *dīpakka=dīpaka* (Piṅgala 1,138), *rūakka=rūpaka* (Piṅgala 2,137), *sāraṅgikkā=sāraṅgikā* (Piṅgala 2,71 [sā°]. 187). Likewise in the suffix *-ta* in AMg. *viuvitti=vikurvita* (Sūyag.792.806), beside the usual *viuvviya*. According to the same rule is explained the duplication of °*la* in the suffixes *-alla, -illa, -ulla=alā, -ilā, -ulā* (§595). Against the rule, and according to analogy are formed A. *paṁmāvatti=pādmāvati* and *meṇakkā=meṇakā* (Piṅgala 1,116;2,209). The doubling is frequent also after the long vowel, which is then shortened, as in *ēvvaṁ=evam; kiḍḍā=kridd; jeṅva=evā; neḍḍa=nidd; tuṅhikka=tuṅṅikā; teḷḷā=tailā; dugullā=dukulā* etc. (§90).<sup>3</sup> On the duplication of enclitics see §92ff, on *ṇihitta, vāhitta* §286.

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT (Monatsberichte der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1879,922), who is followed by WEBER (Hāla<sup>2</sup> p. xvii) and JACOBI [Erz. s.v.], wrongly derives the word from Persian, because of the large number of cases of duplication of the suffix *-ka* were not known to him. My derivation from *pādika* (GGA.1881,1321) was also wrong, although linguistically that is unassailable —2. Cf. BÖHTLINGK s.v. *ajaka*, and *purilladava=asura* (Deśin. 6,55)=*daitya* (Triv. 1,4,121; cf. BB. 13,12)—3. FISCHEL, KZ. 35,140ff.; otherwise JACOBI, KZ. 35,575ff.

§195. If the conjunct consonants are separated by a separation vowel, they must be simplified or be treated according to § 186. 188. Sometimes, however, in this case one of them is doubled according to the rule holding good for conjunct consonants (§131): AMg. *sassiriya, Ś. sassiria=sasrika*; Ś. *sassiriadā, sassiriattana=sasrikatā, \*sasrikatvana* (§98.135)<sup>1</sup>; *puruvva=pūva; murukkha=mūrka*; AMg. *riuvveya=ṛgveda* (§139); Ś. *sakka-ṇomi, sakkuṇomi=saknami; sakkāṇodi, sakkuṇodi=saknoti* (§140.505); AMg. *sakkiriya=sakriya* (Ovav. §30.II,4b; so to be read with the MSS.); AMg. *sukkila=śukla*, JM. *sukkiliya=śuklita* (§136). In JM. *namō'kkāra*, M. A. *avarō'ppara*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *parō'ppara=namaskāra, aparaspara, paraspāra*, as has been changed into *o*, besides *śka* into *kka*, and *śpa* into *ppa* (§306. 311.347). In M. AMg. *poṁma=padma, poṁmā=padmā, M. Ś. poṁmarā=*

*padmarāga*, *a* has become contracted with the udvṛtta vowel (§139.166), and yet in spite of this doubling has taken place.<sup>2</sup> On *-jja* for *-ya* see §91.

1. Kāvya prakāśa 72,11 is correct, *jaasirī*, like *jaasirie* (G. 243), since in line 10 *balāmoḍī* is to be read (§238.589). It is not, with WEBER, Hāla<sup>1</sup> A. 22:2977, to be written as *jaasirī*.—2. FISCHER, KZ. 35,146f. On Pāli see FRANKE, GN. 1895-530.

§196. Consonant groups standing at the beginning of the second member of a compound may be treated as if they were initial and in that case they must be simplified (§268; Vr. 3,57; Hc. 2,97; Ki. 2,115; Mk. fol. 28); M. *vāranakhandha*=*vāraṇaskandha* (G.1200) beside *mahsakkhandha*=*mahi-ṣaskandha* (H. 561); M. *hatthaphaṃsa*=*hastasparsa* (H. 330) beside *hatthaphaṃsa* (H. 462); Ś. *anigahida*=*anugṛhita* (Mṛcch. 25,3) beside *pariggahida*=*parigṛhita* (Mṛcch. 41,10); *naigāma* beside *ṇaigāma*=*nadigrāma* (Bh.; Hc.); *kusumapaara* beside *kusumappaara*=*kusumaprakara* (Bh.; Hc.); *devathui* beside *devastuti* (Bh.; Hc.; Ki.); *āṇālakambha* beside *āṇālakkhambha*=*ālānastambha* (Bh.; Hc.); *harakkhandā* beside *harakkhandā*=*haraskandau* (Hc.). Doubling is, however, the rule, that is to say, the treatment, as if in the initial, and according to this analogy<sup>1</sup>, not seldom, even a single consonant has been doubled at the beginning of a compound: Ś. *akkhāida*=*akhādita* (Mṛcch. 55,15); *addamaṇa*=*adaršana* (Hc. 2,97); M. *addiṭṭha*=*adrṣṭa* (G.H.R.); M. *addāa*, AMg. JM. *addāga*, *addāya*=\**ādāpaka*<sup>2</sup> (mirror; Deśin. 1,14; Paiyal. 119; H.; Thān. 284; Paṇnav. 435f.; Nandis. 471; Āv. 17,10. 14,15; Erz.); M. *pabbuddha*=*prabuddha* (R.12,34); *abbuddhasirī*=*abuddhasirī* (Deśin. 1,42; Triv. 1,4,121); M. *akkhāndia*=*akkhāndita* (H. 689); M. *alliaī*, JM. *alliyāī*, AMg. *uwalliyāī*, M. *samalliaī*, JM. *samalliyāī* (§474); M. JM. *allīna* (G.H.R.; Āv. 14,23;24,17;26,28; Erz.), M. *aṇallīna* (R.), *samallīna* (H.) from *li* with *ā*, *upa*, *samā*<sup>3</sup>; *allivāi*=*ālipāti*=*ālimpāti* (Hc. 4,39); *avallāva*=*apalāpa* (Deśin. 1,38); A. *uddhabbhua*=*ūrdhvabhūja* (Hc. 4,44,3); *ogāla* beside *oala* for \**ogāla* (rivul-t; Deśin.1,151)=\**avagāla*, from *gal* with *ava*; AMg. *kāyaggirā*=*kāyagirā* (Dasav. 634,24); M. Ś. *tēlloṅka* (Bh. 1.35;3,58; Hc. 2,97; Ki. 2,114; Mk. fol. 27; R.; Dhūrtas. 4,20; Anarghar. 317,16); Kārṇas.13,9,11; Mahāv. 118,3; Uttarar. 64,8 [*tēlloa*]; Mallikām. 133,3), beside AMg. M. *teloṅka* (Grr.; G.; Paṇnav. 2.178ff. [°lu°]; Dasav. N 655,28; Uvās.; Kappas.)=trailokya, Mg. *pañcayāna*=*pañcajanāḥ* (Mṛcch. 112,6); *paḍikkūla* (Hc.2,97), beside the usual *paḍiūla*=*pratikkūla*; M. *pabbala*=*prabala* (R.); *pammukka* (Hc. 2,97) beside the usual *pamukka*=*pramukta* (§566); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *paravoasa* (H.R.; Paṇhāv. 136; T. 6,14; Erz.; Lalitav. 554,5; Vikr. 29,12, v.l.; Nāgān. 50,13 v.l.), Mg. *palavoasa* (Mallikām. 143,11; so to be read)=*paravoasa*; AMg. *aṇuvosa*=*anuvoasa* (Sūyag. 192); *pavāī*=\**pravāyati*=*pravāti* (Hc. 4,18), M. *pavāī*=*pravāta* (H.R.); M. *āṇāmēttapphala*=*āṇāmātraphala* (R. 3,6); *ahinavadinṇapphala*=*abhinavadinṇapphala* (R. 2,37); *pāvapphala*=*pādapphala* (R. 9,4; cf. R. 12,12; 13,89; H. 576) *baddhapphala* beside *baddhaphala* (Hc. 2,97; Mk. fol. 29); JM. *bahupphala* (Ki. 2,116; Kk. 271,20), beside *bahuhala* (Ki. 2,116, cf. §200); AMg. *purisakkāra*=*purusakāra* (Vivāhap. 67.68.125; Nāyādn. 374; Uvās. Ovav.)<sup>4</sup>, as M. *sāhukkāra*=*sādhukāra* (R.); AMg. *tahakkāra*=*tathākāra* (Thān. 566); JM. *bhattibbhara*=*bhaktibhara* (Kk. 269,14); M. *maṇikkhāia*=*maṇikkhāita* (Mṛcch. 41,2); M. *malaasiharakkhānda*=*malayaśikharakkhānda* (Hc. 2,97=R. 8,69); M. *varṇagghaa*=*varṇagṛhta* (H. 520); A. *vijjajjhara*=*vidyādharma* (Vikr. 59,5; see §216); A. *viṇṇukka*=*viṇṇakṣa* (Piṅgala 1,138<sup>a</sup>); AMg. *sakaḍabbhi*, *sagaḍabbhi*=*svakṛtabhid* (Āyār. 1,3,4,1.4); M. *sajjia*=*sajjiva* (R. 1,45), *sattapha*=*satṛṣṇa* (R. 1,46), *sappivāsa*=

*sapipāsa* (Hc. 2,97; R.3,21), *sesapphaṇa* = *śeṣapphaṇa* (R. 6,19; cf. 6,63.69.72; 7,59; 9,14.34.45), *paṇḍurappheṇa* (R. 8,9; cf. 8,49; 13,24.53.66); AMg. JŚ. *sacciṭṭa* = *sacitra* (Dasav. 622,39; Kattig. 403,379). In °*kkāra*, the words beginning with *kkha* and °*pphala*, the doubling is to be ascribed perhaps to an original *s*, in many other cases the duplication is purely metrical, and certainly *al o* in M. *taṇullaā* (Karp. 27,12), beside the usual *taṇulaā* = *tanulatā*, AMg. *rāga-ddosa* (Uttar. 707; Dasav. N. 653,6), beside the usual *rāgadosa* (§129), JŚ. *kuddiṭṭhi* = *kudrṣṭi* (Kattig. 399,318; 400,323), beside and influenced by *saddiṭṭhi* = *saddrṣṭi* (Kattig. 399,317.320) and so on.

1. FISCHER, KZ. 35,147ff.—2 So more correctly than BB. 3,247, as JM. *addāga* proves. On the contraction cf. §165, on *dāvai* §554. Incorrect WEBER, Hāla<sup>1</sup> p. 29; on Hāla<sup>2</sup> 4.204.—3. So more correctly than BB. 13,10f.; cf. KZ. 35,149.—4. Incorrectly explain HOERNLE (Uvās.; Transl. p. 111, note 254) and LEUMANN (WZKM. 3,345) these words as analogous formation according to *balakkāra* = *balākkāra*. It could, with equal justification, be explained as having been formed according to *sakkāra* = *sakkāra*.

§197. In many cases the duplication of consonants may be explained from a word-formation or a flexion deviating from Skt. So in *katto* = *kutaḥ* from \**kattah* = *kad* + *taḥ*; *jatto* = *yad* + *taḥ*; *tatto* = *tad* + *taḥ*; *anyatto* = *anyad* + *taḥ*, on the analogy of which are formed *atto* = *ātah*; *e'kkatto* = *ekataḥ*; *savvatto* = *sarvataḥ* and probably also *itto* = *itāh*, which, however, might have its duplication quite regular according to §194. *etto* = \**etataḥ* is derived from *eta* = *etad* + *taḥ*, as *aṇṇo* from *anya* = *anyad* + *taḥ* according to §339 and with elision of *a* according §148. On *to* see §142<sup>1</sup>. The majority of the verbs of Pkt., doubling as its consequence, as in *alliai* (§196); *phuttai*, *phittai* (§194); *kukkaḥ*, *ko'kkai* = \**krukayati*; *callai* = \**calyati* = *calati*; *ummillai* = \**ummiyati* = *ummiḥati*; *Š. ruccadi* = \**rucyate* = *rocate*; *laggai* = \**lagyati* = *lagati*; *Š. vajjadi* = \**vrajyati* = *vrajati* (§487.488)<sup>2</sup>. From the derivation of nouns from the present stems are explained the cases, like *oalla* (shivering, departure; Dešin. 1,165; Triv. 1,4,121 = BB. 13,8) = \**apacalya*; cf. *oallanti*, *oallanta-* (R.); *ujjalla* (Hc. 2,174 [so to be read; see translation p. 89]; Triv. 1,4,121 = BB. 13,7), *o'jjalla* (Dešin. 1,154) "strong", *ujjallā* (violence; Dešin. 1,97) from \**ujjvalya-*; *ko'ppa* (agitation; Dešin. 2,45; Triv. 1,4,121 = BB. 6,104) from *kuḥḥya-*; *sivvi* (needle; Dešin. 8,29; Triv. 1,3,105 = BB. 3,260), *sivviṇi* (Dešin. 8,29) from *sivya*<sup>3</sup>.

1. Examples in §425ff. Cf. FISCHER, KZ. 35,149. Somewhat deviating S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 22; wrongly JACOBI, KZ. 35,578; wrong is also LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *tatto*, who considers the duplication as purely metrical.—2. FISCHER, BB. 13,8ff.—3. FISCHER, BB. 6,86.

§198. Transition of tenues into mediae is the rule with cerebrals, when they stand unconnected within a word and between vowels; *t* becomes *d* and *ṭha* becomes *dh* (Vr. 2,20.24; Hc. 1,195.199; Ki. 2,10.18; Mk. fol. 16). So M. *kaḍaa* = *kaṭaka* (G.H.R.)<sup>1</sup>; *kuḍumba* = *kuṭumba* (G.H.); *ghaḍia* = *ghaṭita*; *caḍula* = *caṭula*; *taḍa* = *taṭa*; *paḍala* = *paṭala*; *viḍava* = *viṭapa*. — *kuḍhiṇa* = *kaṭhiṇa* (G.H.); *kaḍhiṇattana* = \**kaṭhiṇatvana* (R.); *kamaḍha* = *kamaṭha* (G.H.); *paḍhai* = *paṭhati* (H.); *piḍha* = *piṭha* (G.); *haḍha* = *haṭha* (G.). This change occurs exceptionally also in PG. in *bhaḍa* = *bhaṭa* and *koḍi* = *koṭi* (§189). According to Hc. 1.195 sometimes *t* remains, as in *aṭai* = *aṭati*, which must be a false reading.

1. Cf. §184, note 1; §186, note 1.

§199. Instead of dropping off (§186), *p* mostly becomes *v*<sup>1</sup>, not *b*, except dialectically in A. (§192), as was generally assumed formerly (Vr. 2,15;

Hc. 1,231; Ki 2,8; Mk. fol. 16. M. āva=ātapa (G.H.R.)<sup>2</sup>, uvala=upala (G.); kova=kopa; cāva=cāpa; nīva=nrpa (R.); dīva=dīpa; pāva=pratāpa; vivīna=vīpīna (G.); savaha=śapatha (H.); sāvaa=śvāpada (G.R.). Exceptionally in PG. too in *anuvaṭṭhāveti*, *kassava*, *kāravējjā*, *vi* (§189). On *va* for initial and secondary *pa* see §184. According to Hc. 1,231 euphony determines the elision or the transition to *v*. According to Bh. on Vr.2,2 and Mk.fol.14 this is the determinative, especially for the dropping off of all the sounds mentioned in §186.<sup>3</sup> Usually *p* becomes *v* before *a*, *ā*, but on the other hand, drops off before *u*, *ū*; before other vowels the usage wavers. Jaina MSS. often wrongly write *b* for *v*.

1. COWELL, Vararuci<sup>2</sup> p. xiv; FISCHER, GGA. 1873, p. 52; Academy 1873, p.398; Jenaer Literaturzeitung 1875, p.317; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874,512 note \*\*\*.—2. Cf. §184, note 1 and §186, note 1.—3. FISCHER on Hc. 2,231.

§200. According to Vr. 2,26 in the medial syllable, between vowels, *ph* always becomes *bh*. Bh. gives as examples : *sibhā=śiphā*; *sebhāliā=śephālikā*; *sabharī=śapharī*; *sabhalaṃ=śaphalam*. Mk. fol. 16 limits this transition to the gaṇa *śiphādi*, in which he reckons : *sibhā=śiphā*; *sebha=śepha*; *sebhāliā=śephālikā*; he cites also *sabharī=śapharī* as used by somebody.<sup>1</sup> Ki. 2,16 teaches *bh* for *śiphā* and *śaphara*. Hc. 1,236 allows *bh* and *h*; he teaches *bh* for *rebha=repha* and *sibhā=śiphā*; *h* for *muttāhala=muktāphala*; *bh* and *h* beside one another for *sabhala*, *sahala=śaphala*; *sebhāliā*, *sehāliā=śephālikā*; *sabharī*, *saharī=śapharī*; *guhāi*, *guhāi=guphāi*. So far as our documents on the whole allow us to the present day to determine the words, we have throughout *h*, or at the beginning of the second member of a compound also *ph*. Thus M. JM. Ś. *muttāhala=muktāphala* (G.; Karp. 73,9; 72,3; 73,2; Erz.); M. *muttāhalilla* (Karp. 2,5; 100,5); M. *sahara*, *saharī* (G.); M. Ś. *sehāliā* (H.; Mṛcch. 73,9 [so with v.l. to be read]; Priyad. 11,1; 12,3; 13,16); Ś. *cittaphalaa=citraphalaka* (e.g. Mṛcch. 57,3; 59,7; 69,19; Śak. 125,7; 133,8; 134,4; 142,11; Vikr. 24,18; Ratn. 298,4; 303,19; Mālatīm. 127,11); *bahuhala* (Ki. 2,116); Ś. *bahuphala* (Vikr. 45,13), *śaphala* (Mālav. 44,1; 46,11), *saggaphala=svargaphala* (Prab. 42,5); Mg. *paṇasaphala* (Mṛcch. 115,20) etc. On A. see §192, on °*pphala*, §196. In what relation *phumai* and *bhumai=bhramati* (Hc. 4,161) stand to one another cannot be said. Dravidian MSS. write *bhaṇ* (to speak) in Skt. and Pkt. very frequently *phaṇ* (cf. e.g. Vikr. ed. FISCHER 622,10 v.l., 17.18 v.l.; 639,8 v.l.; Mallikām. 83,4). Cf. §208.

1. The MS. reads *saparir yāsaur* (or *yāsadar*) *ityādyapi kaścī*.

§201. *b* in the inlaut, between vowels, becomes (Hc.1,237): M. AMg. JM. Ā. Ś. D. A. *kalevara=kalebara* (G. R.; Vivāhap. 1303 [°*de*°]. 1390 [°*de*°]; Rāyap. 142 [°*de*°]; Erz.; Mṛcch. 148,22.23; Piṅgala 1,86<sup>a</sup>; Hc. 4,365,3), Mg. *kalevala* (Mṛcch. 168,20); M. AMg. Ś. Mg. A. *kaḥala=kabala* (G.H.; Śak. 85,2; Nayādh.; Ovav.; Mṛcch. 69,7; Hc. 4,289.387,1); M. JM. A. *kavandha=kabandha* (R.; Erz. [text °*ba*°]; Piṅgala 2,230); AMg. *kīlva=kīlba* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2); *chāva=śāba* (§211); M. *thavaa=stabaka* (R.), AMg. *thavaīya=stabakita* (Vivāhap. 41; Ovav.); M. *dāvai=Marāthī, dābṛem* (Śak. 55,16)<sup>1</sup>; M. JM. *sava=śaba* (G.; Āv. 36,34); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *savara=śabara* (G. [text °*ba*°]; Vivāhap. 246 [text °*vva*°]; Panhāv. 41 [text °*ba*°]; Paṇṇav. 58; Erz.; Pras. 134,6.7 [text °*ba*°], M. AMg. *savarī* (G. [text °*ba*°]; Vivāhap. 792 [text °*ba*°]; Nāyādh. §117 [text °*ba*°]; Ovav. §55 [text °*ba*°]; M. *savala=śabala* (H.); AMg. JM. *siviyā=śibikā* (§165); JM. *sivira* (Erz. [text °*bi*°]), Mg. *śivila* (Lalitav. 565,6.8)=*śibira*<sup>2</sup>. More rarely *b* drops out as in AMg. *alāu*, *alāuja*, *lāu*, *lāu*, *lāuja* beside Ś. *alāvū=alābū*, *alābu* (§141); *ṇandhana=nibandhana* (dress; Deśin. 4,38; Triv. 1,4,121)<sup>3</sup>;

*viuha* (Hc.1,177), beside JM. *vibuha* (Erz.)=*vibudha*.—*v* very often is retained, especially between *a*- sounds. As in the case of *p* (§199), in its case as well the euphony determines the question.

1. Accordingly the remark on Śak. 55,16, p. 184 has to be amended.—2. As the examples show, the Jaina manuscripts especially very often write *b* for *v*, which is not, as JACOBI (Erz. §20, ed., p. xxviii) assumes supported phonetically, but is simply an error of transcription. Likewise they sometimes write *b* instead of *v* in the initial syllable. (E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 29). In the Lalitav., as in the MSS., with the exception of those in the Dravidian script, only *v* is written, even in places, where *b* should stand. Cf. also §45, note 3.—3. FISCHER, BB. 13,8.

§202. Except in the cases mentioned in §192. 198-200, the transition of tenues to mediae and vice-versa (§190.191) is just isolated and dialectical. Instead of dropping off, *k* in AMg. JŚ. JM., very frequently between vowels, becomes *g*, especially in the case of the suffix *-ka* (Hc.1,177): AMg. JM. *asoga*=*aśoka* (e.g. Vivāhap. 41; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; [read *asoga* in the Glossary]; Erz.); JM. *asoga* (Āv. 8,2,32); AMg. JM. *āgāsa*=*ākāśa* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Āv. 21,15); AMg. *egamega*=*ekaika* (§353); AMg. JM. *kulagara*=*kulakara* (Kappas.; Āv. 46,20,22); AMg. JM. *janagasamaga*=*yama-kasamaka* (Uvās. §148.153; Kappas. §102; Ovav. §52; Āv. 17,15); AMg. JM. JŚ. *loga*=*loka* (e.g. Āyār. 1,1,1,5,7; 1,1,3,2; Erz.; Pav. 381,16; 387,25), JŚ. *logālogam* (Pav. 382,23) beside *lojāloyam* (Kattig. 398,302); AMg. *sāgapāgāe śākāpākāya* (Sūyag. 247.249), *silogagāmi*=*ślokakāmin* (Sūyag. 497); AMg. JŚ. *appaga*=*ātmaka* (Sūyag. 188; Pav. 385,66.68); JŚ. *maṁsuga*=*śmaśruka* (Pav. 386,4); AMg. *phalaga*=*phalaka* (Sūyag. 274; Uvās.; Ovav.); JM. *tilagacō*=*dasaga*=*tilakacaturdasaka* (Āv. 17,1; 37,29; 38,24). For these dialects even the frequent retention of *g*, instead of dropping off, is a characteristic. Transition of *ka* into *ga* occurs in an isolated manner in other dialects too. Thus Mg. throughout *hage*, *hagge*=*\*ahakah* (§142.194.417); further *sāvaga*=*śrāvaka* (Mudrār. 175,1.3; 177,2; 178,2; 183,5; 185,1; 190,10; 193,1 [so to be read]), as also at Prab. 46,13; 47,7 *sāvagā*, 58,15 *sāvagi*, for *sāvakā*, *sāvakā*, *sāvaki*, *sāvaki* of the text, have to read, corresponding to AMg. JM. *sāvaga* (e.g. Uvās.; Erz.). Cf. §17. Further *ka* has become *ga* in M. A. *maragaa*, AMg. JM. *maragāya*, Ś. *maragada*=*marakata* (Hc. 1,182; Mk. fol. 14; G.H.R.; Karp. 46,8; 69,8; Sūyag. 834; Paṇṇav. 26; Uttar. 1042; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 13,43; Mṛcch. 71,1 [read °*gada*]; Karp. 53,2; 59,1; 61,7,8; 62,11; Mallikām. 201,13; [read °*gada*]; Hc. 4,349), wrongly *maraaa* (Acyutaś. 43) and *maroada* (Ki. 2,28). According to Hc. 1,182; Mk. fol. 14 *ka* becomes *ga* in *mada-kala* also; a mention should be made here of A. *madagala* (Pīngala 1,64; Hc. 4,406,1), where it can be explained according to §192. In M. occurs also *pāgasāsana*=*pākasāsana* (G.380). On *ge'ndua* see §107. *-kha* has become *gh* in AMg. *āghāvei*=*ākhyāpayati*, *āghavanā*=*ākhyāpanā* (§88.551), and in *niḡhasa*=*niḡkaṣa* (§206). In *ahilanḡhāi*, *ahilanḡhai* (wishes; Hc. 4,192) we cannot decide with certainty whether *kh* or *gh* is original. Dialectically *ca* has become *ja* in *pisāji*=*piśācī* (Hc. 1,177). Reversely *ca* appears for *ja* in M. Ś. *cakḡhāi* (eats; Vr. Appendix A. p. 99, Sūtra 20)<sup>1</sup>, M. *cakḡhia* (tasted; Hc. 4,258; Triv. 3,1,132; H. 605), *acakḡhia* (H. 917), *cakḡhanta-* (H. 171), Ś. *cakḡhia* (absol.; Nāgān. 49,5), *cakḡhijanta-* (correctly *cakḡhianta-*; Candak. 16,16)<sup>2</sup> from *jakṣa-*; *maccāi* beside *majjāi*=*mādyati* from *mad* (Hc. 4,225); A. *raccāi*=*rajyase* from *raj* (Hc. 4,422,23); M. JM. *vaccāi* (Vr. 8,47; Hc. 4,225; Ki. 4,46; G.H.R.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.), Ā. *vaccāi* (Mṛcch. 99,17 [so to be read]; 100,19; 101,7; 148,8; D. *vaccāi* (Mṛcch. 100,15 [so to be read]), *vacca*, *vaccāi* (Mṛcch. 105,4.9), beside Dh. *vajjāi*, Ś. *vajjamha*, Mg. *vayyē* nti (§488)<sup>3</sup>. To *vaccāi* belongs also AMg. *paḡucca* for *\*paḡiucca* (§163.

590), which strictly corresponds to Skt. *pratītya*, by which the scholiasts mostly explain it,<sup>4</sup> and A. *vicca* (road; Hc. 4,421).

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,387; ZDMG. 28,391.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 4,258, where I refer to the New Indian dialects.—3. *vaccā* is perhaps a denominative from *vrātya*=\**vrātyati* and *vajjai*, from *vrajyā*=\**vrajyati*. In that case *cca* would be phonetically quite regular.—4. Wrongly WEBER, Bhag. 1,381; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 21.

§203. The assumption that in AMg. and JM. every *ta* may<sup>1</sup> either remain or drop off, or that between two vowels, of which the second one is *i*, *t* may be introduced<sup>2</sup> is erroneous. As already suspected by WEBER<sup>3</sup> all these cases are to be credited to the account of the scribes, who have very often adopted Skt. forms in the text, just as the Jainas, from an orthographical point of view, generally commit the clumsiest blunders against the dialects.<sup>4</sup>—*ta* becomes *da* and *tha* becomes *dha* in JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh., dialectically also in A. (§192). So JŚ. *vandida*, *dhoda*=*vandita*, *dhauta* (Pav. 379,1); *sampajjadi*=*sampadyate*, *bhamadi*=*bhramati*, *pe'cchadi*=*prekṣate* (Pav.380,6;380,12;384,48); *bhūdo*, *jādi*=*bhūtah*, *yāti* (Pav. 381,15); *ajadhāgahidatthā ede*=*ayathā-grhītārthā ete* (Pav. 389,1); *devadajadi*=*daivatayati* (Pav. 383,69); *tasaghāda*, *karadi*, *kārayadi*, *icchadi*, *jāyade*=*trasaghāta*, *karoli*, *kārayati*, *icchati*, *jāyate* (Kattig. 400,332); Ś. *adidhi*=*atithi* (Śak. 18,1,8;20,5;23,9;71,12); Ś. *kadhehi*, *kadhesu*=*kathaya*, *kathedu*=*kathayatu*, Mg. *kadhedi*=*kathayati* (§ 490); Ś. *cūdaladiam*=*cūlatatikām* (Śak.119,9); JŚ. *jadha*, Ś. *jadhā*, Mg. *yadhā*=*yathā*, JŚ. *tadha*; Ś. Mg. *tadhā*=*tathā* (§113); *pāridosia*, Mg. *pāldosia*=*pārtoṣika* (Śak. 117,1.5); JŚ. *havadi*, *hodi*, Ś. Mg. Dh. *bhodi*=*bhavati* (§475.476); Ś. *sādam* (Mṛcch. 3,6;59,19;80,7;86,25;94,22; Śak. 56,4;80,3), Mg. *sādam* (Mṛcch. 113,7;129,18)=*svāgatam*; Dh. *jūdiala*=*dyūtakara* (§25), *jūda*=*dyūta* (Mṛcch. 30,18;34,25 [so with v.l. to be read]; 35,5 [similarly]; 39,17), *palivevīda*=*parivopita* (Mṛcch. 30,7), *vajjadi*, *dhāledī*, *bhaṇādi*, *jiṇādi*=*vrajati*, *dhārayati*, *bhaṇati*, *jayati* (Mṛcch.30,10;34,9.12.22); Ś. Dh. *sampadam*=*sāmpratam* (Mṛcch. 6,22;17,19;18,23; Śak. 25,2;30,4;67,12. etc.; Dh.; Mṛcch.30,4; 31,9;32,8), Mg. *sāmpadam* (Mṛcch. 16,20;32,2.4.5, 38,19;99,11 etc.). On Dh. *māthuru*=*māthuraḥ* see §25.—Vr. 12,3 and Mk. fol. 66f. require for Ś. (and with it for Mg.) the transition into *da*, *dha*; Hc. 4,260.267 and the grammarians following him desire *da*; they, however, wrongly allow *ha* as well beside *dha*.<sup>5</sup> In JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh. original *da* and *dha* very often remain instead of dropping off, or of being changed into *ha* [Kī.5,71;Mk. fol. 66). *kada tti*=*kr̥teti* in PG. 7,51 is a printer's error in the transcription for *kaḍa tti*. On *pidham*, *puḍham* beside *piham*, *puham*=*pr̥thak* see §78. On Ā.D. see §26.

1. JACOBI, Erz. § 20,1, note 2.—2. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge, 5; cf. STEINTHAL, Specimen p. 2.—3. Bhag. 1,400; cf. IS. 16,234f.—4. HOERNLE, Uvās.p.xviii. The handwriting shows that in cases like *taṇajijamatiu kaṇagamatiu pulakāmatiū riṣṭhāmātiū vairāmātiū* (Jiv.593), *t* is absurd. Likewise it is unthinkable that in one and the same dialect beside one another have been used *bhavati* and *bhavai*, *bhagavatā* and *bhagavajyā*, *mātarān* and *pijarān* (Āyār.1,6,4,3) and so on, especially when nowhere have all the MSS. *t*. When in the future *ehi* is used, it presupposes *ehi* and not *ehiti*, as occurs in Āyār. 2,4,1,2 (§529). Not quite correctly, therefore, LEUMANN, WZKM. 3,340. With the exception of Uvās. all the texts in AMg. JM. are full of numberless errors. Cf. §349.—5. On Ś. see FISCHER, KB. 8,129 ff.—The following and preceding paragraphs give numerous examples. Cf. also §22-25.

204. Vr. 2,7; Kī. 2,28; Mk. fol. 15 teach that in M. also in a number of cases *ta* becomes *da*. They have collected these in the *gaṇa r̥tādi*. Bh. reckons in it : *udu*=*r̥tu*; *raada*=*rajata*; *āada*=*āgata*; *ṇivvudi*=*niṇv̥rti*; *āudi*=*āv̥rti*; *sānvudi*=*sānv̥rti*; *suidi*=*suk̥rti*; *āidi*=*āk̥rti*;

*hada*=*hata*=*sañjada*=*sañyata*; *viuda*=*virta*; *sañjāda*=*sañyāta*; *sampadi*=*samprati*; *paḍivaddi*=*pratiḍatti*. In Kī. and Mk. the gaṇa is ākṛtigāṇa. Kī. reckons under it *ṛtu*, *rajata*, *āgata*, *nirōṛta*, *surata*, *marakata*, *sukṛta*, *sañyata*, *virṛti*, *pravṛti*, *āvṛti*, *ākṛti*, *vidhṛti*, *sañhṛti*, *niṣṭhṛti*, *sañpatti*, *sampatti*, *pratiḍatti*, *śrūta*, *khyāti*, *tāta*, *sāmpratam*. Mk. adduces:—*ṛtu*, *rajata*, *tāta*, *sañyata*, *kirāta* (as *cilāda*), *sañhṛti*, *susañgata*, *kratu*, *samprati*, *sāmpratam*; *kṛti* and *vṛti*, when provided with a prefix, as *ākṛti*, *vikṛti*, *prakṛti*, *upakṛti*, *apavṛti*, *āvṛti*, *parivṛti*, *nirvṛti*, *sañvṛti*, *vivṛti*; *āvṛta*, *parivṛta*, *sañvṛta*, *virṛta*, *brabhṛti* [MS. *paḍuḍi*]; *vṛata*. Mk. permits the transition, as optional, in the following sūtra in *surata*, *hata*, *āgata*, etc. (*ityādi*). Hc. 1,209 indulges in a polemic against this view. The phonetic change suits Ś. Mg., but not M.; though it occurs once in M. it is a case of dialectical confusion.<sup>3</sup> In R. *udu* occurs without a variant (1,18;3,29;6,11;9,85), never *uu*. False reading is *udu* for *uu* in AMg. (Āyār. 2,2,2,6; Thāṇ. 527). Furthur R. has *maḷadā*, beside *paḍiā* (3,31); *vivaṇṇadā*, *rāmādo* in the same strophe with *arai*, *seummi* (8,87); similarly *mandodari* in the compound *mandodarisuadūmiavāṇaparapariśo*<sup>o</sup>, that is with a retained *d* and three elided *ts*. The same occurs otherwise too, especially in the gāthās of the dramas, as *māladī* instead of *mālai*=*mālati* (Lalitav.563,2); *odamsanti*=*avataṃsayanti* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 4,10); *ladō*=*latāḥ* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 53,7; without v.l.; cf. v.l. 35,3 ed. FISCHER and 84,15 of the Kashmir recension, ed. BURKHARD); *uvaṇṇadavvo*=*uḥpanetāvyaḥ* (Mālav. 23,3; without v.l.); *uvaṇṇide*=*uḥpanite* (H. 827); *hodu* beside *hoi* (H. 878); *kādum*=*kartum* (Hc. 924); *haṇidā*=*bhaṇitā* (H. 963) etc. All the examples from H. occur in the Telugu recension. When Hc. declares such forms to be false in M., there is no reason for seeing in them, with S. GOLDSCHMIDT<sup>2</sup>, “puristic prohibitions”. Rather, we have here cases of errors against the dialect, as conversely in the MSS. forms of M. are given times without number in Ś. The information in Vr. Kī. Mk. in no way relate to M. Especially striking are *paḍivaddi* (Bh.), for which perhaps we have, with AC, to read *paḍivatti*, in spite of the remarkable *d* for *ḍ*, and *nivaddi* (sic), *nippaddi* (sic), *sampaddi*, *paḍipaddi* (Kī.), which perhaps rest only on a misunderstanding. On AMg. *adu*, *adu vā*, see §155, note 5.

1. FISCHER, Vikr. p. 614f.—2. Rāvaṇavaho, p. xvii; cf. also R.13,97. p.309, note 4.

§205. In the initial and medial syllables, Pkt., deviating from Skt., has often aspirates, which according to §188 mostly become *h*. The cause of aspiration is not the same everywhere. In no case is the mere proximity of an unconnected *r* or *s* or of a connected *r* the reason, as has generally been assumed.<sup>1</sup> In *tenuēs*, *nasals*, and *la*, the aspiration generally goes back to a sibilant, that originally stood before them and has disappeared from Skt.<sup>2</sup> The original sound groups *ska*, *sta*, *spa*, *sna*, *sma*, give in the initial syllable, according to § 306—313, *kha*, *tha*, *pha*, *ṛha*, *mha*.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 197f. 251; JACOBI, Erz. §21,2 p. xxviii Cf. FISCHER, BB. 3,253—2. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. §230.231.

§206. In the initial syllable Skr. *ka* appears as *kha*, often in the beginning of the second member of a compound, as *ha*, as in the medial syllable. JM. *khaṃdharā*=*kamdhara* (Mk. fol. 17; Erz. 1,17), but M. Ś. *kamdhara* (G.; Mallikām. 192,22;201,7;220,20); *khappara*=*karpara* (Hc.1,181); AMg. *khasiya*=*kasita* (Hc.1,181), *khāsiya*=*kāsita* (Hc.1,181; Nandis. 380); AMg. JM. *khinkhiṇi*=*kinṅiṇi* (Panhāv. 514; Rāyap. 109.129. 142; Jiv. 349 [text *khaṇ*<sup>o</sup>]. 443; Nāyadh.948 [text *khaṇ*<sup>o</sup>]; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.); *sakhinkhiṇi* (Jiv. 468; Āv. 35,25), *khinkhiṇi* *a*=*kinṅiṇika* (Uvās.), *sakhinkhiṇija* (Nāyadh. §93; p. 769.861 [text *kha*],



but M. Ś. *kiṅkiṇī* (Pāiyā. 273; G.; Viddhaś. 56,1; Karp. 55,7; 56,4; 102,1; Venis. 63,10; Bālar. 202,14; Ś. Karp. 17,6; Mālatīm. 201,6), Ś. *kiṅkiṇīā*=*kiṅkiṇīkā* (Viddhaś. 117,3); AMg. *khīla*=*kīla* (Dvār.); *khīlaa*=*kīlaka* (Hc. 1,181); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *khujja*=*kubja* (“hump-back” (Vr. 2,34; Hc. 1,181; Ki. 2,40; Mk. fol. 17; Pāiyā. 155; H.; Anuog. 250; Jiv. 87; Nāyādh. §117; p. 832.837; Paṇṇav. 428; Paṇhāv. 78.523; [text *kujja*]; Vivāgas. 226; Vivāhap. 791.964; Ovav.; Nirāyāv.; Āv. 21,5,13; Erz.; Śak. 31,16; Mālav. 70,8; Pras. 44,1ff.), AMg. *ambakhujja* = *āmrakubjaka* (Vivāhap. 116), *khujjatta*=*kubjatva* (Āyār. 1,2,3,2), *khujji* = *kubji* (*khujji* “achyrantes aspera” *kujja* (Hc. 1,81; Āyār. 1,6,1,3); but in the meaning “achyrantes aspera” *kujja* (Hc. 1,81; Āyār. 1,6,1,3); but in the meaning “achyrantes aspera” *kujja* (Hc. 1,81; M. AMg. JM. Ś. *khujja* (Kappas. §37), *kujjaja* (Paṇṇav. 32); *khuddā* (co-habitation; Deśin. 2,75); *saṅkhuddā* (to enjoy oneself; Hc. 4,168) from (*kurd*, *kūrd*; cf. *khurd*, *khūrd* (Dhātupāṭha 2,21)<sup>1</sup>; AMg. JM. *khēḍḍa*; A. *khēḍḍaa* (90); *khēḍḍai* (to enjoy oneself; Hc. 4,168); *khēḷḷanti* (they play; Hc. 4,382), JM. *khēḷḷāveuṇa* (Erz.), *khēḷḷa* (Erz.), AMg. *khēḷḷāvāna* (Āyār. 2,15,13); Ś. *kheladi* (Mudrār. 71,4; Viddhaś. 27,5), *khelidum* (Mudrār. 71,3; 81,2) *khelāna* (Viddhaś. 58,6; Mallikām. 135,5), A. *khelanta* (Piṅgala 1,123<sup>a</sup>), *khēḷḷia* (laughter; Deśin. 2,76) from the root *krīd*<sup>2</sup>; AMg. *khutto*, M. *huttam*=*khēḷḷia* (laughter; Deśin. 2,75); *khuluha*=*kulpha* (Deśin. 2,75; Pāiyā. 250; cf. §139); M. *nihasa*=*nikaṣa* (Vr. 2,4; Hc. 1,186.260; Ki. 2,24; Mk. fol. 14; G.R.), AMg., with transition in the media according to §202, *nighasa* (Vivāhap. 10; Rāyap. 54; Uvās.; Ovav.), M. *nihasaṇa*=*nikaṣaṇa* (G.H.R.)<sup>3</sup>; cf. *khaṣ* beside *kaṣ* (Dhātupāṭha 17,35); A. *vihasanti*=*vikāsanti* (Hc. 4,365,1). Corresponding to the Skt. suffix *-bha*, (ВНГТНВ<sup>1</sup>§1199) Pkt. has a suffix *-kha*, which occurs in A. *navakhī*=*navakī* (Hc. 4,420,5). Mk. fol. 37 teaches that without change of meaning *ha* may appear (*svārthe ca haś ca*); *puttaha*=*putraka*; *ekaha*=*ekaka*. To this again may be added *kaḥ svārthe*: *puttahaa*. This *-kha*, *-ha* occurs in AMg. *khahajara*, *khahacara*=\**khakacara*=*khacara* (bird; Āyār. 2,3,3,3; Sūyag. 825; Anuog. 265.408.449; Jiv. 71,83.86.117ff. 317.319.323; Nāyādh. 1179; Paṇṇav. 47.54.55.302.593ff.; Samav. 132; Thān. 121f.; Vivāhap. 472.479.522f.526.1285.1535; Vivāgas. 50.108.187.204f.; Uttar. 1072.1078f.; Ovav. §118), *khahacari* (female bird; Thān. 121f.)<sup>4</sup>; Mg. *vacāhagaṅṭhī sugudāha-sunṭhī*=*vacākāgrāṅṭhī sugudākasunṭhī* (Mr̥cch. 116,25; cf. §70); M. *chāhā*, *chāhī*=\**chāyākā* (§255); AMg. *phalaha*=*phalaka* (Vivāhap. 135; Ovav.), and with doubled suffix *phalahaga* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1; Ovav.), which has gone into Skt. as *phalahaka*; beside AMg. *phalaga* (Āyār. 2,2,1,6; 2,3,1,2) Uvās.; Ovav.) and *phalaja* (Āyār. 2,7,1,4); M. AMg. Ś. *phaliha*=*sphaṭika* (Vr. 2,4,22; Hc. 1,186.197; Ki. 2,24; Mk. fol. 14; G.H.R.; Vivāhap. 253; Rāyap. 33; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Mr̥cch. 68,18; 69,1; Vikr. 39,2; 66; 13; Mālav. 63,1; Nāgān. 54,12; Karp. 54,1; Viddhaś. 25,9; 28,5; 74,7), JM. *phālihamaya* (Erz.), beside AMg. *phāliya* (Nāyādh. §102; Ovav. [§38]; Kappas. §40), *phāliyamaya* (Paṇṇav. 115; Samav. 97; Ovav. §16, p. 31,19), Ś. *phaḍia* (Ratn. 318,30; Pras. 10,20; probably to be read °*ḥia* §238); *phālihagiri*=*sphaṭikagiri*=Kailāsa (Pāiyā. 97); AMg. *bhamuhā*=Pāli *bhamuka*=\**bhravukā* for \**bhrūvukā* (§124)<sup>5</sup>; JM. *sirihā*=*śrīkā* (Erz. 86,19); M. AMg. JM. D. *sunāha*=Pāli *sunakha*=Skt. *sunaka* (H.; Paṇhāv. 20; Nāyādh. 345; Paṇṇav. 136; Āv. 34,20.24; Erz.; Mr̥cch. 105,4), beside M. *sunāa* (Hc. 1,52; H.; Sarasvatik. 8,13), AMg. JM. *sunāga* (Jiv. 356 [cf. 255, where text *sunamade*]; Nāyādh. 450; Paṇṇav. 49; Uttar. 985; Āv. 35.6.10), *sunāja* (Āyār. 1,8,3,4.6; Paṇhāv. 201; Paṇṇav. 367.369; Āv. 35,9; 36,28ff.; Dvār. 497,18), *kolasunāja* (Sūyag. 591; Paṇṇav. 367), fem. *sunājā* (Paṇṇav. 368). To *sunāha* has again *ka* been added

in Mg. *sunahaka* (Mṛcch. 113,20) and A. *sunahāi* (Hc.4,443). Perhaps it was imagined that *sunaha* was=*sunakha*=*su*+*nakha*<sup>6</sup>; Dh. *tuhām*, A. *tuhū*=*tvakām* (§421) with *u* according to §152 and *ū* according to §352; A. *sañū*=*sākam* (Hc. 4,356,419) with *a* according to §81 and *ū* according to §352. Cf. also AMg. *phaniha* (sic; comb; Sūyag. 250) with *phanaga* (sic; Uttar. 672). M. *cihura* (Vr. 2,4; Hc. 1,186; Ki. 2,24; Mk. fol. 14; Pāiyal. 109; G.H.; Praçandap. 43,15; Karp. 48,10; Acyutaś. 35); Mg. *cihula* (Mṛcch. 171,2 [so to be read with v.l.]), wrongly M. *ciura* (Sāhityad. 73,4; Viddhaś. 25,1), questionable whether correct in S. (Prab. 45,1), will not be=*cikura*, which in the meaning of "colouring material" becomes AMg. *ciura* (Nāyādh. §51), but is=*\*cikšura*, a form derived with reduplication from  $\sqrt{kṣur}$  (to shave) which would have to become in Pkt. *\*cikkhura* or *\*cikhura*, *cihura*. *cihura* bears the same relation to *cikura* as  $\sqrt{*skur}$  to  $\sqrt{*kur}$ . We have a reduplication of *ci* in AMg. *cikkhalla* (mud; loam; swamp; Hc. 3,142; Deśin. 3,11; Panhāv. 47 [°la]; Anuog. 367; the explanation of *cikkhala* is uncertain; the word probably belongs to modern Indian *cikila cikkāna* to which my attention has been drawn by E. KUHN; AMg. M. *cikkhilla* (H.R.; Pannav. 89ff. [91 °kka°]); Vivāhap. 658f. [commentary °kka°] Panhāv. 164.212 [commentary °kka°]; AMg. *cikhillā* (Ovav. §32; text °kka°; see v.l.)=*\*cikšālya* from *kṣāl* "that which is to be washed off," "that which is to be purified"<sup>7</sup>. M. *nihāa* (multitude, crowd; Deśin. 4,49; Pāiyal. 19; G.H.R.) is not=*nikāya*<sup>8</sup>, but=*nighāta*<sup>9</sup> *nihelana* (homestead; Hc. 2,174; Ki. 2,120. D-śin. 4,51;5,37; Pāiyal. 49 [ni°]; Triv. 1,3,105) is not=*niketana*<sup>10</sup>, but=*nibhelana* (Kappas. §41) and belongs to  $\sqrt{bhil}$  *bhedane* (Dhātupāṭha 32,66), which occurs in AMg. *bhelāittā* (Thān. 421)<sup>11</sup>; cf. *bil*, *bila*.—*vihala* is not=*vikala*, but=*nihvala* (§332).—M. *sihara* (Pāiyal. 259; R.) is not=*śikara* (Hc. 1,184)<sup>12</sup>, but comes from M. *sihara* (R.), which the grammarians (Vr. 2,5; Hc. 1,184; Ki. 2,26; Mk. fol. 14) likewise derive from *śikara*, which, however, belongs to Vedic *śibham*<sup>13</sup>.

I. FISCHER, BB. 3,254.—2. FISCHER, BB. 3,254f. *kheladi*, *khēllāi* have gone also into Skt. as *vkhel*. Deviating from BB. 6,92, I could now assume dropping off of *s* in most of the other words.—3. The scholiasts mostly equate *nihasa* as=*nigharṣa* and *nihasaṇa* as=*nigharṣana*, a thing that is not possible linguistically, since these words would become *niharṣa*, *niharṣana*.—4. Abhayadeva on Thān. 121 remarks *khahān ti*, *prakṛtatena kham ākāśan iti*.—5. LEUMANN, Aup. S s.v. does not rightly consider *ha* as preventer of the hiatus—6. That the aspiration rests chiefly on this false analogy, as TRENCKNER assumes in the case of Pāli (Pāli Miscellany p. 58, note 6), is wrong. On the doubled suffix cf. AMg. *phalahaga*, *thūbhīyāgā* [§208] and Mk. fol. 37.—7. Anuog. 367 offers a beautiful etymology of *cikkhalla* as a sample, as one may etymologize: *cicca karoti khallam ca bhavati cikkhalla*. A. *cikkhili* (feminine; [sic]; Prabandhac. 56.6) is an adjective Both the words, *cihura* (FISCHER on Hc. 1,186) and *cikkhalla* (ZACHARIAE, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie p. 56) have been taken also into Skt.—8. BÜHLER, Pāiyal. p. 12 and s.v.—9. FISCHER, BB. 6,91.—10. BÜHLER, Pāiyal., p. 12 and s.v.—11. FISCHER, BB. 3,252; 6,91; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 34.—12. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 470.—13. FISCHER, BB. 6,91.

§207. *ta* has become *dha* through *ṭha* in AMg. *cimiḍha*=*cibiṭa* (§248); *vadhā*=*vaṭa* (Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105<sup>14</sup>); *saadha*=*śakaṭa* (Vr. 2,21; Hc. 1,196; Ki. 2,11; Mk. fol. 16), but AMg. *sagada* (Āyār. 2,3,2,16; 2,11,17; Sūyag. 350). S. *saadiā*=*śakatiḱā* (Mṛcch. 94,15ff.), Mg. *saala* (Mṛcch. 122,10; §238; *saḍhā*=*saṭā* (Vr. 2,21; Hc. 1,196; Ki. 2,11; Mk. fol. 16), but M. *saḍā* (R.). Cf. also A. *khallihadañ* (§110). *-ta* appears as *tha* in *thimpai*=*trimpai* (Vr. 8,22), *thippai* (Hc. 4,138; Ki. 4,46), *thēppai* (Ki. 4,46)=*tripyate*=*\*trimpai*, *\*tripyate*. Not identical with it is *thippai* (drops down; Hc. 4,175), which with *theva* (a drop; §130) belongs to  $\sqrt{stip}$ , *stēp* (Dhātupāṭha 10,3.4). The suffix *-tha*, instead of Skt. *-ta* occurs in M. AMg. JM. *bharaha*=*bharata*

(Vr. 2,9; C. 3,12 p. 49; Hc. 1,214; Ki. 2,30; Mk. fol. 15; G.R.; Antag. 3; Uttar. 515,517; Ovav.; Sagara 2,6; Dvār.; Erz.; Kk.), AMg. *dāhiṇāddha bhārahe* = *daśiṇārādhbharate*<sup>1</sup> (Āyār. 2,15,2; Nāyādh. §13.93); M. AMg. JM. A. *bhāraha* = *bhārata* (G.; Āyār. 2,25,2; Thān. 70,73; Vivāhap. 427.479; Uttar. 515.517.532.541; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Erz.; Hc. 4,399); M. *bhārāhī* (G.). The form *bharatha*, to which *bharaha* goes back, as *bhāraha* to *\*bhāratha*<sup>2</sup>, is attested by Unādis. 3,115 and Ś. *bharadha* (Mk.; Bālar. 155,3,310,9 [falsely *bharada* 55,17;150,21]; Anarghar. 316,15 [text °da]; but ed. Calc. Śāk. 1782, p. 237,4 correctly °dha; Pras. 91,12 [text °da], Mg. *bhālādha* (Mṛcch. 128,13 [STENZLER °li, see v. l. in GODABOLE, 353,12]; 129,3 [text °de])<sup>3</sup>. Corresponding to the suffix *-tha* in Skt. *āvasatha* = AMg. *āvasaha* (e.g. Āyār. 1,7,2,1ff.; Ovav.), Skt. *upavasatha*, *nivasatha*, *pravasatha* etc., M. AMg. JM. have *vasahi* = *\*vasathi* = *vasati* (Vr. 2,9; C. 3,12 p. 49; Hc. 1,214; Ki. 2,30; Mk. fol. 15; Pāiyāl. 49; G.H.R.; Paṇhāv. 136. 178.215; Vivāhap. 152.1123.1193; Nāyādh. 581; Uttar. 449.918 [beside *āvasaha*]; Dasav. N. 647,49; Ovav.; Āv. 27,25; Kk.); AMg. *kuvasahi* = *kuvasati* (Paṇhāv.)<sup>4</sup>. *-ha*, Ś. Mg. *-dha* in the second person plural imperative likewise go back to *-tha*, since the second person plural indicative is used as the imperative (§471). — *kāhala* (cowardly; fearful; C. 3,12 p. 49; Hc. 1,214; cowardly scoundrel; Deśin. 2,58), that is equated by Grr. and P. GOLDSCHMIDT<sup>5</sup> as = *kātara* cannot be separated from *kāhala* (tender; weak; Deśin. 2,58), and *kāhali* (a tender young woman; Deśin. 2,26). *kāhala*, *kāhali* are used in Skt. also; perhaps they forced their way into it first from Pkt. and presumably belong to M. *tharatharei*, Ś. *tharatharedi* (throbs violently [from the heart]; trembles); §558), are, therefore, = *kā + thara*, *kā*, in Skt. *kāpuruṣa*, *kābhartṛ* etc. *kātara* becomes M. A. *kāara* (G.R.; Hc. 4,376,1), AMg. *kāyara* (Nāyādh.), Ś. *kādara* (Śāk. 17,12; 84,16; Vikr. 27,6; Mālav. 40,13), Mg. *kādala* (Mṛcch. 120,9). *kātara* and *\*kāthara* probably go back to the basic form *\*kāstara*. — According to Hc. 1,214 *māluṅga* becomes *māhulūga*, on the other hand *mātuluṅga* becomes *māuluṅga*, as AMg. Ś. hav: (Āyār. 2,1,8,1; Paṇṇav. 482; Adbhutad 68,6 [read *mādu*]). *māhulūga* (also C. 3,12 p. 49) belongs to the same category as *madhukarakaṭikā*, *madhukukkuṭikā*, *madhujambīra*, *madhujambha*, *madhubijapūra*, *madhuraiambīra*, *madhurabijapūra*, *madhuravallī*, *madhuwallī*, *madhūla*, *ma'ulaka*, all of which mean special kinds of citron. *māhulūga* is, therefore, = *\*mādhulūga*. In Paṇṇav. 531 AMg. *māluṅga* is emended. AMg. *vihatthi* (Sūyag. 280; Vivāhap. 425; Nandis. 168; Aṇuog. 384.413) is not = *vitasti* (C. 3,12 p. 49; Hc. 1,214<sup>6</sup>), but in the root *tas* *s* will have dropped off, *vihatthi*, therefore, will stand for *\*vihatthi* = *\*vistasti*.

1. The edition in the Granthapradarśani at p. 93, for which reads *poḍo [dodah] āṇo [dolā?]*; see BB. 6.88ff. — 2. WARREN, Over de godsdienstige en wijsgeerige Begrippen der Jaina's (Zwolle 1875) p. 106, note. — 3. Wrongly P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 473. — 4. FISCHER, BB. 6.92f. Wrongly P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 473. — 5. GN. 1874, p. 473. — 6. More probably it is an adaptation of one *\*vihatthi* (BB. 6.93).

§208. *pa* appears as *ph* in AMg. Ś. *phaṇasa* = *paṇasa* (Vr. 2,37; Hc. 1,232; Jiv. 46; Paṇṇav. 482.531; Vivāhap. 1530; Ovav.; Bālar. 209,7,8 [°pa°]; Viddhaś. 63,2), beside M. *paṇasa* (Karp. 115,2), Mg. *paṇasa* (Mṛcch. 115,20); M. AMg. JM. *pharusa* = *parusa* (Vr. 2,36; C. 3,11; Hc. 1,232; Ki. 2,43; Mk. fol. 18; G.H. [so 344 to be read; see Index and the v.l. IS. 16,104]. R.; Āyār. 1,6,4,1,2,8; 1,8; 1,8,3,5,13; 2,1,6,3; 2,4,1,1,6; Sūyag. 122 [text °pa°]. 172.485.517.527.729; Jiv. 273; Nāyādh. §135; p. 757; Paṇhāv. 393.394.396.516; Vivāhap. 254.481; Uttar. 92; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.), JM. *aipharusa* = *aiparusa* (Kk.); M. *pharusattana* = *\*parusattana* (R.); AMg. *pharusija* = *parusita* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2; 1,6,4,1 [see v.l.]); M. AM. JM.

*phaliha* = *parigha* (Vr. 2,30.36; Hc. 1,232.254; Kī. 2,43; Mk. fol. 17.18; Pāīyā. 267; R.; Āyār. 2,1,5,2; 2,3,2,14; 2,4,2,11; 2,11,5; Sūyag. 771; Vivāhap. 416; Dasav. 628,22; Dvār. 500,30); M. *phalihā* = *parikhā* (Vr. 2,30.35; Hc. 1,232.254; Kī. 2,43; Mk. fol. 17.18; Pāīyā. 240; R.), AMg. *pharihā* (Nāyādh. 994.1001ff. 1006.1008.1012.1014.1023; Probably to be read as *phalihā*); *phalihadda* = *pāribhadra* (Hc. 1,232.254); AMg. *pharasu* = Pāli *pharasu* = Skt. *paraśu* (Vivāgas. 239); but M. AMg. JM. Ś. *paraśu* (G.; Nāyādh. §135; p. 438 [text °ri°]. 1438; Pañhāv. 198 [text °ri°]; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Kk.; Mahāv. 29,19), Mg. *palāśu* (Mṛcch. 157,13), Ś. *parasurāma* (Mahāv. 55,12; 64,20; Bālar. 36,5,6); AMg. *phusiya* = Pāli *phusita* = *pr̥sata* (§101; AMg. JM. *phāsuya* (Āyār. 2.1,1,4.6; 2,1,2,1ff.; Pañhāv. 497; Uvās.; ZDMG. 34,291,44; Kk.)) = Pāli *phāsuka* is phonetically = *pr̥suka*, which however, is certainly a false Sanskritism of the Pk. word<sup>1</sup>; *aphāsuya* (Āyār. 2,1,1,1.3.6.11ff.); *bahuphāsuya* (Āyār. 2,2,3,24ff.). *phāsuya* might belong to *Vspr̥s* = *\*spar̥śuka*<sup>2</sup> (§62). *phāḍei*, which Hc. 1,198 equates as *p̥ṭṭayati* = *sph̥ṭṭayati*.—Mk. fol. 18 has, moreover, *phalihi* = *paridhi* and *phalama* = *palama*, which probably ought to be *phanasa* = *paṇasa*. The first word may even be corrupt. In *rampai*, *ramphai* (hews; Hc. 4,194) whether *pa* or *pha* is original cannot be said; cf. *rampa* “section” (H.119.120 with v.l. *rumpa*, *rump̥hā*<sup>3</sup>).—In AMg., more rarely in JM., medial *pa* in some words has become *bh* through *ph* (§200). So AMg. *kacchabha* = *kacchapa* (Jiv. 71 290 478; Nāyādh. 510; Pañhāv. 18.119.170; Pañnav. 47; Vivāgas. 49. 186; Vivāhap. 248.483.1033 1285; Uttar. 1072), *kacchabhī* = *kacchapi* (lute, Pañhāv. 512; Nāyādh. 1275.1378; Rāyap. 88); AMg. *kabhalla* = *kapāla* (§91; Uvās. §94; Antag. 27; Aṇuttar. 10 [text °va°, commentary *bha*], beside *kavalla* (Sūyag. 275; Vivāhap. 270 383), *kavalli* (Vivāgas. 141). *kavāla* (Āyār. 2,1,3,4); to these add *kaphāda* (hollow; Deśin. 2,7); AMg. *thūbha* = *stūpa* (Āyār. 2,1,2,3; 4,3,3,1; Sūyag. 26; Pañhāv. 31,234,286; Anu. g. 387; Jiv. 546f.; Pañnav. 369; Rāyap. 153f. 195f.; Vivāhap. 560.659.1249; Thān. 266), also JM. (Sagara 2,7; T. 5,11.13.16; 6,13,15; 7,8; ZDMG. 34,291,47.49); AMg. *thūbhiyā* = *stūpikā* (Āyār. 2,10,17; Jiv. 492.495.506; Nāyādh.; Ovav.), and with doubled suffixes *thūbhiyāgā* = *\*stūpikākā* (S. mav. 213; Pañnav. 116; Rāyap. 116; Nāyādh. §122); AMg. *gothūbha* = *gostūpa* (Thān. 252.268; Jiv. 715f. 718ff.; Samav. 106.108.113.116f. 127.143ff. 233 [on account of metre also *gothubha*]; Vivāhap. 198). The more modern form occurs in *thūha* [battlements of a palace; ant-hill; Deśin. 5,32]. Cf. Leṇa-dialect *thuba* (Arch. Survey of W. India 5,78,10).—AMg. *vibhāsā* = *vipāsā* (Thān. 5 44).

1. JACOBI, Kk. s.v. *phāsuya* analyses it into *pra* + *asu* + *ka*. Skt. *pr̥śuka*, so far as I can see, is used by the Jainas only.—2. HOERNLE, Uvās. s. v. Not rightly CHILDERS s.v. *phāsu*, who will equate it as = *spār̥tha*.—3. WEBER, ZDMG. 28,378.

§209. More rarely occurs the aspiration of the medials. For *ga* occurs *gha* in *ghāṇa* = *gāyana* (singer; Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 2,108; Triv. 1,3, 105 = BB. 3,255); AMg. *sinhādaga* = *śṛṅgātaka* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.). *ghisai* is not = *grasati*, but = *\*ghasati* (§103.482).—*ja* appears as *jha* in *jhaḍila* beside *jaḍila* = *jaṭila* (Hc. 1,194); *jhattha* (annihilated; gone; Deśin. 3,61) from *Vjas*; cf., however, also *Vjhas*. AMg. *jhūstī* (absol.; Vivāgas. 270f.; Antag. 69 [jhu°]; Nāyādh. 383.388; Uvās.; Ovav.), *jhūsiya* [Thān. 56 [Commentary l. 187.274; Nāyādh. 382; Antag. 69 [jhu°]; Jiv. 289 [jhu°]; Vivāhap. 169.173; 321; Uvās.; Ovav.), mostly explained with *ksīṇa* or *ksapita*<sup>1</sup>, *jhūsaṇā* (Nāyādh. 376, Vivāhap. 169.173; Thān. 56.187. 274; Uvās.; Ovav.), *parijhūsiya* (Thān. 202) belong to *Vjhūs*, that is mentioned beside *jūs*, *yūs*. (Dhātupāṭha 17,29)<sup>2</sup>.—*da* becomes *dha* in *dhippā*

beside *dīppai*=*dīpyate* (Hc. 1,223); *kāūha* (Hc. 1,225), dialectically *kakudha* (Triv. 1,3,105)=Pāli *kakudha*, a form parallel to *kakhubha*<sup>3</sup>.—*ba* appears as *bha* in AMg. *bhimbhisāra*=*bimbisāra* (Thāṇ. 523; Ovav. [so to be read for *bhambha*<sup>o</sup>; cf. v.1.]); M. *bhisimī*=*bisimī* (Vr. 2,38; Hc. 1,238; Kī. 2,44; Pāiyāl. 149; H.; Sāhityad. 79,1). Ś. has *bisimī* (Vṛṣabh. 39,3; Mālav. 75,8). According to Bh. on Vr. 2,38 and Hc. 1,238 the aspiration does not occur in *bisa* and so M. *bisa* (Pāiyāl. 256; G.H.; Karp. 95,12). Mk. fol. 18 teaches *bhisa*=*bisa* but quotes H.8, where stands *bhisinisaṇḍam*. AMg., like Pāli, has *bhisa* (Āyār. 2,1,8,10; Sūyag. 813; Jiv. 290.353; Paṇṇav. 35.40; Rāyap. 55). For *bysi* Bh. 1,28 and Hc. 1,28 teach *bisī*, the Pāiyāl. 215 *bhusī*. *bysikā* has aspiration: *bhisā* (Deśin.6,105), AMg. *bhisigā* (Sūyag. (726), *bhisijā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,2; Nāyādh. 1279.1283; Ovav.). *bhukkai* barks; Hc.4,186), *bhukkijā* (barking; Pāiyāl.182), *bhukkaṇa* (dog; Deśin.6,110), beside *bukkai*=*garjati* (Hc.4,98), *ubbukkai* (speaks; Hc.4,2), *bukkaṇa* (a crow; Deśin.6,94; Pāiyāl.44). On *bhaasai*, *bhaappai*, *bhaappai* etc. see §212.—*bhibbhala*, *bhimbhala* (Hc. 2,58 with translation), M. Ś. *bhēmbhala* (R. 6,37; Cait. 38,9 [text. *bhemhaṇo*]), Ś. *bhēmbhaladā* (Cait. (44,9), *bhēmbhalida* (Cait. 55,13 [text. *bhēmaḥa*<sup>o</sup>]) cannot, with Hc., be derived from *vibbhala*, *vēbbhala*=*vihala* (§332), since the aspiration of *v* would have given *ha* in the initial syllable as is shown by *vihala*. The words belong, with *bhambhala* (block-head; later stubbornness, Deśin. 6,110) to *vbarbh himsāyām* (Dhātupāṭha 15,71). It is, therefore, to be written with anusvāra, as the glosse on Hc. 2,58 tells us, and this is to be explained according to §74.

1. On the meaning see LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s.v. jhūsiya*; HOERNLE, *Uvās.*, Translation, note 160.—2. HOERNLE, *Uvās. l.c.* Overlooked by LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s.v. jhūs*, Incorrect is its association with AMg. *jhusira* (LEUMANN, *WZKM.* 3,343). Cf. §211.—3. *kāūha* can naturally be derived from *kakubha* too. Cf. FISCHER, *BB.* 3,257; v. BRADKE, *ZDMG.* 40,660; WACKERNAGEL, *Altind. Gram.* §156,b. Wrongly P. GOLDSCHMIDT, *GN.* 1874 p. 473.

§210. Aspiration of nasals and semivowels takes place in *nhāvīa*=*nāpita* (Hc. 1,230; Pāiyāl. 61), really=\**nāpita*<sup>1</sup>, as AMg. *nhāvīyā*=*snāpikā* (Vivāhap. 964) and other derivatives of *snā* (§13). Ś. Mg. have *nhāvīa*=*nāpita* (Hasy. 28,19; Mṛcch. 113,10)<sup>2</sup>.—M. *pamhusai*=\**prasmṛsati*<sup>3</sup>=*pramṛsyati* (Hc. 4,75.184; G.), M. *pamhasijjāsu*=*pramṛsyeh* (H. 348), M. *pamhusia* (G.), Ś. *pamhasida* (Mahāv. 65,1; ed. Bombay. 1892, p. 161,8<sup>o</sup> *ppamusida*), M. JM. *pamhutṭha* (Hc. 3,105=R.6,12; Hc. 4,258; Āv. 7,31), A. *pamhutṭhai* (Hc. 4,396,3; so to be read), M. *pamhaṭṭha* (R.); according to Hc. 4,158 *pamhusai* is also=*pramuṣṇāni*, according to 4,258 *pamhutṭha* also is=*pramuṣita*; A. *bhumhaḍi*=*bhūmi* (Hc. 4,395,6) with the suffix *-aḍa*, femin. *-aḍi* (Hc.4,429.431).—AMg. *lhasuṇa*=*lasuṇa* (Āyār.2,7,2,6; Vivāhap. 609; Paṇṇav. 40; Jiyāk. 54), beside AMg. JM. *lasuṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,8,13; Sūyag. 337 [text *lasuṇa*]; Āv. 40,18); *lhukkai* beside *likkai* (hides oneself; Hc.4,55), a denominative from M. *lhikka*=\**ślikna* (Hc. 4,258; G.), cf. *śliku* “dependant” and §566.

1. WEBER, *KB.* 1,505.—2. Wrongly permits S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 7, note 3, *Skt. nāpita* to be derived from *Pkt. nāvīa*. The dropping off of the initial *s* depends upon the accent=*nāpita*<sup>1</sup>, like Vedic *paḍbhīh* from *spas* (FISCHER, *Ved. Stud.* 1,239).—3. WEBER on *Hala*<sup>1</sup> 358;<sup>2</sup> 348; *ZDMG.* 28,425.

§211. A simple initial sibilant of Skt. is sometimes aspirated in Pkt. *sha*, *ṣha*, *ṣha*, then all become uniformly *cha*. The derivation of this *cha* from an original sound-group *kṣa* or *skā* is in not at all certain. *chamī*=*śamī* (Hc. 1,265); AMg. *chāva*=Pāli *chāpa*=*śāba* (Hc. 1,265; Kī. 2,46; Sūyag. 511)<sup>1</sup>, *chāvaa*=*śābaka* (Vr. 2,41; Mk. fol. 18), but Mg. *sāvaka* (Mṛcch. 10,6); AMg. *chivāḍi*=*śivāḍi* (2,1,1,3.4);

M. AMg. *chēppa*, *chippa*=*śepa* (Deśin. 3,36; Pāiyāl. 128; G. H.; Vivāgas. 69)<sup>2</sup>; in addition to *chippālua* (tail; Deśin. 3,29); but Ś. *sunasseha*=*śunakṣepa* (Anarghar. 58,5; 59,12); *chippira* (straw; Deśin. 3,28; Pāiyāl. 142) beside *sippira* (straw; H. 330), *sippa* (straw; Deśin. 8,28); in addition to this probably also *chippindī* (flour; Deśin. 3,37) and *chippāla* (a bullock accustomed to corn; Deśin. 3,28); *chui* (a female crane; Deśin. 3,30=*śuchi*; *cha*=*ṣaṭ*, *chaṭṭha*=*ṣaṣṭha*, and *cha*<sup>o</sup>, *cha*<sup>o</sup> in numerous compounds (§240.441)<sup>3</sup>; AMg. *chuhā*=*sudhā* (Hc. 1,265; Deśin. 2,42; Vivāhap. 658f.), in addition to *chuhia* (plastered; Deśin. 3,30); AMg. *chirā*=*sirā* (Hc. 1,266; Thāp. 55; Jiv. 271; Samav. 227; Vivāhap. 89.810), *chiratta* (Anuog. 12), beside *sirā* (Hc. 1,266). On M. AMg. *piuccā*, M. *māucchā*, Ś. *māduccā*, *māduccihā*=*pitṭvasā*, *māṛṣvasā*, *māṣvasā*, *māṛṣvasyā* see §148; on *chattavaṇṇa*, *chattivaṇṇa*, presumably=*sapta-ṇa* see §103. An initial sonant sibilant is presupposed by AMg. *jhusira* (full of holes; hole; Ayār. 2,11,4; 2,15,22 [p. 129,1], Paṇhāv. 137; Nāyādh. 752; Dasav. 620,30; Uvās.), *ajhusira* (Jiyak. 55), *antōjjhusira* (Nāyādh. 397)=\**zuṣira*=*suṣira* or \**z'uṣira*=*śuṣira*<sup>4</sup>. Perhaps *jhalā* (mirage; Deśin. 3,53; Pāiyāl. 232) also belongs to *śāl* (to prop up)=\**z'alā*, and *jarua* (midge; cricket; Deśin. 3,54), *jhāruā* (cricket; Deśin. 3,57), from *Vśaru hūmsāyām* (Dhātupāṭha 15,76), *śaru* (an arrow).<sup>5</sup>

1. PORT, Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien 2,181ff.; FISCHER, GGA. 1875, p.627; on Hc. 1,265. Wrongly MIKLOSICH, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Zigeunermundarten I. II (Wien 1874) p. 26.—2. JOHANSSON (IF. 3,213), with whom WACKERNAGEL (Altind. Gr. §230b, p.266) concurs, compares Latin cippus, Greek  $\sigma\chi\omicron\lambda\pi\omicron\varsigma$ .—3. Hypotheses on the original form of *ṣaṣ* in HÜBSCHMANN, KZ. 27,106; BARTHOLOMAE, KZ. 29,576.—4. LEUMANN, WZKM. 3,343. Whether *suṣira* or *śuṣira* is the more correct form of writing still remains to be probed into. Śrīharṣa, Dvirūpakośa 150 teaches *suṣi* and *śuṣi*. ZACHARIAE writes Śāsvata 185, against the best MSS. *suṣira*, but Hemacandra, Anekārthasamgraha 3,607 *suṣira*, as is given by the derivative forms from *suṣ* (Uṇādigāṇasūtra 416). Connection with AMg. *jhus* (§203) is out of consideration. Its derivation from *suṣ* is quite uncertain. Wrongly HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 172.—Jiv. 273 has *suṣira*.—5. The word can be connected to *kṣāraka* also.

§212. Aspiration appears in some cases in Pkt. in a syllable of the word different from that in Skt. In isolated cases this may be explained by the fact that originally the initial and the final syllables of the word were aspirated, and dialectically the aspiration of a sound vanished in different ways. In most cases, however, there remains for us scarcely any assumption other than "turning-round of the breath." M. *iharā* from \**iharatā*, \**iharaā*=*itarathā* (§354); *waha*, M. *avaha* from \**ubatha* for \**ubhata*, deduced from M. *avahovāsam*, *avahoāsam*=AMg. *ubhaopāsam*=\**ubhatahpārsvam* (§123); *keḍhava* from \**kaiṭhaba* for *kaiṭabha* (Vr. 2,21.29; Hc. 1,196.240; Kī. 2,11.27; Mk. fol. 16.17); *gadhaī* from \**gaṭṭhati*=*ghaṭate* (Hc. 4,112), beside the usual *ghadāi*; M. AMg. JM. A. *ghēppai* from \**ghṛṇṇyati*=*grṇṇyate* (§548), inf. M. *ghēttum*=\**ghṛṇṇtum*=*grahitum* (§574), absol. *ghēttuānam*, *ghēttuāna* (§584), M. AMg. JM. *ghēttūna*=\**ghṛṇṇtūnam*=*grhītūvā* (§586), particip. nec. *ghēttava*=\**ghṛṇṇtava*=*grahitavya* (§570), fut. JM. *ghēcchāmo* (§534) belong to a root \**ghṛṇ*, that is a root parallel to *grbh* (§107)<sup>1</sup>; *dhamkuṇa*, *dhemkuṇa*, AMg. *dhamkuṇa* (bug) for \**dāmkhuṇa* belong to Marāṭhī *dāmkhṇem* (to bite, to sting), *dāmkh* (bite, sting of a poisonous animal)=*dams* (§107.267); M. *dhajjai* (Jivān. 97,9), Ś. *dhajjadi* (Mālav. 28,8; Mallikām. 90,23 [text *ai*]), *dhajjadu* (Venis. 23,18; so to be read; see v.l.p.135), Mg. *dhayyadi* (Mrcch. 9,25) for \**dajjhaī*, M. AMg. JM. *dajjhai* (§222)=*dahyate*, Ś. *vidhajjia*=*vidahya* (Mahāv. 96,11), *dhajjanta*- (Mālatim. 79,2; so to be read with the v.l. and ed. Madras. 67,6; Rukmiṇip. 20,7;35,9; Mallikām. 57,7;133,13); cf. v.l. *dhajjai* on H. 373; M. *dihī* from \**dṛthi*=*dṛti* (Hc. 2,131; Sāhityad. 219,14);

M. *dhūā*, AMg. JM. *dhūjā*, Ś. Mg. *dhūdā*=\**dhuktā*=*duhitā* (§ 65;392); JŚ. Ś. Mg. A. *bahinī* for \**baghinī*=*bhaginī* (Hc. 2,126; Pāiyal. 252; Kattig. 401,338; Mālatim. 31,5; Mg. Mr̥cch. 11,9;113,19;138,25;140,1,7; A Hc. 4,351), mostly with *kaḥ svārthe*, Ś. *bahinā*=*bhaginikā* (Mr̥cch. 94,4;328,5; Śak. 15,4;85,4,6; Mālatim. 130,3; Mahāv. 118,18;119,3; Ratn. 324,23;327, 7,9.13;328,20; Prab. 68,7; Cait. 88,12,92,15; Karp. 33,4,7;34,3;35,2 etc.), A. *bahinū* (Hc.4,422,14). From *bṛhaspati* are found AMg. *bahassai*, *bihassai*, Ś. *bahappadi*, *bahappai*, *bihapphadi* (§53). The grammarians mention these and numerous other forms : *bahassai*, *bihassai*, *buhassai* (C.2.5 p.43; Hc.2,69.137; Sr. fol. 36); *bahappai*, *bihappai*, *buhappai* (C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 2,53,137; Sr. fol. 36); *bahapphai*, *bihapphai*, *buhapphai* (C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 1,138; 2,53.69.137); Mg. *buhaspadi* (Hc. 4,289), *bhaṣpadi* (Nāmīsādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12); moreover with aspirated initial : *bhaassai* (C.2.5 p.43; Hc. 2 69.137; Sr. fol. 36), *bhiassai*, *bhuassai* (C. 2,5 p.43); *bhaappai* (C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 2,137; Mk. fol. 38; Prākṛtamañjarī in FISCHER, De. Gr. Prācr. p. 15; Sr. fol. 36), *bhiappai*, *bhuappai* (C. 2,5 p. 43); *bhaapphai* (Vr. 4,30; C. 2,5 p. 43; Hc. 2,69.137; Ki. 2,117; Sr. fol. 36), *bhiapphai*, *bhuapphai* (C. 2,5 p. 43)<sup>2</sup>.

1. FISCHER, KB. 8,148f. Wrongly P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 512; WEBER, IS. 14,73, note 2; JACOBI, KZ. 28,253f.; JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,447. Cf. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29,493; WEBER on Hāla 286.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 1,138. The forms with initial *h* in lieu of *bh* in Triv., Sr. and in the Prākṛtamañjarī are orthographical errors of the Dravidian manuscripts. The edition of Triv. has *hh*.

§213. Loss of aspiration occurs in AMg. JM. Ś. *saṅkalā*=*śṛṅkhalā* (Paṅhāv. 183; Jiv. 503; Ṛṣabhap. 33; Latakam. 18,4). AMg. *saṅkala*=*śṛṅkhalā* (according to; Hc. 1,189; Paṅhāv. 536), AMg. JM. *saṅkalyā*=*śṛṅkhalikā* (Sūyag. 296; Āv. 14,17), JM. *saṅkalaya*=*śṛṅkhalita* (Āv. 13,28). So also the modern Indian languages<sup>1</sup>. But M. Ś. *saṅkhalā* (G.; Mr̥cch. 41,10); Ś. *ussaṅkhalaa* (Mr̥cch. 151,17); M. Ś. *visaṅkhalā* (R.; Mālatim. 291,2); Mg. *saṅkhalā* (Mr̥cch. 167,6); M. Ś. *siṅkhalā* (R.; Acyutaś. 41; Mālatim. 129,1; Priyad. 4,5; Mallikām. 141,7; Anarghar. 265,2;308,9; Vṛṣabh. 38,10; Viddhaś. 84,9 [text °sa°]; 85,3,8)<sup>2</sup>.—AMg. *dhāṅka*=Pāli *dhāṅka*=Skt. *dhvāṅkṣa*, for \**dhāṅkha* (crow; crane; vulture; Deśin. 4,13; Pāiyal. 44; Sūyag. 437,508; Uttar. 593), *dhīṅka*, (Paṅhāv. 24), which as well as *dhēṅki* for \**dhīṅki* (female crane; Deśin. 4,15), presupposes an accentuation \**dhvāṅkṣā*. In the sense of a kind of plant, of which the bees are fond (cf. BÖHTLINGK s.v. *dhvāṅkṣa*), occurs in M. *dhāṅka* (H.755)<sup>3</sup>.—AMg. *bīhaṇa*=*bhīṣaṇa* (Paṅhāv. 78), *bīhaṇaga*=*bhīṣaṇaka* (Paṅhāv. 48,49.167.177), but M. Ś. *bhīṣaṇa* (G.R.; Vikr. 28,8; Mahāv. 12,1; Bālar. 54,7; Anarghar. 58,5; Mallikām. 82,18;141,9), Ś. *adibhīṣaṇa* (Mallikām. 183,3). To *bhīṣ* belong also *bīhai*, *bīhei* (§501). Cf. §263. *paṅguraṇa* (cloak; wrap; Hc. 1,175; Triv. 1,3,105) against Marāṭhī *pāṅgharūn*, *pāṅgharṇem*, *pāṅghurṇem*<sup>4</sup>.—AMg. *saṅdeja*=\**śāṅdeya* (capon; Ovav. §1) is a false reading for *saṅdheja*, as in Skt. too *saṅda* and *saṅdha* are interchanged in the manuscripts. On secondary *kka*, *cca*, *tta*, *ppa* for *kkha*, *cca*, *ttha*, *ppha* see §301ff.

1. FISCHER on Hc.1,189.—2. Cf. § 54.—3. In the stanza that was not intelligible to WEBER, there occurs *dhāṅkharaseso*=*dhvāṅkṣarasaisah*, and the comma after *mukko* is to be erased.—4. FISCHER, BB. 3,247ff.

§214. WEBER<sup>1</sup> has assumed that in Pkt. “secondary aspiration, respective *h* direct” occurs through the influence of the preceding aspirates. The examples quoted by him *bhāraha*, *khīla* in *dharaṅkhalā*, *phalaha* have found their correct explanation in §206.207. On the other hand, WACKERNAGEL<sup>2</sup> has attributed to Pkt. a “disinclination to the succession of two aspirates.” His only example is *majjhaṇṇa*, which he wrongly

equates as=*mādhyāhna*, while it is=*madhyamīna* (§148). In any case, the example would prove nothing, as *majjhaṇḍa* is quite common (§330). The reference to E. KUHN, Beitrage p. 41 proves nothing. For Pāli *majjhatta*=*madhyastha*, Pkt. says, in all the dialects, from which we can get examples, M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *majjhattha* (H.R.; Āyār. 1,7,8,5; Sūyag. 97; Nāyādh. 1274; T. 5,16; Rṣabh. 49; Kk. 275,45; Pav. 389,3; Mrcch. 68,21; Bālar. 238,8; Karnas. 31,10; Mallikām. 250,2,3), for Pāli *majjhattatā*, Ś. *majjhatthadā* (Śak. 27,5; Mālav. 39,9; Adbhutad. 4,10). That even in Pāli the reason for the loss of aspiration is not the disinclination, presupposed by WACKERNAGEL, is shown by Pāli *indapatta*=*indraprastha*, *maṭṭa* beside *maṭṭha*=*mṛṣṭa*, *vaṭṭa*=*vṛṣṭa*, *atā*=*asta*, *bhaddamutta*=*bhadramusta* etc. (E. KUHN, Beitrage p. 41.53), Pkt. *samatta* beside *samattha*=*samasta* (§307). From cases, like M. *takkhaṇḍakkaaharihathukkhittabhambhalā* (R. 6,37), *khandhukheva* (G. 1049), AMg. *majjhabhāgattha* (Nāyādh. §92), JM. *hatthikkhandha* (Āv. 25,39), JŚ. *mohakkhohavihūṇa* (Pav.380,7), Ś. *phalihattambha* (Mālav.6,3, 1), words, like *khambha*, *khuḥā*, *jhajjhara*, *jhāṅkhaṅ jhujjhā*, *bhippha*, *bhībhhala*, and the numberless examples, like *ghaṭṭha*, *bhaṭṭha*, *hattha*<sup>3</sup>, *hittha*, *ḍajjhīhi*, *duhihi*, *bujjhīhi* etc. it results that Pkt. does not have the disinclination attributed to it, and cannot have it according to its phonetic law. On the other hand, some of the dialects, particularly AMg., are proud of the succession of two aspirates, as in *khikkhīnī*, *khahacā*, *thūbha*, *kacchabha* (§206.208). That the examples adduced by JACOB<sup>1</sup> cannot be brought forward in defence of a disinclination of two successive aspirates is shown by §312ff.

1. Bhag. 1,411.—2. KZ. 33,575f.; Altind. Gr. § 105, note.—3. With WACKERNAGEL, I include here, among the aspirates, *ha* also, for the sake of brevity.—4. Erz. XXXII, note 3; XXXIII, note 2.

§215. Dialectically gutturals interchange with labials (§230.231. 266.286). In place of palatals, dialectically, occur dentals as well *ta* for *ca*, *da* for *ja*. AMg. *teicchā*=\**cekitsā*=*ckitsā* (Āyār. 1,2,5,6; 1,8,4,1; 2,13,22; Kappas. S. §49), *tigicchā* (Thān. 313; Paṇhāv. 356; Nāyādh. 603.605; Uttar. 106), *tigicchaya*, *tigicchaga*=*ckitsāka* (Thān. 313; Nāyādh. 603.605; Ut. ar. 620), *tigicchai*, *tigicchiya* (§ 555), *vitigicchā*=*vicikitsā* (Thān. 191; Āyār. 2,1,3,5; Sūyag. 189.401.445.514.533; Uitar. 468ff.), *vitigimchā*, *vitigimchāi*, *vitigimchiya* (§ 74.555), *vitigicchāmi* (Thān. 245.), *niivitigiccha* (Sūyag. 771; Ut. ar. 811; Vivāhap. 183; Ovav. §124).—AMg. *digicchanta*, *digimchā*=*jighatsat*, *jighatsā*, AMg. JM. *ḍugamchā*, *dugumchā*, AMg. *dugumchāṇa*, *dugamchāṇija*, *dogamchi*, *dogumchi*, *paḍidugamchi*, *dugumchāi*, *dugumchamāṇa*, *augamchamāṇa*, *adugucchiya* (§ 74.555), beside the usual *jugucchā* (Bh. 3,40), *juucchai*, *jugucchāi* etc. (§555).—AMg. *dosinā*=*jyotsnā* (Triv. 1,3,105=BB.3.250; Thān. 95; Paṇhāv. 533; Sūriyap. in Verzeichniss. 5,2,574.577), *dosinābhā* (Nāyādh. 1523); *dosinī*=*jyautsnī* (Deśin. 5,50), Ś. *vaṇadosinī*=*vanajyautsnī* (Śak. 12,13); *dosāṇia* († right; clear; Deśin. 5 51).—In secondary *ja*, originating from *ya* according to §252. the change could have occurred in *ḍogga* (pair; Deśin. 5,49; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,241), when it is to be equat<sup>d</sup> as=*yugma*. It can, however, be referred also to AMg. JM. *duga*, *dvika* (§451)<sup>1</sup>.

1. AMg. *pāḍinam*=*prācinam* (Āyār. 2,1,9,1) is either a false reading or a printing mistake for *pāṇam*, as it rightly stands in Āyār. 1,1,5,2,3; 2,2,2,8. The ed. Calc. has *pāṇam*. Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 1,413: IS. 14,255f.; E. MÜLLER; Beitrage p. 25; FISCHEL; BB. 3,241.250; 5,100f.

§216. Like dentals for palatals (§215), palatals have conversely taken the place of dentals in a number of cases. So *cacchāi* from \**yaḥṣāi*



beside *tacchāi=takṣati* (Hc. 4,194). M. AMg. JM. *ciṭṭhāi*, Ś. A. *ciṭṭhadi*, Mg. *ciṣṭhadi=tiṣṭhati* from *sihā* (§483).—*cuccha* beside *tuccha* (Hc. 1,204), according to Hc. also with an aspirated initial sound *chuccha*.—A. *viṣṭajjhara=vidyādharma* (Vikr. 59,5). On AMg. *ci yatta=tyakta*, *ciccā, cēccā=tyaktoā* see §280.

§217. According to Pṛthvidhara on Mṛcch. 9,22 (p.240) ed. STENZLER=26,8 (p. 500), ed. GODABOLE, in the dialect of Śākāra, there was pronounced a weak *ya* before *ca*, which did not make position: *yciṣṭha=tiṣṭha*. According to Mk. fol. 75.85 this *ya* appeared in Mg. and in Vrācaḍa A. also before *ja*: M. *ycilam=ciram*; *yjā=jāyā*; *ycalā=cavaka*; A. *ycalai=calati*, *yjalai=jvalati* (§24.28). Perhaps the rules given for Mg., Vr. 11,5 and Ki. 5,88, refer to this. On account of bad transmission of the text, the meaning cannot be determined with certainty. Cf. COWELL, Vr. p. 179, note 1; LASSEN, Inst. p. 393.396 §146.1.

§218. Dentals of Skt. are represented often by cerebrals in Pkt. The reverse transformation in some dialects (§ 225) proves that it was a matter of dialectically differing pronunciation and that the assumption of some other influence is erroneous. Initially *ta* appears for *ta* in *ṭagara=tagara* (Hc. 1,205); *ṭūvara=ṭūbara* (Hc. 1,205); *ṭimbaru=tumburu* (Deśn. 4,3), *ṭimbaru a=tumburuka* (Pāiyāl. 258) to which should belong also *ṭimburiṇi* (Sukasaptati 122,15). Cf. §124. Medially *ta* appears for *ta* in CP. *paṭimā=pratimā* (Hc. 4,325), for which the other dialects, according to §198, say *paḍimā*. The words, in which *da* appears for *ta*, have been collected in the gaṇa *pratyādi* by Hc. 1,206; Ki. 2,29 and Mk. fol. 15. In Hc. it is an ākṛtigāṇa. Ki. mentions only *pratibaddha*, *prābhṛta*, *vetasa*, *patākā* and *garta*; Mk. collects seven words in a verse: *prati*, *vetasa*, *patākā*, *haritakī*, *vyāpṛta*, *mṛtaka*, *prākṛta* for which *prābhṛta* is to be read. Transition from *ta* to *da* in *prati* is especially frequent in all the dialects, except P. CP. So M. AMg. JM. Dh. *paḍimā=pratimā* (C.3,12 p. 49; Hc. 1,206; Pāiyāl. 217; G.H.R.; Thān. 266; Āyār. 2,2,3,18ff.; 2,6 1,4ff.; 2,7,2,8ff.; 2,8,2ff.; 2,8,2ff.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 30,11. 16.17); AMg. JM. JŚ. *paḍipunṇa=pratipūrṇa* (Nāyādh. 449.500; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Pav. 387.13); M. Ś. Mg. *paḍivaana=prativacana* (H. R.; Mṛcch. 37,8; Vikr. 18,11; Mg. Mṛcch. 32,19); M. JM. Ś. *paḍivakkha=pratipakṣa* (Pāiyāl. 35; G.H.R.; Erz.; Vikr. 23,7; Prab. 7,9;12,5); M. AMg. Ś. *paḍibaddha=pratibaddha* (G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 41.3;68.20.25; Uvās.); JŚ. *appaḍibaddha* (Pav. 387,25). Ś. *paḍibandhedha* (Śak. 113,12), AMg. *paḍibandhana* (Dasav. 643,16); M. A. *paḍihāi*, Ś. *paḍihādi*, *paḍihāadi=pratibhāti* (§487), and so very many others. Cf §163.220. In P.C.P., according to Hc.4,307; Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa. Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12, the transition does not find place: *patibimba* (Hc 4,326); an exception is *paṭimā* (Hc.4,325). Other examples are M. AMg. JM. A. *paḍai=patati* (Vr. 8 51; Hc. 4 219; G.H.R.; Nirayāv. §11; Nāyādh. 1394; Sagara 3,10; Hc. 4,422,4,18), Mg. *paḍadi* (Mṛcch. 31,10;158,7,9,169,5); M. AMg. *paḍau=patatu* (H.; Āyār. 2,4,1,12), JM. *paḍāmo=patāmaḥ* (Āv. 8,50), Mg. *paḍemi* (Mṛcch. 127,12), M. A. *paḍia=patita* (G.H.R.; Hc. 4,337). JM. *paḍiya* (Erz.), Ś. Mg. *paḍida* (Mṛcch. 54,3;81,9;95,13;120,7; Mudrār. 104,8; Ratn. 314,27; Mṛcch. 10,1;133,10;169,5;170,16), Ś. *paḍida=nipatita* (Śak. 35, 10;77,11), AMg. *paḍāḍija=prapatet*, *paḍāḍemaṇa=prapatamāna* (Āyār. 2,2, 1,7;2,2,3,2,23;2,3,2,15), and so throughout in the root *pat* and derivatives from it, like M. JM. Mg. *paḍana=patana* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 30,23), but CP. *nipatanti* (Hc. 4,326).—M. Ś. *paḍā=patākā* (Grr.; G.R.; Mṛcch. 68,17), AMg. JM. *paḍāgā* (Thān.284; Jiv.483; Nāyādh. § 122; p. 1318; Paṇhāv. 160; Rāyap.59.68.70; Vivāhap. 276.833; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); JM. *paḍāyā* (Pāiyāl. 68; Erz.); AMg. *saḍāgā*

(Rāyap. 128), but P. *patākā* (Hc. 4,307). *-pahudī=prabhṛti* (Hc. 1,206), but Ś. Mg. *pahudī* (Mṛcch. 23,15,23;73,10; Śak. 52,5; 85,7; Vikr. 15,8,9;45,20; Mudrār. 253,8; Prab. 9,5;28,17; Mg. Mṛcch. 13,25;21,11;133,21; Venīs. 35,5), Ś. *pahudīa=prabhṛtika* (Mṛcch. 71,1).—AMg. JM. *pāhuda=prābhṛta* (Grr.; Pāiyāl. 236; Āyār. 2,2,2,10ff.; Vivāgas. 128.132; Nāyādh. 439.539.540.774ff.1375f.1431, Rāyap. 226, Aṇuog. 558; Erz.), *pāhudiṅyā=prābhṛtikā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,1; Aṇuog. 558).—M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. D. *vāvada=vyāpṛta* (Hc.; Mk.; H.R.; Uttar. 496; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 4,24;29,21;104,8), JM. also *vāula* (Kk.), AMg. *vāuya* (Ovav.), Ś. *vāvuda* (Mālav.72,7), *vāvudādā=vyāpṛtatā* (Mṛcch. 325,19).—M. *veḍisa*, but P. *vetasa*, Ś. *vedasa=vetasa* (§101).—*haraḍai=haritakī* (§120).

§219. Cerebralization has a wider range in AMg., partly in JM. too (Hc. 1,206), than in the other dialects. It appears especially in these dialects in the past passive participles of certain roots in *r*. So: AMg. *kada=krta*, *akada=akṛta*, *dukkada=duṣkrta*, *sukada=sukṛta*, *vigada*, *viyada=vikṛta*, *paḡada=prakṛta*, *purekada=puraskṛta*, *āhākada=yathākṛta*, beside M.A. *kaa*, AMg. JM. *kajya*, PG.P. *kata*, JŚ.Ś.Mg. *kada*, Ś. Mg. A. *kida*, A. *akia* (§49; cf. §306).—AMg. *paṭhada=praṣṭa* (Thān. 197), *viṭhada=vistṛta* (Jiv. 253; Ovav. §56), *sainṭhada=samṣṭa* (Āyār. 2,1,3,9;2,1,6,1), *asainṭhada* (Āyār. 2,4,2,14), *ahāsainṭhada=yathāsainṣṭa* (Āyār. 2,7,2,14).—AMg. *maḍa=mrta* (Vivāhap. 13; Uttar. 985; Jiv. 255; Kappas.), AMg. JM. *maḍaya=mrta* (Hc. 1,206; Pāiyāl. 158; Āyār. 2,10,17; Āv. 24,4), beside AMg. JM. *maja* (Vivāhap. 16.1041.1042; Dvār. 503,5,7;504,4,17), JM. *mu'a* (Āv. 28,8), (G.), M. *maa* (G.), *mua* (H. R.), JŚ. *mada* (Pav. 387,18), Ś. *muda* (Mṛcch. 72,20; Karp. 22,9).—*vuda=vrta* in AMg. *abhinivuda=abhinivṛta* (Sūyag. 110.117 [°ni°]. 371), *nivuda=nivṛta* (Āyār. 1,4,3,3; Sūyag. 550), *pāuda=prāvṛta* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Sūyag. 134.170), *parinivuda=parinivṛta* (Kappas.) beside °*ya* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *parivuda=parivṛta* (Ovav.), *sam̐parivuda=sam̐parivṛta* (Vivāhap. 186.830; Nāyādh. §4.130; p. 431.574.724.784. 1068.1074.1273.1290.1327; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *sam̐vuda=sam̐vṛta* (Āyār. 1,8,3,13;2,1,9,1; Sūyag. 81.117.144; Vivāhap. 942; Kappas.), *asam̐vuda* (Sūyag. 108.115), *susam̐vuda* (Sūyag. 141), beside *nivvua*, JM. *nivvuya*, Ś. *nivvuda* (§51), M. *pāua* (H.), Dh. Ś. *pāvuda* (Mṛcch. 34,12; 72,2,9), Ś. *avāvuda=apāvṛta* (Mṛcch. 16,3.5,9), Ś. D. *parivuda=parivṛta* (Mṛcch. 6,6;106,1), Ś. *sam̐vuda* (Mṛcch.15,7), AMg. *sam̐vuya* (Ovav.).—AMg. JM. *haḍa=hṛta* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4; Āv. 44,7); AMg. *avahaḍa=apahrta* (Hc. 1,206), *abhihaḍa* (Āyār. 1,7,1,1.2;2,1,11;2,2,1,2), *āhaḍa* (Āyār. 1,7,5,4;2,1,9,2; Sūyag. 382), *asam̐haḍa* (Āyār. 2,1,3,5), *nihada=nirhṛta* (Āyār. 2,1,1,11;2,1,9,7;2,10,2.4), beside M. *hūa=hṛta* (H.R.), Ś. *avahaḍa=apahrta* (Mṛcch. 52,13.21;53,2.21;55,16;74,12;78,2;89,9;147,17;154,13; Vikr. 41,12). According to Vr. 11,15 the cerebralization occurs also in Mg. in *kada=krta*, *maḍa=mrta*, *gaḍa=gata*. So are found Mg. *kada* (Mṛcch. 17,8;32,5;127,23.24;132,10.11.12;149,24;154,20;164,10); *maḍa* (Mṛcch. 119, 15), *maḍaa* (Caṇḍak. 63,11), *gaḍa* (Mṛcch. 10,6;13,8;20,16;36,13), beside *kada*, *kida* (§49), *gada* (Mṛcch. 39,20;116,7;128,2;171,11; Prab. 50,6; Caṇḍak. 70,14; Venīs. 34,9 etc.). *kada* occurs also in PG. 7,51 (cf. EI, 2,485) beside *adhikate=adhikṛtān* (5,5). *maḍa* is treated as provincial in Deśin. 6,141. On *kaḷa*, *maḷa* see §244. Other examples of cerebralization from AMg. are: *dukkadī=duṣkṛtin* (Sūyag. 295); *uwakkhaḍei=\*upaskṛtiyati*, *uwakkhaḍāvei* (§559); *purēkkhaḍa=puraskṛta* (Paṇṇav. 796ff.); *niyadī=nikṛtin* (Dasav. 635,7), *niyadilla=nikṛtimat* (Uttar.990), *niyadillayā=nikṛtimattā* (Thān. 338; Vivāhap. 687; Ovav.); *sam̐khaḍi=sam̐skṛti* (Āyār.

1,8,1,18), *pagadi*=*prakṛti* (Thān. 216; Vivāhap. 74), JŚ. *payadi* (Kattig. 399,308), beside *pagai* (Ovav.; Kappas.), M. *paai* (H.R.), Ś. *paidi* (Śak. 35,8;66,8;117,11;153,14; Vikr.73,12;75,4); *vaḍimsa*, *vaḍimsaga*, *vaḍimsava*=*avatamsa*, *avatamsaka* (§ 103); *vejāvaccā* beside *vejāvaccā*=*vaijāpṛtya* (LEUMANN, Ovav. s.v. *vejāvaccā*). Doubtful is the meaning of Mg. *viḍaita*, *ppaḍavadi* (Mṛcch.165,11). Lalitadikṣita's explanation by *vitaḍṭa*, *pratapaṭi* in GODABOLE p. 448 is forced. Presumably we should read : *viḍhatte cede kiṃ na pḥalavadi*=*vidagdha śceṭaḥ kiṃ na pralapati*. On *viḍhatta* cf. M. *dhajjai*, Ś. *dhajjadi*, *viḍhajjia*, Mg. *dhayyadi* (§212), on *pḥalavadi*, the v.l. *ppatabadi* in GODABOLE.

§220. In some cases the cerebralization does not take place as a rule : M. AMg. JM. Ś. *paṅṅā*=*pratiṅṅā* (Hc.1,206; G.R.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Mālav. 66,18;69,5), beside AMg. *apaḍinna*=*apratijña* (Āyār.1,8,1,19,22; 1,8,2,5.11.16;1,8,3,9.12.14;1,8,4,6.7.14); AMg. JM. *paṅṅhāna*=*pratiṅṅhāna* (Thān. 513; Nāyādh. 623; Vivāhap. 418,447; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), also in the proper name of the town JM. Ś. *paṅṅhāna* (Āv. 21,1; Kk. 269,44 [so to be read in place of *payā*°]; Vikr. 23,14;73,11 [so to be read with all the MSS. (p.255), the Indian editions and the Dravidian recensions]), as also in the Leṇa-dialect *paṅṅhāna* beside *paṅṅhāna* (Arch. Survey of Western India 5,76,8); AMg. *paṅṅhā*=*pratiṅṅhā* (Hc. 1,206); AMg. JM. *paṅṅhiya*=*pratiṅṅhita* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.), beside M. *paḍiṅṅhiya* (G.R.), AMg. *paḍiṅṅhiya* (Ovav.); AMg. *paṅṅhāvaya*=*\*pratiṅṅhāpaka* (Ovav.), JM. *paṅṅhāvīya*=*pratiṅṅhāpita* (T.7,2; Erz.), beside M. *paḍiṅṅhāvīya* (R.), Ś. *paḍiṅṅhāvīya*=*pratiṅṅhāpaya* (Ratn. 295,26); JM. *paḍiṅṅam*=*pratiṅṅam* (Erz.; Kk.), *paḍiṅṅaham*=*pratiṅṅavasam* (Kk.), *paṅṅamayam*=*pratiṅṅamayam* (Hc. 1,206), *paṅṅarisam*=*pratiṅṅarsam* (7,1); also in independently standing *prati*, JM. *paṅ* (Kk.), Ś. *paḍi* (Cait.88,12;90,4,5); *paṅva*=*pratiṅva* (Hc.1,206; Pāiyal.154), beside Mg. *vipḥaḍva*=*vipḥaḍva* (Mṛcch. 29,23), Dh. *vipḥaḍva* (Mṛcch. 30,11.12; cf. GODABOLE p. 86,1.2); M. JM. *samḥai*=*samḥai* (Hc. 1,206; Pāiyal. 67; G.R.; Erz.; Kk.; Ṛṣabhap.), JM. *samḥayam*=*samḥratam* (Pāiyal. 67; Erz.; Kk.), beside Ś. Dh. *samḥadam* (e.g. Ś. Mṛcch. 6,22;17,19;18,23; 36,9;42,9; Śak. 25,2;30,4;67,12; Vikr.26,12;27,21;46,15; Dh. Mṛcch. 30,4; 31,9;32,8), Mg. *samḥadam* (e.g. Mṛcch. 16,20;32,2,4,5;38,19;99,11;119,11; 153,22; Prab. 58,17).

§221. *tha*, through *ṭha*, becomes *dha* initially in M. *dhakkai*, *dhakkei* (covers; disguises; closes; Hc. 4,21; H.), JM. *dhakkemi* (T. 7,9), *dhakkeṅna* (Erz.; Dvār. 499,8), Ś. *dhakkehi* (Mṛcch. 36,3); Mg. *dhakkida*, *dhakkeḍha* (Mṛcch. 79,17;164,14), also with infixed nasal *dhankiṣṣam* (Prab. 58,10; so to be read; BROCKHAUS *ṭankiṣṣam*, ed. Bomb. P. *dhankiṣṣam*, (ed. M. *thagaiṣṣam*=Pāli *ṭhakeṭi*°, *dhankai* (cover; Deśin. 4,14); *dhakka* (covetous; Erz.); cf. §309. Medially in M. *kadhāi*=*kvathati* (Vr. 8,39; Hc. 4,119.220; Kī. 4,46), *kaḍhamāna* (G.), *kaḍḍhasi*, *kaḍḍhasu* (H. 401; so to be read), *kaḍḍha* (Karp. 40,2), Ś. *kadhāmāna* (Anarghar. 270,1; text °*ijja*°), *kadhida* (Karp. 82,7), AMg. *sukaḍḍhiya* (Jiv. 823,860f.); AMg. *gaḍḍhiya*=*grathita* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5,4,2,5,4 [text °*ddh*°]; 1,4,4,2;1,6,5,5;1,8,1,9;2,1,8,2; Sūyag. 84,601.699.751; Thān. 156; Vivāhap. 450. 1128; Nāyādh. 433.606; Vivāgas.87 [text °*ddh*°].92), *agaḍḍhiya* (Āyār.2,1,5,5; Panhāv.359.370); *niṣḍha* beside *niṣiha*=*niṣiṭha* (Hc. 1,216). In Ś. occurs *niṣḍha* (Mallikām. 201,6; 209,18) as well as *niṣiha* (Kāleyak. 26,2) falsely for *niṣḍha*. AMg. *nijjūḍha*=*niryūṭha* (expelled; singled out; Nāyādh. 323; Vivāhap. 134; Dasav. 631,11;644,12.19.21.22.24), *anijjūḍha* (Vivāhap. 134), beside M. AMg. JM. A. *jūha*=*yūtha* (G. H. R.; Nāyādh.; Āv. 42,7; Erz.; Vikr. 56,21), Ś. *jūḍha* (Caṇḍak. 17,12), M. *jūhiā*=*yūthikā* (G.), AMg.

*jūhiyā* (Kappas.), Ś. *jūdhīā* (Vṛṣabh.14,9;16,2;17,2;21,14 [text everywhere °hi<sup>o</sup>]), AMg. *nijjūhūhaga* = \**niryūthaka*, *nijjūhiya* = \**niryūthita* (Dasav.644,16.17), JM. *nijjūhiyāi* (Āv. 42,15); *padhama*, *padhuma*, *puḍhama*, *puḍhuma* beside P. *puḍhuma* = *prathama* (§104); *puḍhavi* beside *puḍhavi*, *puḍhāi* = *prithvī* (§51)<sup>2</sup>; AMg. *puḍho* = *prthak*, beside *puḍhita*, *puḍhatta* = *prthaktoa* (§78); AMg. *meḍhi* = *methi* (Hc. 1,215; Nāyādh. 630; Uvās.); *sadhila*, *pasadhila*, *siḍhila*, *pasihila* = *śiḥhila*, *prasihila* (§115).

1. Falsely S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 2f. The word presupposes one Skt. \**sthak*, Cf. § 309. Not quite correct FISCHER, BB. 15,125.—Artificial and false BARTHOLOMAE, IF. 3,164f.

§222. Initially *da* has become *ḍa* in M. AMg. JM. in the roots *daś* and *dah* and their derivatives (Hc. 1,217.218; Mk. fol. 17). Vr. 2,35 mentions *daśana* only, Ki. 2,42 besides also *dahana*, for which they, like Mk., require the change compulsorily, whilst Hc. 1,217 permits it optionally in *daśana*, *daśta*, *dagdha*, *dāha*, but for the roots themselves he always prescribes it. We find JM. *ḍasai*, but AMg. *dasamāṇa* (cf. v.l.), *dasantu* (Āyār. 1,8,3,4); M. *ḍatṭha* (H.) and M. JM. *ḍatṭha* (R.; Kk.); M. AMg. JM. *ḍakka* (§566); AMg. *saṃḍāsa* = *saṃdamśa* (Uttar.593); *uddasa* (bug; Deśin. 1,96); *uddāsa* (pain; Deśin. 1,99); but AMg. JŚ. *damśa* = *damśa* (Āyār. 2,2,3,28; Ovav.; Kattig.401,353); Dh. *ḍatṭha* (Mṛcch.39,8); M. *dasana* (G.), and so always in Ś. according to Vr.12,31, which retains the dental initially even in the root: *dasanaḍasana* (Latakam. 7,6), *damśaḍi* (Śak. 160,1), *ḍatṭha*, *damśida* (Mālav. 53,17;54,6). So also *dāḍhā* = *damśtrā* (§76).—*dah* forms *dahai* (H.), JM. *ḍahe* (Erz. 38,18), AMg. *dahaha* (Sūyag. 596), *ḍahējjā* (Dasav. 634,5), *ḍahijjā* (Sūyag. 783); M. *ḍahiūṇa* (H.R.); M. AMg. JM. *ḍajjhāi* (Hc. 4,246; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,2,3,5,4,2;1,3,3,2; Sūyag. 273; Uttar. 282 284), M. *ḍajjhasi*, *ḍajjhasu* (H.); M. AMg. JM. *ḍajjhanti* (G.; Paṇhāv. 381; Dvār. 498,26), M. *ḍajjihisi* (H.); JM. *ḍajjihii* (Āv. 32,35); JM. *ḍajjhae* (Dvār. 498,22); AMg. *ḍajjhantu* (Paṇhāv. 127; M. AMg. *ḍajjhanta* (G.R.; Karp. 87,9; Jiv. 591; Paṇhāv. 63; Paṇnav. 99; Nāyādh.; Kappas.), JM. *ḍajjhinti* (Dvār. 499,23); AMg. JM. *ḍajjhamāna* (Sūyag. 270.286; Paṇhāv. 59.217; Uttar. 446; Dvār. 498,25), °*ṇi* (Uttar. 284; Dvār. 498,28; 499,7); AMg. *viḍajjhamāna* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); AMg. *aḍajjha* (Thān. 146); M. *ḍaddha* (H.R.), but only R. 3,48 in *ḍaddhaa* without a v.l., everywhere else with v.l. *ḍaddha*, as also AMg. JM. have (C. 3,16; Sūyag. 288.783; Paṇhāv. 176; Paṇnav. 848; Vivāhap. 13.16.617; Āv. 9,16.20;19,13.15; Dvār. 499,21.22,500,16;501,34), M. without v.l. only R. 7,52. Cf. Ki. 2,17. In M. the cerebralization is so preponderant, that certainly also at R. 15,58 with v.l. should be read *ḍahium*<sup>1</sup>, in spite of JM. *ḍahium* [Erz. 24,25). In compounds the dental seems to prevail: *viḍaddha* (Ki. 2,17); M. *viḍaddha* = *viḍagdha* (G.H.; Anarghar. 20,3); JM. *niddahai* (Erz. 3,17), AMg. *niddahējjā* (Uttar. 363), JM. *niddaddha* (Dvār. 504,9.10); AMg. *saṃḍadahamāna* (Āyār. 1,8,2,14); otherwise, except in *ḍaddha*, it is testified to with outright uncertainty, as *ḍahijjai* (Hc. 4,246), AMg. *ḍajjhamāna* (Vivāhap. 13.16.617), probably under the influence of the adjacent *ḍaddha*, as JM. *dahai* (Erz. 3,18), through the preceding parallel *niddahai* (Erz. 3,17). In Ś. the dental remains, except in the cases of transimposition of breath (§212), throughout: *dahidum* (Śak. 72,12); *ḍaddha* = *dagdha* (Anarghar. 150.4; text *ḍaddha*; cf. also ed. Calc. 89,2); *viḍaddha* = *viḍagdha* (Mālatim. 76,6;250,3; Hāsy. 25,8;22,31,17). In derivatives the cerebralization is found e.g. in M. AMg. *dāha* (Pāiyal. 46; H.; Āyār. 2,10,17), M. JM. *dahaṇa* (Pāiyal. 6;G.; Erz.) beside JM. *dahaṇa* (Erz.; Kk.). So also *ḍaddhādī* (way of the forest fire; Deśin. 4,8) from *dagdha* + *vāfi* (way) with contraction according

to §167. For *da* appears *da*, further in the anlaut in JM. *daṇḍa*=*daṇḍa* (Vr. 2,35; C.3,16; Hc. 1,217 Ki. 2,42; Mk. fol. 18; Āv. 47,26ff.), beside the common *daṇḍa* of all the dialects (e.g. M. G.H.R.; AMg. Āyār. 1,8,1,7 [v.1 *da*]. 8;1,8,3,7,10; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; JM. Erz.; Kk.; JŚ. Kattig. 401,345ff.; Ś. Vr. 12,31; Mṛcch. 41,6;155,5; Śak. 125,1; 130,4; Mālav. 71,6,78,7; Prabh. 4,3; Mg. Mṛcch. 154,10;155,5); *dabbha*=*darbha* (Hc. 1,217), beside M. AMg. *dabbha* (G.; Śak. 85,2; Uvās.); *ḍambha*, beside *dambha*=*dambha* (Hc. 1,217), to which *ḍambhia*=*dāmbhika* (gamester; Deśin. 4,8) also belongs; AMg. JM. *dahara*=*dahara* (young; Deśin. 4,8; Pāiyāl. 58; Āyār. 2,11,18; Sūyag. 100.113.472.515; Antag. 55; Dasav. 623,20; 633,28 32.35;636,14;637,7; Āv. 42,16); *ḍolā*=*dolā* (Grr.; Deśin. 4,11; Pāiyāl. 232), beside M. Ś. *dolā* (Vr. 12,31; Hc.; Mk.; G.; Karp. 23,5;54,10;55,4;57,2 5,7; Mālav. 32,12;34,12;39,7,15,40,5; Karp. 54,5;58,1; Viddhaś. 117,1), M. *ḍolāia*=*dolāyita* (under H. 966), beside Ś. *dolāamāna* (Mṛcch. 68,14); in addition also *ḍola* (eye; Deśin. 4,9; Triv. 1,3,105), *ḍolia* (antelope; Deśin. 412)<sup>2</sup>; AMg. JM. *ḍohaḷa*=*dohada* (Hc. 1,217; Mk. fol. 18; Nāyādh.; Erz.), beside the common M. AMg. JM. Ś. *dohala* (Vr. 2,12; Hc. 1,217; Mk. fol. 18; H.R.; Vivāgas. 116; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Mālav. 30,13;34,13;36,2;40,6;48,14; Karp. 20,2,6;64,9; 66,1; Ratn. 297,32), M. Ś. *dohaḷa*=*doholaka* (H.; Karp. 62,9; Viddhaś. 121,5; Ratn. 300,17). Cf. §244.436. In AMg. the anlaut of reduplication is cerebralized in *āḍahaī*=*ādadhāti* (Ovav. § 44), *āḍahanti*=*ādadhāti* (Sūyag. 286)<sup>3</sup>. Cf. §223.500. *dara* becomes *ḍara* in the meaning "fear", (Hc. 1,217), as *darati* in the meaning "fears", "trembles", *ḍarai* (Hc. 4,198)<sup>4</sup>; on the other hand, the dental remains in the meaning "something", "a little", "half": M. JM. Ś. (Hc. 1,217; 2,215; Deśin. 5 33; Pāiyāl. 212; G.H.R.; Karp. 46,14;56,7;66,11; Erz. Mālatīm. 118,5; Uttarar. 125,4; Caṇḍak. 16,16; Viddhaś. 117,4;126,3). *dara* "fear" with a dental in R. 6,56 stands for the sake of rhyme with *kandara*. In the anlaut *da* appears for *da* in *kaḍaṇa* beside *kaṇa* (Hc. 1,217); M. *khudīa*, Ś. *khudīda*=\**kṣudita*=*kṣuṇṇa*, M. *ukkhudīa*=\**utkṣudita* (§ 568); AMg. *tudīya*=\**tudita* (§ 258); Mg. *hadakka*=\**hrḍaka* (§ 194). *saḍai* belongs according to Hc. 4,219, to *sad*, according Vr. 8,51 and Ki. 4,46, to *śad*. Probably it is to be rightly connected with *śaṭ*, in favour of which are AMg. *paḍisaḍenti*, *paḍisaḍittā* (Āyār. 2,15,18), JM. *paḍisaḍaṇa* (Kk. 268,22)<sup>5</sup>.

1. FISCHER, GGA. 1880, p. 327. Falsely S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho p. 322, note 5, who completely overlooks the dialectal distinction.—2. FISCHER, BB 6,89.—3. JACOBI (SBE. 45,45,283), with the commentary, falsely derives the form from *dah* "to burn".—4. FISCHER on Hc. 1,217;4,198.—5. So probably more correctly than Hc. 4,219.

§223. In the anlaut *dha* has become *ḍha* in M. *ḍhaṅkha*, AMg. *ḍhaṅka*, *ḍhāṅka*=Pāli *ḍhaṅka*=Skt. *dhvāṅkṣa*, *dhēṅkī*=*dhvāṅkṣī* (§ 213); in the anlaut in AMg. *niṣadha*, *niṣadha*=*niṣadha* (Hc. 1,226; Mk. fol. 17; Thān. 72.75.176; Samav. 19.161.162; Jiv. 583; Nāyādh. 668; Nirayāv. 79ff.; Paphāv. 243; Rāyap. 177), but *niṣaha* (Sūyag. 313); *osaḍha* (Hc. 1,227; Ki. 2,1; Mk. fol. 17), beside M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *osaha* (C. 2,8; Hc. 1,227; H.; Vivāhap. 516; Uttar. 602. 918; Sūyag. 771; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,362; Mālav. 26,15) and Ś. *osaḍha* in *laddhosadha* (Śak. 56,16)=*auṣadha*<sup>1</sup>. To it belongs also AMg. JM. *āḍhāi*=\**ādhāi*=*ādaḍhāi* (§ 500)<sup>1</sup>, causative *āḍhavaī*, *viḍhavaī*, passive causative *āḍhappai*, *āḍhavaī*, *viḍhappai*, *viḍhaviḷḷai* (§ 286), participles M. AMg. JM. *āḍhatta*, M. *samāḍhatta*, M. JM. Ś. *viḍhattai*, A. *viḍhatta* (§ 565). The derivation, going back to Hc. 2,138, of *āḍhatta*, from *ārabdhā*<sup>2</sup>, is linguistically impos-

sible. To *dhā*, not to *ḍr*, belongs also *ādhia* (desired; fit to be set; attractive; stable; Hc. 1,143; Deśm. 1,74), JM. *ādhīya* (Āv. 43,25) = \**ādhitā* = *āhita*. For cerebralization one may compare *saddhā* = *śraddhā*, *saḍḍha* = *śrāddha*, *saḍḍhi* = *śraddhin* (§ 333) and AMg. *ādahai*, *ādahanti* (§ 222).

1. Wrongly connects E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 57, *ādhai* to *ārādhati*, and HOERNLE, Uvās., Transl. note 306, to *ardhayati* or to *ārdayati*.—2. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 57; WEBER, Hāla s.v. *ādhatta*; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 512, note\*\*; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho s.v. *rabbh*; ZDMG. 29,494. Falsely also JACOBI, KZ. 28,253.

§224. In all the dialects, except PG. VG. AMg. JM. JŚ. P.CP., in the anlaut, as in the inlaut, *na* is always changed into *ṇa* (Vr. 2,42; Hc. 1,228; Kī. 2,106; Mk. fol. 18); M. *ṇa* = *na*; *ṇaṇa* = *nayana* (G.H.R.)<sup>1</sup>; *ṇaliṇi* = *nalini*; *ṇāsana* = *nāsana* (R.); *ṇihana* = *nidhana* (G.R.); *ṇihāna* = *nidhāna*; *ṇihuaṇa* = *nidhuwana* (H.); *ṇūṇam* (H.), *ṇūṇa* (G.R.) = *nūnam*. Likewise Ś. Mg. Dh. Ā.D.A. In AMg. JM. JŚ. single *n* in the beginning of words and doubled *n* within words may be retained. Kī. 2,107 generally permits dental *n* in the anlaut: *ṇai* or *ṇai* = *nadi*. In the palm-leaf MSS. even in AMg. and JM. generally, and in Kī. throughout, *ṇa* is written, while the paper manuscripts, in the anlaut, and often also in the doublings, retain *n*<sup>2</sup>. In the particle *ṇam* = *nūdam*, always *ṇ* is written, which is explained by the fact that *n* originally stood in the inlaut and that *ṇam* is enclitic (§150). The Jainas transfer this orthographical device also to other dialects, so that it, sometimes wrongly also in M., e.g. in Gaūḍavaho, has been retained by the editors according to the MSS. The statement, that in AMg. even a medial simple *na* is sometime retained as in *āranāla*, *anila*, *anala* in Hc. 1,228, probably is based purely upon false readings. Epigraphically *na* is written falsely in Ś. *nomālie* = *navamālike* (Lalitav. 560,9.17 beside *ṇomālie*) and Mg. *nijjhala* = *nirjhara* 566,9 whilst *niramtara* (561,2) and *nia* (567,1) are printing mistakes<sup>3</sup>. In PG., with the exception of *madena* (6,40), *na* in the inflectional endings undergoes cerebralization throughout: *ḥallavāṇa* (5,2), *vathavāṇa* = *vāstavyānām* (6,8) *bamhaṇāṇam* = *brāhmaṇāṇām* (6,8.27.30.38), *kātūṇam* = \**kṛtvānam* (6,10.29), *nātūṇam* = \**jñātvānam* (6,39), *likhiteṇa* (7,51), otherwise the simple *na* in the inlaut is partly retained, as *senāpati* (5,3), *vadhāṇike* = \**vardhanikān* (6,9), *aneka* (6,10), *ṇpadāyino* = *ṇpradāyinaḥ* (6,11), *sātāhani* (6,27), *vinesi* (ṇ6,31), partly it becomes *ṇa*, as in *maṇuṣāṇa* = *maṇuṣyāṇām* (5,7), *dāṇi* = *idāṇīm* (5,7), *appaṇo* = *ātmanah* (6,8), *sāsaṇassa* = *sāsanaṣa* (6,10), *nivataṇam* = *nivartanam* (6,38), *ṇu* = *anu* (7,45). In the anlaut, on the other hand, as well the doubled one in the inlaut, the dental *na* always remains: *neyike* = *naiyikān* (5,7), *kumāraṇamdi* (6,17), *ṇamdiḥjasa* = *nandijasya* (6,21), *nāgaṇamdiṣa* = *nāganandinaḥ* (6,25), *nivataṇam* = *nivartanam* (6,38), *saṇvīṇayika* (6,32), *nigaha* = *nigraha* (7,41), *narādhamo* (7,47), *anne* = *anyān* (5,6;7,43). So the inscription distinguishes also in the case of the secondary simplified nasal, derived from *jña*: *ṇnataṇam* = *ājñāptaru* (7,49), where *jña* is taken as in the inlaut, beside *nātūṇam* = \**jñātvānam* (6,39). The inscription thus agrees on the last two points generally with the more modern Jaina manuscripts<sup>4</sup>. So also in VG.: *ḥallavāṇam* (101,2); *nārāyaṇassa* (101,8), *vaddhaṇiyam* (101,8), *kātūṇa* (101,9), *nātūṇa* (101,10; cf. Eī. 1,2 note 2). In P. CP. *na* remains throughout: P. *dhana*, *matana* = *madana*, *satana* = *sadana*, *vatanaka* = *vadanaka*, *cintayamāni* = *cintayamānā*, *gantūna* = \**gantvāna*, *ṇatthūṇa* = \**ṇaṣṭvāna* etc., also *ṇmāna* = *ṇmāna*, *ṇnāta* = *ṇnāta*, *ṇṇuṇā* = *ṇṇuṇā*: CP. *matana* = *madana*, *tanu*, *nakara* = *nagara* etc. (Vr. 4,7.13; Hc. 4,304.307.310.312.313.314.325.328; Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kavyālaṇkāra 2,12.

1: Cf. §186, note 1.—2. LEUMANN, *Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen* p. 6, note 4. On the flexibility of the manuscripts see WEBER, *Bhag.* 1,402f.; E. MÜLLER, *Beiträge* p. 29f.; JACOB, *ZDMG.* 34,181, according to whom even in the oldest manuscripts *ṇa* appears not rarely; STEINTHAL, *Specimen* p. 3.—3. KONOW, *GN.* 1894,480.—4. Not quite correctly BÜHLER, *EI.* 1,3.

§225. Very rarely and that only dialectically the cerebrals of Skt. become dentals. In P. *ṭu* can become *tu* (Hc. 4,311); *kuṭumbaka* beside *kuṭumbaka*. In P. CP. *ṇa* becomes *na* : P. *gunaganayutta*=*gunaganayukta*; *gunena*=*gunena*; *talunī*=*taruṇī*; *visāna*=*viśāṇa*; *gahana*=*grahaṇa* (Vr. 10,5; C. 3,38; Hc. 4,306.309.323; Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, *Kāvya-lāmākāra* 2,12); CP. : *makkana*=*mārgaṇa*, *paṇaya*=*praṇaya*, *nakhatappanesuṃ*=*nakhadarpaṇeṣu*, *pātulukhepeṇa*=*pādōtkhepeṇa* (Hc. 4,325.326). According to Simhadevagaṇin on Vāgbhātā-lāmākāra 2,12 *ṇa* should become *na* also in Mg. : *taluna*=*taruṇa*. S. has confused Mg. with P. In AMg. JM. JŚ., the manuscripts write *nna* for *ṇa* of the other dialects, except that of P.CP., just as for the dental *nna* (§ 224). *nisanna*=*niśaṇṇa*; *paḍipunna*=*pratipūrṇa*; *vanna*=*varṇa*; also in the case of the secondary *ṇna*, as *anna*=M. Ś. *aṇṇa*=Skt. *anya* etc.

§226. Dentals could have occurred for cerebrals to a greater extent if the grammarians, with whom the North Indian manuscripts agree, were correct, in saying that *ṭa*, *ḍa*, *ṇa* could become *la* (Vr. 2,22.23; C. 3,21; Hc. 1,197.198.202.203, Ki. 2,12.13; Mk. fol. 16). In lieu of *la*, however, *ḷa* should always be written, as in similar cases in Pāli<sup>1</sup>. The North Indian manuscripts know *ḷa* as little as the *anunāsika* (§ 179), even not in the cases, as Hc. 4,308, where for P. transition of *la* into *ḷa* is required<sup>2</sup>. Trivikrama's *grantha*-manuscripts write in this place 3,2,48 (MS. B. 39) throughout *ḷa*, in the rules corresponding to Hc. 1,197.202, in the sūtras, it is true, they write *la*, and in the examples, with a some exceptions, that are scribe's errors, as is shown by the variation of the manuscript<sup>3</sup>, only *ḷa*. The edition in the *Granthapradarśanī* has only *la*. It is so in the sūtra 1,3,24, peculiar to Trivikrama : *ṭor baḍiśāḍau laḥ*. The manuscripts of the texts and the impressions fluctuate; e.g. in Hc. 1,202 stands *kīlāi*=*kriḍati*; in Triv. 1,3,30 the manuscript has A. *kīlāi*, B. *kīlāi*; Śak. 155,1, the Bengali and Nāgari MSS. have *kīlāṇaam*=*kriḍanakam*, 155,12 *kīlīśam* or wrongly *kīlissam*=*kriḍiṣyāmi*. Of the South Indian manuscripts the *Grantha*-manuscript L<sup>4</sup> reads *kīlāṇijjam*=*kriḍāṇiyam*, but *kīlissam*, the Telugu-manuscript F *kīlāṇijjam* and *kīlissam*, P. *kīlāṇam*, but *kīlissam*, the Malayālam-manuscript V *kīlāṇiyam*, but *kīlissam*, the Telugu edition, Madras 1874 p. 304 *kīlāṇaam* and p. 305 *kīlāiśam*; Vikr. 41,7;52,9 has for *kīḍissam* *kīlāmāṇā*, in the South-Indian recension 643,1;650,17 *kīlissam*, *kīlāmāṇā*, 31,17 for *kīlāpavvadaperante*=*kriḍāparvataparyante*, 636,17 *kīlāpavvade*=*kriḍāparvate*; Mālav. 60,11 even the Telugu manuscript of the India Office has *kīlissam*; in Mālatīm. 142,1 the Telugu edition 123,8 reads *kīlāṇādo* for *kīlāṇādo* etc. Similar is the case with other words. The South-Indian texts mostly have *ḷa*, which they employ in Skt. too in the same cases in which they use *ṇa*, so that they, e.g. write *tarāḷa*, *marāḷa*, *sarāḷa*, etc. The Bhaṭṭiprolu- Inscription I,A<sup>5</sup>, writes *phāḷiga*=*sphāḷika*, while PG. has *pīlā*=*pīḍā* (6,40), for which *pīlā* was expected<sup>6</sup>. In agreement with Pāli *ḷa* is to be assumed for Pkt. when it stands for *ṭa*, *ḍa*. Therefore, there has not occurred a transition from one class to another. When *ḍa* and *ḷa* are mentioned to be of a similar sound by Hemacandra on *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* 258 (p. 322 ed. BÖHTLINGCK), *Sarasvatik.* p. 98, *Vāgbhaṭa*, *Alamkāratilaka* p. 14, *Sāhityadar-*

pana 261,11, and Kālidāsa, Raghuv.9,46 permits *bhujalatām* to alliterate with *jaḍatām* (*ḍalayarabhedah* says Mallināth on it), this is explained by the fact that in Classical Skt. of the North *ḷa* had vanished in writing and speaking, but it proves nothing for Pkt.<sup>7</sup> in relation the modern Indian languages. Cf. §238.240.

I. E. KUHN p. 36f.; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 27.—2. See the critical note to this rule.—3. So writes, e.g. in 1,3,30 A. *valahāmuham*, B. *valāmuham*; A. *galulo*, B. *garuḷo*=*garuḍah*; A. *talāam*, B. *talām*=*taḍākam*; in 1,3,24 A. *valisam*, B. *baḷisam*=*baḍisam* etc.—4. On the notation of the manuscripts see GN. 1873,19of.—5. EI. 2,324.—6. On the inscriptional occurrences of *ḷa* see BÜHLER, EI. 2,368; FLEET, CII. 3,4,269.—7. FISCHER, GGA. 1873, p. 50; on Hc. 1,202; 4,326.

§227. Except in Dh. and Mg. *śa* and *ṣa* have become *sa* in Pkt., so that most of the dialects have the dental sibilant only (Vr. 2,43; Hc. 1,260; Ki. 2,103; Mk. fol. 18). PG. *śivakhamdavamo*=*śivaskandavarmā* (5,2), *visae*=*viṣaye* (5,3), *peṣaṇa*=*preṣaṇa* (5,6), *yaṣo*=*yaśah* (6,9), *sāsaṇassa*=*śāsanaśya* (6,10), *sata*=*śata* (6,11), *kosika*=*kauśika* (6,16), *śāka*=*śāka* (6,34), *visaya*=*viśaya* (6,35) and others; M. *asesa*=*aśeṣa* (G.H.), *āśivisa*=*āśviṣa* (R.), *kesa*=*keśa* (G.H.R.), *ghosa*=*ghoṣa* (G.H.), *paśu*=*paśu* (G.), *masi*=*maśi* (H.R.), *mahisa*=*māhiṣa* (G.H.R.), *rosa*=*rośa* (G.H.R.), *sisira*=*śisira* (G.H.R.), *sisu*=*śisu* (G.); Ś. *kidavisesaḥ*. *sohadi*=*kr̥taviśeṣakā*... *sohate* (Mṛcch. 2,21), *pariśīlādāsesadesamtaravavahāro*=*pariśīlitāśeṣadesāntaravavahārah* (Lalitav. 560,19), *sasiseharavallahā*=*śaśisekharavallahā* (Lalitav. 561,9), *sussūśidapuruvvo* *sussūśidavovo*=*śuśrūṣitapurvaḥ* *śuśrūṣitavyaḥ* (Mṛcch. 39,23). Likewise AMg. JM. JŚ. P. CP. Ā.D.A.

§228. In Dh. *śa* has become *sa*, but *śa* has been retained: *esa*, *esu*, *eso*=*eśah* (Mṛcch. 30,10;31,8;34,17;35,15;36,23); *puliśo*=*puruśah* (34,12); *mūśido*=*mūśitah* (38,18;39,1); *samaviśamaḥ*, *sakalusaam* (so to be read!)=*samaviśamam*, *sakaluśakam* (v. l. *aikasaṇam*=*atikṛṣṇam*; 30,8.9); however, *ādamaśāmi* (so to be read!)=*ādarśayāmi* (34,25); *jaśam* [so to be read]=*yaśah* (30,9); *daśasuvanna*=*daśasuvārṇa* (29,15;30,1;31,4 etc.); *śalanam* (to be read so!)=*śaraṇam* (30,4); *śunṇu*=*śūnyah* (30,11); *śela*=*śaila* (30,17). See § 25.

§229. In Mg., according to Mk. fol. 85 also in Vṛcāḍa Apabhraṃśa, and as it appears, in Kaikeyapaiśācika too, *ṣa* and *śa*, when not conjoined, become *śa* in the inlaut and in the anlaut; *śa* itself is retained (Vr. 11,3; C. 3,39; Hc. 4,288; Ki. 5,86; Mk. fol. 74; Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālikā 2,12). The rule is valid also when the sounds are combined with *ya*, *ra*, *la*, *va* or when they are in a consonant group split up by a separation vowel or are otherwise resolved through the phonetic laws of Pkt.: *īdiśaśśa* *akavyaśśa*=*īdr̥śayākr̥vyasya* (Śak. 113,5); *avaśalovaśapṇāna*=*avasaroḷapaṣarṇiṇya* (Śak. 115,10); *keśeśu*=*keśeṣu* (Mṛcch. 122,22; Venis. 35,19); *duśśāśaśśa*=*duśśāśanasya* (Mṛcch. 12,15; Venis. 35,12), *puliśa*=*puruśa* (§ 124); *bhūśaśaśda*=*bhūśaśaśabda* (Mṛcch. 14,23); *mahiśamahāśula*=*mahiśamahāśura* (Candak. 68,16); *mānuśamaṇśa*=*mānuśamāṇśa* (Venis. 33,3); *māśalāśi*=*māśarāśi* (Mṛcch. 14,10); *lāeśi*=*rājar̥ṣi* (Venis. 34,1); *lośaggi*=*rośāgni* (Mṛcch. 123,2); *lośamalīśa*=*palavvaśa*=*rośamar̥ṣaparavaśa* (Mallikām. 143,11); *valīśaśada*=*var̥ṣaśata* (Venis. 33,4); *viśakaṇṇā*=*viśakanyakā* (Mudrār. 193,3;194,6); *viśeśa*=*viśeṣa* (Mṛcch. 38,13); *viśśāvaśśa*=*\*viśvāvasuśya*=*viśvāvasoḥ* (Mṛcch. 11,9); *śalīla*=*śalīla* (Mṛcch. 136,11;158,13); *śalīla*=*śarīra* (Mṛcch. 124,21;127,5; 140,10;154,10; Venis. 34,1); *śahaśśa*=*sahasra* (§ 448); *śamaśśaśadu*=*samāśvaśitu* (Mṛcch. 130,17); *śamāśśaśiḍi*=*samāśvāśyate* (Venis. 34,13);



*śilasi=śirasi* ( Mṛcch. 116,15 ); *śilisomeśalaeva=śrisomeśvaradeva* ( Lalitav. 566,6 ); *śivilaṇiveśa=śibiraniveśa* ( Lalitav. 565,6 ); *soṇidavaśāsamuddaduś-samcala=soṇiṭavaśāsamudraduhsamcara* ( Venīś 34,5 ); *sośavedum=soṣayitum* ( Mṛcch. 140,9 ).

## 2. RELATING TO PARTICULAR CONSONANTS.

§230. *ka* becomes *ca* in *kirāta* : M. *cilāa* ( Vr. 2,33 [ Bh. here and under 2,30 *cilāda* ]; Hc. 1,183.254; Ki. 2,35.41; Mk. fol. 17 [ *cilāda* ]; R ), AMg. *cilāja* ( Paṇhāv. 42; Paṇṇav. 58 ), femin. *cilāi* ( Ovav. ), *cilāijā* ( Vivāhap. 791; Rāyap. 288; Nāyādh.; Ovav. ); cf. *cilātīputra* ( commentary upon Rṣabhap. 38 ). In the meaning “ Śiva ” *ka* remains according to Hc. Mk. So M. *kirāa* ( G. 35 ). In Ś., according to Mk., *ka* remains in tribal names : *kirāda* ( Bālar. 168,2; Karp. 90,8 ). *kirāja* occurs in Pāiyāl. 273.—*ka* is represented by *va* in *ovāsa=avakāśa* ( Pāiyāl. 261; G.H.R. ), beside *oāsa* ( Hc. 1,172; G.H.R. ), M. Ś. *avaāsa* ( Hc. 1,172; G.; Mṛcch. 44,19; Vikr. 41,8, Prab. 46,2 ), JM. *avagāsa* ( E:z. ), AMg. *avagāsiya=\*avakāśika* ( Uvās. ); *ovāsa=avakāśate* ( Vr. 8,35; Hc. 4,179 ); M. *antovāsa=antaravakāśa* ( G. 848; § 383 )<sup>1</sup>. Further in AMg. *jūva=yūka* ( Jiv. 356 ), beside *jūā, ūā*, AMg. *jūyā* ( § 335 ); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. A. *thova=stoka* ( Hc. 2,125; G.; Āyār. 1,2,4,4; Sūyag. 950; Thān. 238; Jiv. 798; Vivāhap. 26,423; Uttar. 311.959; Dasav. 621,13; Jīyāk. 92; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 41,9; 43,3,5; Dvār. 504,8; Erz.; Kattig. 400,335 [ text *thū*<sup>o</sup> ]; Hc. 4,376,1 ), AMg. JM. *thovaya=stokaka* ( Nāyādh.; E:z. ), AMg. *thovayaram* ( Jīyāk. 92 ), JM. *thovāthovam* ( Āv. 43,7 ), beside M. Ś. Mg. *thoa* ( Hc. 2,45.115; G.H.R.; Karp. 10,6; 37,5; Ś. Karp. 45,9; Mg. Mṛcch. 157,6 ), *thōkka* ( § 90 )<sup>2</sup>; AMg. *divādāha=dvīkārāha* ( § 450 ). *va* will have, according to § 199, originated from *pa*, therefore, it may be a case of interchange between gutturals and labials. Cf. § 231.266.286. On *pavāttha*, supposed to be=*prakoṣṭha* see § 129; on *candimā*, supposed to be=*candrikā* § 103; on AMg. JM. JŚ. Mg. A. *ga* for *ka*, § 192.202; on *kha, ha* for *ka*, see § 206.

1. Falsely ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 216, note 35.—2. It is difficult to explain *v*, here, as in other cases, with FISCHER, GGA. 1881 p. 1322, from the velar *k*. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, KZ. 112, note 1, wrongly thinks that it was brought in to prevent hiatus, that is avoided in none of the dialects.

§ 231. *ga* appears as *va* in *ovāhai* beside *ogāhai=avagāhate* ( Hc. 4,205 )<sup>1</sup>; AMg. *jwala=yugala* ( Vivāhap. 962 ), *jwalaṇya=yugalaka* ( Vivāhap. 82 ), *jwalaṇiya=yugalita* ( Vivāhap. 41; Ovav. ); cf. § 286 *juppai*; AMg. *talāva=tadāga* ( Vivāhap. 610; Uvās. ), beside AMg. JM. *talāga* ( Āyār. 2,3,3,2; Paṇhāv. 31.246.437.520; Paṇṇav. 84; Uttar. 884; Ovav.; Āv. 11,44.45; Erz. ), AMg. *talāja* ( Ovav. ), *tadāga* ( Āyār. 2,1,2,3 ); M. *talāa* ( Vr. 2,23; C. 3,21 p. 50; Hc. 1,202; Ki. 2,13; Mk. fol. 16; G.H. v.l. ); Ś. *tadāga* ( Mṛcch. 37 23; 151,15 ); M. *dūhava=durbhaga* ( Hc. 1,115.192; Karp. 86,2 ), and according to its analogy with a lengthened vowel *sūhava=subhaga* ( Hc. 1,113.192 ), according to Mk. fol. 39 also *duhavi, suhavi=durbhagā, subhagā*. Reversely *ga* occurs for *va* in AMg. JM. *agaḍa=avaṭa* ( 2,1,2,3; Ovav.; Erz. ), beside *ayaḍa* ( Deśin. 1,18; Pāiyāl. 130 ) and common *avaḍa*; AMg. *niṇhaga=\*naiṇhava*<sup>2</sup> ( heretic; Ovav. § 122 ), beside AMg. *niṇhavaṇija* ( Āyār. 1,5,3,1 ), *niṇhave* ( Dasav. 631,31 ), *anīṇhavemāna* ( Nāyādh. § 83 ); cf. § 473; AMg. *anḥaga=āsrava* ( Paṇhāv. 324 ), beside *anḥaja* ( Āyār. 2,4,1,6; Paṇhāv. 7; Ovav. )<sup>3</sup>, *panḥaja=prasava* ( Vivāhap. 794 ), AMg. *mahāṇubhāga=mahānubhāva* ( Bhag.; Ovav. )<sup>4</sup>. Cf. also AMg. *pariyāga, niyāga* ( § 254 ).—M. *puṇṇāma=puṇṇāga* ( Hc. 1,190; R. ), beside AMg. *puṇṇāga* ( Āyār. 2,10,21; Nāyādh. 699. [ °ṇṇā ] ), Ś. *puṇṇā* ( Mallikām. 116,9 ), and *bhāmiṇi=bhāgiṇi* ( Hc. 1,190 ), beside M. Ś. *mānda-bhāiṇi* ( H.; Mṛcch. 22,25; 120,6; 170,3.25; Vikr. 84,21 and often) presuppose

the process of development *punnāga*, \**punnāva*, *punnāma* (§ 261)<sup>5</sup>. Skt. *punnāman* is a borrowing from Pkt. — *chāla* supposed to be = *chāga*, and *chāṛi* = *chāgī* (Hc. 1,191) have, according to § 165, arisen from *chāgala*, *chāgālī*. For Mg. *cheliā* (Latakam. 12,14) we have to read *chāliā*. Ś. has *chāgala* (Mr̥ch. 17,15). On *gha* for *ga* see § 209. Cf. § 230.

1. Falsely ASCOLI, *Kritische Studien* p. 216, note 35 — 2. So the word is not to be equated as = *nihava* (LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s.v.*). *i* stands for *ai* according to § 84. — Not correctly, LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s.v.* — 4. So correctly LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s.v. anubhāga*. WEBER, *Bhag.* 2,290 thinks of Skt. *anubhāga*. To me the equation of AMg. *pūsamānaga* = Skt. *pūyamānava*, given by LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s.v.*, is not clear. The word *vaddhamānaga*, in *Ovav.* § 55, mentioned earlier, makes it probable that the word is to be equated as *pūyamāna* + *ka*. In no case, with LEUMANN, we can assume dropping off of *v*. — 5. Cf. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 15; Rāvanavaho, *Index* p. 172<sup>a</sup>, note 1, who, rather wrongly, explains *va* as having been brought in to stop the hiatus. Cf. § 230, note 2.

§ 232. AMg. *āunṭana* is not, with Hc. 1,177, to be equated as = *ākuñcana*, but as = \**ākuñtana* from *Vkuta kaulīye* (Dhātupāṭha 28,73), that is identical with *Vkuṭi vaikalīye* (Dhātupāṭha 9,37). Hence it is derived from the present stem *ākuñṭa*, which occurs in AMg. *āunṭīya*, *āunṭījjā* (Vivāhap. 1151.1152)<sup>1</sup>. To the same root belong Skt. *kuñṭa*, Pkt. *kudilla kudilla* (crooked; Deśin. 2,40; Pāiyāl. 155), *koḍḍila* (bad; Deśin. 2,40) and *kuñṭī* (bundle; Deśin. 2,34). — *khasia*, according to Hc. 1,193 = *khacita*, is rather = *kasita*, in conformity with Hc. 1,181; cf. § 206. — AMg. *pisalla* (Paṇhāv. 79 v. l.), *sapisallaga* (Paṇhāv. 525), that Hc. equates as = *piśāca*, will be = *piśācālaya*, according to § 150.165.194. *piśāca* becomes regularly M. Ś. *piśā* (H.; *Prab.* 46,2; *Mudrār.* 186,4 [°ca]; 191,5 [°ca]), AMg. JM. *piśāya* (Thān. 90.138.229; Paṇhāv. 172.230.312; *Uvās.*; *Ovav.*; *Erz.*).

1. *āunṭāvēmi* (sic; Nāyādh. 603; commentary *āunṭāvēmi*), *āunṭeha*, *āunṭehi* (sic; Nāyādh. 605) is a false reading for *āunṭāvēmi*, *āunṭeha*, *āunṭēnti*, as e. g. *āunṭai* (Thān. 152; *Sūyag.* 403), *āunṭāmo* (Āyār. 2,1,3,2), *āunṭittas* (Kappas. S. § 49), *viunṭāmi* (Vivāhap. 614), *viunṭana* (*Sūyag.* 476) are found. The forms belong to *Vṛti*.

§ 233. *cha* remains unchanged in the anlaut. In the inlaut it becomes *cca* after vowels, as in Skt., and after nasal vowels and nasals it remains *cha*, whether it be original or secondary. Thus M. *chala* (G.H.); *chavi* (G.R.); *chāā* = *chāyā* (G.H.R.); *chea* = *cheda* (G.H.R.); *icchai* = *icchati* (H.R.); *ucchaṅga* = *utsaṅga* (G.H.R.); *gacchai* = *gacchati* (H.); *pucchai* = *prechati* (R.); *mucchā* = *murchā* (R.); *piṁcha* = *piccha*, *puṁcha* = *pucccha* (§ 74); *puñchai* = *proñchati* (Hc. 4,105). Likewise the other dialects except Mg. — AMg. *milakku* beside *miliccha*, AMg. JM. Ś. A. *mēcca*, AMg. *micca* = *mleccha* (§ 84.105.136) are explained from the common basic form \**mlaska*<sup>1</sup>. In Mg. original as well as secondary *cca* becomes *śca* (Hc. 4,295; Nāmisādhū on Rudraṭa, *Kāvya-lamkāra* 2,12); *iścīadi* = \**icchyats* = *isyate* (Śak. 118,6); *gaśca* = *gaccha* (Hc.; *Lalitav.* 566,18; Śak. 115,4), *gaścamha* = *gacchāma* (Śak. 118,7); *puścamde* = *prechan* (*Lalitav.* 565,20); *maśca* from the usual Pkt. *maccha* = *matsya* (Mr̥ch. 11,11.12 [so to be read]; Śak. 114,2.9), *maścali* (fish; Śak. 118,2) = Gujarāṭi *māchalī*, Hindi *machalī*, Sindhi *machadī*<sup>2</sup>; *āvaṇṇavaścala* = *āpannavatsala*, *piścala* = *picchila* (Hc.; *Namis.*); *uścaladi* = *ucchalati*, *tīlīsci pēškadi* = M. *tīricchi pēchāi* = *tīryak prekṣate*, *puścadi* = *prechati* (Hc. 4,295); *yīvantavaśca* = *yīnavatsā* (Hc. 4,302). The texts mostly have *cca*: nevertheless there are distinct vestiges of this rule found in the MSS. So some MSS. have *gaścasi*, *gaśchasi*, *gaśca* for *gacchāsi*, *gaccha* (Mr̥ch. 20,14); Pṛthivīdhara in STENZLER p. 241 has *maścāśikā* for *macchāśikā* (Mr̥ch. 10,23); for *gaccha* (Mr̥ch. 132,16) there occur *gaśca*, *gaśśa*; for *āacchāmi* (Mr̥ch. 132,17), *āaścāmi*, *āaśvāmi*; for *āgacchadi* (Mr̥ch. 133,8), *āgaścadi*.

*āgaśchādī etc.*<sup>3</sup> In the anlaut *cha* remains : *chāla* (Hc. 4,295), *chāā*=*chāyā* (Mudrār. 267,2). The *cha* of *chedaa* in *ganṭhichedaa*=*granthichedaka* (Śak. 115,4,12) may also be regarded as in the anlaut. The v. l. *°chedaā* in R, however, makes here the reading \**śccdaa* more probable. See also §327.

1. E. KUHN, KZ. 25,327.—2. FISCHER on Śakuntalā p. 199, note 1.—3. FISCHER, GGA. 1881 p. 1319.

§234. In place of Skt. *ja* an old *ga* has been retained dialectically in the root *añj* and its derivatives in conjunction with certain prefixes : AMg. *abbhañgei* (Āyār. 2,2,3,8;2,15,20), *abbhañgējja*=*abhyañjyāt*, commentary=*abhyañgyāt* (Āyār. 2,2,1,8), *abbhañgēttā*=\**abhyañjitvā* (Āyār. 2,6,1,9; Thān. 126), *abbhañgāvei*=*abhyañjayati* (Vivāgas. 235; text *°bbhi°*); JM. *abbhañgijjaha*=*abhyañjadhue* (Erz. 59,30), *abbhañgium* (Erz. 57,10); AMg. JM. *abbhañgiya* (Ovav. [*°bbhi°*]; Kappas.; Nāyādh. [*°bbhi°*]; Erz.); AMg. JM. *abbhañgana*=*abhyañjana* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); Mg. *abbhañgida*=*abhyakta* (Mṛcch. 69,7); AMg. *nirañgana* (Ovav.) against M. *nirañjana* (G.H.). The guttural is found also in Skt. *abhyañga*=AMg. *abbhañga* (Ovav.). Sūyag. 248 has edited *muhabhīmjāe*. In the simple root and its derivatives, in all the dialects, there occurs only *ja*.—AMg. *omugganimuggi ya*, explained by the commentator with *majjananmajjana*, is=\**avamagnanmagnita*, as *ummaggā*, *ummuggā*=\**unmagnā* (§ 104).

§ 235. Hc. 4,229 teaches that *j* in the root *srj* becomes *r*. His examples *nisirāi*, *vosirāi*, *vosirāmi*=*vyavasrjati*, *vyavasrjāmi* occur very frequently in AMg. JM. So AMg. *nisirāmi* (Āyār. 2,1,10,7), *nisirāi* (Paṇṇav. 384f.; Vivāhap. 120f.212.254.1217.1271 Nāyādh), *nisirāmo* (Āyār. 2,1,9,1; 2,2,2,10); *nisirinti* (Sūyag. 680), *nisirējjā* (Āyār. 2,1,10,1;2,5,2,3;2,6,1,11; Sūyag. 682; Thān. 590 [*°ri°*]), *nisirāhi* (Āyār. 2,1,10,1), *nisira* (Dasav. 632,28), *nisirinta-* (Sūyag. 680), *nisirittā* (absolute : Vivāhap. 1251), *nisirijamāna* (Vivāhap. 122), *nisirāvēnti* (Sūyag 680), substantive *nisirāṇa* (Dasav. N. 658,33); AMg. *vosirāmi* (Āyār. p. 132,2;133,6,134,3;136,5; Nāyādh. 1165; Vivāhap. 173; Dasav. 614,19;616,20; Ovav.); JM. *vosirāi* (Erz. 50,37); AMg. *vosirējjā* (Āyār. 2,10,1ff), *vosire* (Āyār. 1,7,8,22; Sūyag. 214; Uttar. 737.923; Dasav. 619,14); JM. *vosirasu* (Erz. 42,33); AMg. *vosirittā* (absol.; Āyār. 2,10,22); JM. *vosiriya* (Āv. 11,19; Erz. 50,36); AMg. *viosire* (Āyār. 2,16,1). The reference of these forms to *srj*<sup>1</sup> is impossible. Rather the AMg. JM. participle, *samosariya*=*samavasṛta* (Vivāgas. 151; Uvās. § 2.9.75.189; Nirayāv. §3; Āv. 31,22; cf. § 565) beside the more frequent *samosadha*=*samavasṛṣṭa* (§ 67), further AMg. *samosarējjā*, *samosariukāma* (Ovav.), *samosaraṇa* (Bhag.; Ovav.), shows that in AMg. JM. the roots *srj* and *sr* have coincided. *sr* forms *sarāi*=*sārati*, in the meaning “to go”, “to run”, but *sirāi*=\**sārāti* in the meaning “to cause to go”, “to cause to run”, “to let go” and so on. The coincidence of both the roots is proved, for example, also by AMg. *nisirijamāna* beside *nisirittā* (Vivāhap. 122), *nisirāi* (Vivāhap. 254) beside *nisirittā* (Vivāhap. 257).

1. E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 65; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *vosir* and *viosagga*; JACOBI<sup>2</sup> Erz. s.v. *vosirāi*.

§236. In Mg. *ja* becomes *ya* (Vr. 11,4; Hc. 4,292; Kī. 5,90; Nāmiśādhu on Rudrāṭ, Kāvyaśāstrakāra 2,12); *yānidavaom*=*jñātavyam*, *yāniś-samha*=*jñāśyāmah*, *yā[ne]*=*jāne*, *yāniyy.di*=*jñāyate*, *yānidam*=*jñātam*, *yampideṇa*=*jalpitena* (Lalitav. 565,7.9.13;566,1.8.12); *yānadi*=*jānāti* (Hc.; Namis.); *yaṇavada*=*janapada* (Hc.; Namis.); *yalahala*=*jaladhara* (Hc. 4,296); *yāyade*=*jāyate*, *yāā*=*jāyā* (Hc.). The MSS. of the dramas, with quite rare exceptions, write in Mg. too only *ja*, since in the North-Indian dialects *ya* and *ja* have in many cases coalesced together.<sup>1</sup> That is

simply a contribution of the scribe<sup>2</sup>, and for *ja*, according to the grammarians, we have to substitute *ya* throughout, as has been done in this grammar. Therefore, e.g. one has to write for *jāla* (Śak. 114,2) *yāla*, with the MS. R; for *jamadaggi* (Mr̥cch. 12,12), *yamadaggi*; for *jādi* (Mr̥cch. 12,20), *yādi*; for *jānāsi* (Venis. 34,18), *yānāsi*; for *joisa* (Mudrār. 177,4), *yoisa=vyotiṣa*; for *jīva* (Prab. 46,12), *yīva*; for *janehim jammantala°* (Caṇḍak. 42,11), *yaṇehim yammantala°=jñānairjanmāntara°* etc. In the interior of the word simple *ja* drops out between vowels according to §186. Corresponding to *ya* for *ja*, *yha* will have to be written in cases like *yhaṇṇayyhaṇanta-* for *jhaṇṇajjhaṇanta-* (Mr̥cch. 11,6), *yhatti* for *jhatti=jhaṭṭi* (Mr̥cch. 29,21; 114,21; 168,19) and in conjunct consonants, as in *niyyhala* for *nijjhala=nirjhara* (Lalitav. 566,9), *uyyha* for *ujjha=ujjhivā* (Mudrār. 178,6); *jjh* also in Hc. 4,302). Cf. § 217.280. In PG. VG., where *ja* otherwise remains (§ 189), it has become *ya* in PG.; *bhāraddāyo*, *bhāraddāya°*, *bhāraddāyasa=bhāradvājah*, *bhāradvāja°*, *bhāradvājasya* (5,2; 6,16.19); VG. *bhāraddāyassa* (101,2; cf. EI. 1,2, note 2). Cf. § 253.—*uvvivaī*, according to Vr. 8,43; Hc. 4,227; Ki 5,46=*udvijate* is rather=*\*udvipate=udvepate*, as *uvvea* is not=*udvega* (Hc. 4,227), but=*\*udvepa*, from *Vvij*, *vepate*. On AMg. *murava=muraja* see §254.

1. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. § 23; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 17.—2. So<sub>2</sub> correctly already LASSEN, Inst. § 154,3. Cf. above § 23.

§237. Independent *ñā* occurs in CP. in the declension of the word *rājan*, when the sound-group *jñ* is separated by a separation-vowel according to § 133 and becomes *ciñ* according to § 191 (cf. note 1): *rācinā*, *rāciṇo=rājñā*, *rājñah* (Hc. 4,304; § 399). In Bh. 10,12 *rācinā*, *rāciṇo*, *rāciṇi* are read with dental *n*. Further *ñ* stands in A. *vuñāi=\*vrajñāti=vrajati*, absol. *vuñēppi*, *vuñēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,392)=Mg. *vaññādi* (§ 488).

§238. As a rule *ṭ* becomes *ḍ* in the inlaut between two vowels (§ 198). *ṭa* becomes *ḷa* in lieu of *ḍa*, in M. AMg. JM. Ś. *phaḷiḥa=sphaḷika*, AMg. *phāḷij a=sphāḷika* (§ 206). In M. *phadḥa* (R. s.v.; the better recension C has °li°), certainly, and in Ś. *phadḥa* (§206) probably are false.—*phālei* (causes to burst; splits) is not to be traced back to *vpaṭ* with Hc. 1,198, but to *vphal*, *sphal*.—*capeṭā* forms also M. AMg. *caviḍā*, *caviḷā* (Hc. 1,146.198) besides *caveḍā* (Hc. 1,146; H.; Uttar. 596). Cf. §80. Dialectically *ṭa* becomes *ḷa* also, for which the North Indian MSS. write *la* (§ 226). So M. AMg. *kakkoḷa=karkoṭa* (G.; Paṇhāv. 527); AMg. *kaḷitta=kaṭitra* (Ovav. §10); AMg. *khēḷa* (saiiva)=*khēṭa* (Āyār. 2,1,5,2; 2,2,1,7; Thāp. 483; Paṇhāv. 343.505; Antag. 23; Vivāhap. 164; Uttar. 734; Kappas.), *khēḷi=khetayati* (Vivāhap. 112); AMg. *piḷāga=piṭaka* (Sūyag.208); Mg. *yūḷaka=jūṭaka* (Mr̥cch. 136,15); Mg. *śaḷa=śakaṭa* (Mr̥cch. 122,10), beside Ś. *saadiā=śakaṭikā*, AMg. *sagaḍa*, dialectical *saadḥa* (§ 207). This sort of sound-change is especially frequent in the A. of Piṅgala: *niḷa=niḷaṭa* (1,127<sup>a</sup>.129<sup>a</sup>; 2,84); *paaḷa=praḷaṭa* (1,72; 2,97.272); *paaḷiḥa=praḷaṭita* (2,264); *phuḷa=sphuṭa* (2,48); *phuḷe=sphuṭati*, in the sense of *sphuṭanti* (2,230); *makkāḷa=markaṭa* (1,91.99); *vahuḷiā=vadhūḷikā* (2,84). Beside *balamoḷiā=balamoṭita* (1,140<sup>a</sup>), for *moḷiā=moṭitaḥ* (2,112) we have to read *moḷiā*, or for *choḷiā*, that stands in rhyme with it, (so S. GOLDSCHMIDT for *loḷiā*) we have to read perhaps *choḷiā=choṭitaḥ*. In M. stands *balāmoli°* (R. 10,64; but the v.l. has °ḍi°), and so we have to read, since *Vmut* has *ḍa* constantly. So M. *balamoḷi°* (H.); M. JM. Ś. *balāmoḷi* (Deśin. 6,92; Pāiyal. 174; Triv. 2,1,30; Kāvya prakāśa 72,10 (cf. § 589); Kk. 260,35; Malikām. 122,8); Ś. *balāmoḷia* past passive participle; Mālatim. 76,4; 128,8; 253,7; absol.

Mālatīm. 235,3; Rukminīp. 15,13;21,6)<sup>1</sup>, *pacchāmodia* (absol.; Śak.144,11); M. *āmodaṇa* (G.); Mg. *modaiśśam*, *modaiśśāmi* (Mṛcch. 113,1;128,14), *modemi*, *modia* (Mṛcch. 128,2;137,1). To it belong also *āmoda*, *moda* (braid of hair; Deśin. 1,62;6,117) and Ś. *mōṭṭima* (Anarghar. 152,9; Rucipati: *mōṭṭimam balātkāre deśi*), probably also *mōṭṭāi*=*ramate* (Hc. 4,168).—For *kaḍasi* (cemetery; Deśin. 2,6)=\**kaṭasi* from *kaṭa* (corpse; e.g. Viṣṇupurāna 3,13,10)=Pkt. *kaḍa* (vanished; dead; Deśin. 2,51)+*śi* (to lie), the MSS. in Hc. 2,174 have *karasi*, hence a change of *ṭa* to *ra* through *ḍa*. The same transition of *ṭa* into *ra* takes place in AMg. *purabheyāṇi* (city; Uttar. 618)=Pāli *putabhedana*<sup>2</sup>. On *ḍha* for *ṭa* see § 207.

1. In *balā* we should not, with PISCHEL, GGA. 1880, p. 331f.; WEBER, Hāla<sup>1</sup> p. 210; BÜHLER, Päiyāl. s.v. *balāmodi*, look for the ablative *balāi*. Rather the prefix *ā* has to be assumed, as *āmoda*, *āmodana* indicate.—Very false JACOBI, SBE. 45,102, note 2. *puṭa* is wrongly Sanskritized into *putra* (cf. Vr. 12,5) in *pāṭaliputra*. Cf. §292.

§239. In the inlaut *ṭh* becomes *ḍh* between vowels (§ 198). Dialectically very rarely it becomes *h*: AMg. JM. *kuhāḍa*=*kuthāra* (Sūyag. 274; Uttar. 596; T. 6,16.17.18), JM. *kuhāḍaya* (I. 7,1); *pihaḍa*=*piṭhara* (Hc. 1,201), AMg. *pihaḍaga* (Jiv. 251), *pihaḍaya* (Uvās. §184), beside *pihara* (Hc. 1,201; Päiyāl. 172), AMg. *piḍharaga* (Āyār. 2,1,11,5). On the interchange between *ḍa* and *ra* see 241.258.

§240. As a rule *ḍ* becomes *l*, when it stands in the inlaut between vowels not joined together. The North Indian MSS. and presses write *l* (§ 226; Vr. 2,23; C. 3,21; Hc. 1,202; Kī. 2,13; Mk. fol. 16). Vr. C. Mk. prescribe *ḍa* for *ḍa* as necessary; Bh. makes the rule optional and permits *ḍa* in *dāḍima*, *baḍiśa*, *nibiḍa*; Hc. requires *ḍa* for *vaḍavāmukha*, *garuḍa*, *taḍāga*, *kriḍati*, allows optionally *ḍa* and *ḍa* for *baḍiśa*, *dāḍima*. *guḍa*, *nāḍi*, *naḍa*, *āpiḍa*, and teaches *ḍa* as necessary for *nibiḍa*, *gaḍa*, *piḍita*, *nīḍa*, *udu* and *taḍita*. With him agrees Triv., who splits the rule into two 1,3,24 (*baḍiśāḍau*) and 1,3,30. Kī. has, like Triv., the gaṇa *baḍiśāḍi*, but he limits it to *baḍiśa*, *nibiḍa* and *jaḍa*, which must have *ḍa* according to him. The dialects do not make any strict distinction. One says, for example: AMg. *āmelīya*=*āmreḍita* (Ānuog. 37); AMg. *gaveḍaga*=*gaveḍaka* (Ovav.); AMg. JM. *guḷa*=*guḍa* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Ovav.; Erz.), Mg. *guḷodaṇa* (Mṛcch. 163,20), also *guda* (Hc. 1,202), Mg. *guḍāha*=*guḍaka* (Mṛcch. 116,25); M. Mg. *niḷaḷa*=*nigaḍa* (G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 109,16;132,20;162,17), AMg. *nigala* (Jiv. 349; Ovav.); M. *niḷaḷa*=*nigadita* (G.R.), JM. *niḷaḷīya* (Päiyāl. 197); M. *niḷāḷia* (H.); Ś. *nigalaḷavāḍi* (Mālav. 51,21); AMg. *elaḷa*=*edaka* (Uttar.226; Paṇnav. 366f.; Ovav.); M. AMg. JM. *garuḷa*=*garuḍa* (Hc. 1,202; Päiyāl. 25; G.; Thāp. 71.85; Sūyag. 317.771; Āyār. 2,15,12.13; Paṇhāv. 235.311; Vivāhap. 183.964 [°ḍa]; Paṇnav. 97; Jiv. 485.488; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Dvār. 507,37); beside them M. has *garuḍa* (R.), JM. *garuḍavūha* beside *garuḷa-sattha* (Erz.); Ś. *garuḍa* (Nāgān. 66,10;71,12;99,1), Mg. *galuḍa* (text °ru°; Nāgān. 68,4.13); in M. stands *galuḍa* (Acyutaś. 2.29.34; AMg. *chaḷaṃsa*=*ṣaḍaśra* (Thāp. 493), *chaḷaṃsiya* (Sūyag. 590), *chaḷāyāyāṇa*=*ṣaḍāyatana* (Sūyag. 456), *chaḷasi*=*ṣaḍasiṭi* (Vivāhap. 199; Samav. 143); cf. §211.441; AMg. JM. *soḷasa*, A. *soḷaha*=*soḍaśa* (§ 443); *vaḍavā* (Päiyāl. 226); M. *vaḍavāmūha* (R.), A. *vaḍavāṇala* (Hc. 4,365,2.419,6), beside M. *vaḷavāmūha*, *vaḷāṇala* (R.), *vaḷāṇala* (R. 2,24;5,77), JM. *vaḷāyāmūha* (Erz.); Ś. *dāḍima* (Bh. 2,23; Hc. 1,202; Viddhaś. 15,2), M. *dāḍimī* (G.), beside AMg. *dāḷima* (Hc. 1,202; Āyār. 2,1,8,1; Vivāhap. 1530; Paṇnav. 483.531; Ovav.); M. AMg. JM. *āmelā*, M. *āmelāa*, AMg. *āmelaga*, *āmelāya*=\**āpiḍya*. (§122), beside *āveda* (Hc.1,202), Ś. *āpiḍa* (Mālatīm.207,4); AMg. *taḷāga*, *taḷāva*

beside *taḍāga*=*taḍāka* (§ 231); M. *kīlei* (G.), AMg. *kīlanti* (Rāyap. 138; Uttar. 504), *kīlāe* (Uttar. 570), *kīliya* (Āyār. p. 135,17); Samav. 23), JM. *kīlāi*, *kīlanta-*, *kīlanti*, *kīliūna* (Erz.), Ś. *kīlasi* (Mṛcch. 54,3;95,11), *kīla* (Mṛcch. 95,23), *kīlamha* (Ratn. 293,25); Ś. Dh. Mg. *kīlēmha* (Mṛcch. 94,15;30,18;131,18); Ś. *kīlissam* (Vikr. 41,7;47,11 [so to be read both the times with the Dravidian recension and the v.l. to 47,11 instead of °di°; Mālav. 60,11), *kīlissasi* (Mṛcch. 94,19;95,12); Mg. *kīlissam* (Mṛcch. 30,23; Śak. 155,12; Mg. Ā. *kīlidum* (Mṛcch. 100,21;140,7;148,13); Ś. *kīlida* (Mṛcch. 95,7; Ratn. 293,29); Ś. *kīlamāṇa* (Vikr. 52,9); A. *kīlāi* (Vikr. 64,5), *kīladi* (Hc. 4,442,2), *kīlanti* (Vikr. 63,5) from *krid*; M. Ś. *kīlā*=*kridā*; Ś. *kīlānaa*, AMg. *kīlāṇa*, *kīlāvaṇa*, beside AMg. JM. *kīdā*, *kīddā* (§90), as well as Ś. *kheḷadā*, A. *kheḷanta*, AMg. *kheḷāvaṇa*, JM. *kheḷāveṭṭa*, *kheḷla*, A. *kheḷlanti*, beside AMg. JM. *kheḍda*, A. *kheḍdaa*; *kheḍdai* (§ 90. 206); AMg. *tālei*=*tādayati* (Nāyādh. 1236.1305), *tālēnti* (Vivāhap. 236), *tālayanti* (Uttar. 360.365), *tālējī* (Uvās. § 200), *tāleha* (Nāyādh. 1305), *tālemāṇa* (Vivāgas. 102), *tāliyyamāṇa* (Paṇhāv. 196), *tāliya* (Nāyādh 1236), *tālāna* (Paṇhāv. 535; Uttar. 582; Ovav.), Mg. of Śakāra. *tālia* (absol.; Mṛcch. 167,6), but elsewhere M. Mg. *tāḍana* (G.H.R.; Karp. 1,7;65,9; Mṛcch.122,20); M. *tāḍiamaṇā* (Karp. 70,7), *tāḍia* (R.); JM. *tāḍiya*, *tāḍijjamāṇa* (Erz.); Ś. *tādedi* (Mṛcch. 79,22), *tāḍia* (absol.; Mṛcch. 155,4), *tāḍida* (Mṛcch. 69,23), *tāḍaidum*, *tāḍaiṣsam* (Mālav. 44,16;65,20), *tāḍiadi* (Mālatim. 267,6), *tāḍianta-*, *tāḍiamāṇa* (Mudrār. 211,5;212,2;203,1); Mg. *tāḍhedha* (Mṛcch. 166,24;169,22), *tāḍaiṣsam* (Mṛcch. 80,5); Mg. Ā. *tāḍida* (Mṛcch. 29,19;105,2;148,10). In agreement with Hc. M. AMg. have *udu* (Pāiyāl. 96; Karp. 36,3; Jiv. 351); M. *gaiḍa* (G.), AMg. A. *goḍa* (Paṇhāv. 41; Piṅgala 2,112.138; cf. §61<sup>a</sup>); M. *niḍa* (G.; on H.996; Karp. 49,11), *niḍidia* (G.); JM. *niḍida* (Erz.); M. *niḍa*, *neḍḍa* (§ 90); M. JM. *taḍi* (Pāiyāl. 98; G.; Erz. 14,22;71,23), AMg. *tāḍiyā* (Vivāhap. 943), but A. *tāli* (Vikr. 55,2); M. *piḍia* (G.R.), AMg. JM. *piḍiya* (Pāiyāl. 190; Uttar. 577; Erz.), Ś. *piḍida* (Mṛcch. 22,13; Śak. 11,1), also M. *nippīdia* (R.); *sampīdia* (G.), *piḍijjanta-* (H.R.), *piḍana* (H.), M. JM. Ś. *piḍā* (Pāiyāl. 161; G.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 22,13; Śak. 29,9; Vikr. 18,5), Ś. *piḍiadi* (Mṛcch. 72,15), *piḍedi* (Vikr. 16,17). In AMg. however, *ḷa* prevails: *pīliya* (Uttar. 590); *pīliyaga* (Ovav.); *pīlei* (Dasav. 631,37; Uttar. 927.935.940.945.950); *āvilāe*, *pavilāe*, *nippīlāe* (Āyār. 1,4,4,1); *uppīlavējja* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13); *paripīlējja* (Sūyag. 208); *ovīlemāṇa* (Vivāgas. 102; text u°); *āvilīyāṇa*, *paripīliyāṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,8,1); *pīlā* (Paṇhāv. 394. 402.426; Uttar. 675); *sampīlā* (Uttar. 926.934.940.945.950); *pīlāna* (Paṇhāv. 537; Vivāhap. 610; Uvās.). In Uttar. 620 stands *piḍai* beside *āvilījja*. In Piṅgala 1,145<sup>a</sup> we have to read *pīliya* with S. GOLDSCHMIDT, what is required also by the rhyme with *mīliya*. AMg. *eḍei*=*eḍayati* (Vivāhap. 248), *eḍanti* (Vivāhap. 236), *eḍēnti* (Ovav.), *eḍitā* (Vivāhap. 236.248) have always *ḍa*. Beside *viḍḍā*=*vriḍā* (§ 90), AMg. has an adjective *viḍḍa* (Vivāhap. 1258); but the commentary reads *veda*, that will be correct and is connected to AMg. *velānaya* (Aṇuog.333), that according to Deśin. 7,65 is also a substantive and regulates dialectical *velūnā* (Deśin.7,65). *e* is to be explained according to §122. M. has *viḍia* beside *viḷia*=*vriḍita*, AMg. *saviḷiya* (§81). *viḍḍūnā*, *vedūnā* (Deśin.7,65) are also adduced.

§241. *ḍa* has become *ra* in M. Ś. *verulīa*, AMg. JM. *verulīya*=*vaiḍūrya* (§ 80). Bh. 4,33 has *veluria*, by which *veluria* is meant, as by *velulīa* (Deśin. 7,77), *velulīa*. According to Hc. 2,133 occurs also *vedujja*. Further in AMg. JM. *birāla*=*bidāla*<sup>1</sup> (Āyār. 2,1,5,3; Paṇṇav. 367.369; Nāyādh. 345; Uttar. 918; Āv. 42,20), A. *birālaa* (Piṅgala 1,67; ed. Bombay. °ḍā°), femin *birālī* (Nandis. 92; Paṇṇav. 368; Āv. 42,42), AMg. *birālīyā* (Sūyag. 824), also as a name of a plant *chīrabirālī*=*kīṣirabidālī* (Vivāhap. 1532),

*birāḷiya* (Āyār. 2,1,8,3). For *viḍāla* (Jiv.356) is to be read *birāla*. Ś. has *biḍāla* (Mālav. 50,16; v.l. *vi*<sup>o</sup>; Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 94,7, where the South Indian MSS. and presses waver between *biḍāla*, *biḍāla*, *biḷāḷa* and *vilāḷa*, feminine *biḍāḷī* (Hāsy. 25,7), *biḍāḷiā* (Mālav. 67,9; v.l. *viāriā*, *bilāḷiā*, *vuḍāḷiā*); Pāli *biḷāla* and *biḷāra*.

1. Excluding Nandis. 92 and Sūyag. 824, the texts everywhere have *vi*<sup>o</sup>. For Skt. the only authentic transcription is *bi*<sup>o</sup>, that is valid for Pkt. also.

§242. *ḍha* remains unchanged in all the dialects : AMg. JM. *ādhaja*=*ādha* (Ovav.; Erz.); AMg. *āsādha*=*āsādha* (Āyār. 2,15,2; Kappas.); M. JM. Ś. *gādha*=*gādha* (Pāiyāl. 90; G.H.; Karp. 64,7; Erz.; Ś. Karp. 15,5); M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *daḍha* (Pāiyāl. 90; Āyār. 1,6,2,2; Sūyag. 161.544; Mr̥cch. 69,11; Śak. 11,1; Vikr. 16,16;30,3; Mg. Mr̥cch. 116,8), JŚ. Ś. A. *diḍha* (Kattig. 400,329.330.336;403,370; Mr̥cch. 44,5; Vikr. 12,20;22,14; Mallikām. 225,11; Priyad. 42,4;43,6; Prab. 18,1; Piṅgala 1,86<sup>a</sup>)=*dyḍha*; M. JM. *bādha*=*bādha* (Pāiyāl. 90; G.; Erz.). On A. *khallihadañ* cf. § 110.207. —Secondary *ḍha*, originating from *ṣha* (§ 66.67.304) becomes *ḷha* (written *lha*) in *koḷhua* (jackal; Deśin. 2,65; Pāiyāl. 152) from \**kodhua*=*kroṣṭuka*<sup>1</sup>, to which belongs also *kuḷha* for \**koḷha* (jackal; Deśin. 2,34) = \**kroṣṭa* for *kroṣṭr*; *koḷhāhala* (fruit of momordica monadelpha; Deśin. 2,39) = \**kroṣṭāphala*; cf. *kroṣṭuphala*. Likewise *gōḷhā*=*gūḍhā* (momordica monadelpha; Deśin. 2,95), *gōḷhāphala*=*gūḍhāphala* (Pāiyāl. 255)<sup>2</sup>.

1. LEUMANN, GSAI. 6,117 note.—2. Pkt. shows that we should not be sanguine about *gūḍhāphala* with BÖHTLINGK s.v. It is assumed that *ḷha* makes a position.

§243. *ṇ* in *veṇu* may become *ḷ* : AMg. *veḷu* (Hc. 1,203; Pāiyāl. 144; Sūyag. 197.248; Paṇṇav. 33; Rāyap. 33.89.184), beside *veṇu* (Āyār. 2,11,4; Sūyag. 197.248; Vivāhap. 1526; Paṇṇav. 40), *venudeva* (Sūyag. 317); likewise *veḷugā*, *veḷujya*=*veṇuka* (amomum; Āyār. 2,1,8,14; Vivāhap. 1526; Dasav. 623,4; Paṇṇav. 43). Since Pāli has *veḷu*, *ḷ* is to be assumed probably also in Pkt. Probably *veṇu* and *veḷu* go back to the basic form \**velnu*, which belongs to the root *vel*, *veḷl* that is much used and has widely branched off in Pkt. (§107). From this even the other meanings of *veḷu* “thief” and “pestle” (Deśin. 7,94) could be well explained; cf. *thūna* “thief” § 129. In P. CP. *ṇa* becomes *na* (§ 225). Ki. 5,107.108 teaches that *la* enters : *phalati*=*bhaṇati*, *thvalati* [sic]=*dhvanati*, *phalitam*=*bhaṇitam*, *thvalitam* [sic]=*dhvanitam*, *palam*=Pkt. *vaṇam*=*vanam*; *phalaha* [sic]=*bhaṇata* (5,113); *phalāmo*=*bhaṇāmaḥ* (5,114). In the examples *kakaṇa*=*gagaṇa* (5,102), *jajaṇa*, *cacaṇa*=*yajana* (5,103), *calaṇa*=*carana*, *usana*=*uṣṇa*, *paṣana*=*praṣna*, *sināna* [sic]=*snāna* (5,109) the edition writes *ṇa*, and since *nā*, *na*, and *la* very often interchange in the Bengali script in the MSS., the hypothesis is, that in agreement with the other grammarians *na* is to be read for *la*. According to Ki. 5,110 *na* and *ṇa* could become also *ṇa* in P.: *kaṇaka*=*kanaka*; *vaṇna*=*varṇa*.

§244. Sometimes *ta* and *da* become *la*, and through the intermediate grades *ṭa*, *ḍa* (§ 218.219) they become *ḷa* (§ 226.238.240), that the North Indian MSS. likewise indicate by *la*, so that it cannot always be said with certainty whether *la* or *ḷa* is to be written : Ś. *alasi*=*atasi* (Hc. 1,211), Mallikām. 87,15); but AMg. *ajysi* (Vivāhap. 41.1526; Paṇṇav. 34.526; Uttar. 592; Ovav.); AMg. *āsila*=*asita* (Sūyag. 203); *palila* (Hc. 1,212) beside M. *palia*=*palita* (Hc. 1,212; G.H.); M: *vijjulā*=Pāli *vidyutā*=*vidyut* (Hc. 2,173; Mk. fol. 37; R.), *vijjuli*=\**vidyutī* (Vr.4,26; Mk. fol. 37), M.Ś. A. *vijjulīā*=\**vidyutikā*<sup>1</sup> (H.584 v.l.; Vikr.27,13; Piṅgala 1,142<sup>a</sup>). *vijjuā*, that Vr.4,9; Hc.1,15; Ki. 2,129; Mk. fol. 33 forbid for M., stands in H. 584, hardly rightly, as otherwise M. has only *vijjulā* and *vijju* (G.H.R.); Ś. has *vijjuḍā*

(Mṛcch. 91,19; Venis. 60,17); M. *sālavāhaṇa*, *sālāhaṇa*=*sātavāhana* (Hc.1,8. 211; H.; cf. §167), yet JM. beside *sālivāhaṇa* also *sāyavāhaṇa* (Kk.); Mg. *sūla*=*sūta* (Mṛcch. 97,3). — AMg. *salilā* (stream; Sūyag. 317.460; Uttar. 342; perhaps also Vivāhap.479) is not, with JACOBI<sup>2</sup>, to be equated as=Pāli *sarītā*=Skt. *sarīt*, which always retains *r*, but is a feminine of the adjective *salīla* (Āyār. 2,16,10=Sūyag. 468) of which Skt. *salīla* (water) is neuter.—*la* is to be read in Mg. *kaḷa* (Mṛcch. 11,1;40,4), *maḷa* (Mṛcch. 118,14.15.24; 132,21) beside *kaḍa*, *maḍa*=*kṛta*, *mṛta* (§ 219), JM. *vāuḷa*=*vyāpṛta* (Kk.; §218), A. *paḷai* for *paḍai* (§ 218)=*paṭati* (Piṅgala 1,78.116.120<sup>a</sup>.123.125.125<sup>a</sup>.133.135;2,60.135.202.231.261). — *da* has become *la* in M.AMg. *kalamba*=*kadamba* (Vr. 2,12; Hc.1,222; Kī.2,20; Mk. fol. 15; Pāiyāl.255; G.H.R.; Panhāv. 60; Thān. 321), beside *kaamba* (Hc. 1,222), AMg. *kajambaga* (Nāyādh. 354.1045), *kajambaja*, (Kappas.; text falsely °*bu*°; v.l. *kalambaja*, *kalamba*, *kajamba*); AMg. *kālamba* (Thān. 505), M. *kāmba* (G.R.)=*kādamba*.—M. *goḷa*=*godā* (Hc. 2,174; Mk. fol. 39; Deśin. 2,104; Pāiyāl. 132; Triv. 1,3,105; H.), also introduced into Skt.<sup>3</sup> The MSS. of Triv. write *la*, which is attested by the v.l. *goḍā* in H.—M. AMg. *ṇōllai*, *nullai*=*nuddati* with doubling according to § 194 (Vr. 8,7; Hc. 4,143; Kī. 4,46 (text *ṇōṇṇa*); Mk. fol. 53); M. *ṇōllei* (H.R.), *ṇōl'ēnti* (G.), *ṇōllia* (R.), *paṇōllia* (G.R.); AMg. *ṇōllāvehinti*, *ṇōllāviya* (Vivāhap. 1280), *paṇōlla* (absol.; Sūyag. 360), *vipaṇōllae* (Āyār. 1,5,2,2), *paṇullemāna* (Nandīs. 146; commentary °*ṇo*°).—JM. *paḷivei*=*pradīpayati* (Hc. 1,221; Āv. 9,13), *paḷivesi*, *paḷivehi* (Āv. 9,19;32,21); JM. *paḷivai* (Hc. 4,152; Mk. fol. 15; Erz.); M. *paḷivesi*, *paḷivium*, *paḷiḥpamāna* (H.), *paḷivei* (R. 5,67)<sup>4</sup>; M. AMg. *paḷitta* (Vr. 2,12; Hc. 1,221; Kī. 2,20; H.R.; Nāyādh. 1117); M. *paḷivā* (H.), JM. *paḷiviya* (Pāiyāl. 16; Āv. 9,15;32,22.26); AMg. *āḷiviya* (Vivāgas. 225); *āḷivāna*=*ādībana* (Deśin. 1,71); JM. *paḷivānaga* (Āv. 19,9); but without prefix M. *dīppanta-* (R.), *dīppanti*, *dīppamāna* (G.), A. *divia*=*dīpita* (Vikr. 60,19), and with prefix Ś. *uddīvanī* (Mṛcch. 2,22), *paḍivesi* (Uttarar. 83,2; ed. Calc. 1831, p 55,19 has °*li*°).—AMg. JM. *duvālasa*=*dvādāsa* (Panhāv. 347; Vivāhap. 168.173.249.608; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), *duvālasaṅga* (Hc. 1,254; Samav. 3; Thān. 569; Sūyag. 616; Nandīs. 388.394), *duvālasaviha* (Vivāhap. 159.524; Paṇnav. 30.374; Jiv. 44), *duvālasama* (Āyār. 1,8,4,7; Sūyag. 699).—AMg. JM. *ḍohaḷa*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *dohaḷa*=*dohada*, M. Ś. *dohaḷaa* (§222), according to the information given by Pāli, to be written with *ḷa*, as is shown also by Mg. *haḷaka* (Mṛcch.9,25), *haḷaa* (Mṛcch. 163,24) beside the usual Mg. *hadakka* (§ 194). Cf. § 436.—M. *maḷai*=*mrādate* (Vr. 8,50; Hc. 4,126; R.), *maḷesi* (H.), *maḷei* (R.), *maḷia* (G.H.R.), *paṛimaḷasi* (H.), *paṛimaḷia* (H.R.), *vimaḷai* (G.), *vimaḷia* (G.R.), *omaḷia* (R.), *maḷaṇa* (G.), *paṛimaḷana* (H.), with *ḷa* as in Marāṭhī and Gujarātī<sup>5</sup>.—AMg. *elisa*=*idrśa*, *aṇelisa*=*anidrśa*, *elikhha*, *elikkhaya*=*idrśa*, *idrśyaka* (§121).—*sōllai* (cooks; Hc.4,90)=*sūddyati*, with doubling according to §194, AMg. *sōlla* (cooked; roasted; Uvās.; Nirayāv.), *sōllaya* (Uvās.)=*sūd+na*, *sūd+na+ka* (§566)<sup>6</sup> and from the present stem (§ 565) *sōlliya*=*sūḍita* (Ovav.).—*veḷūṇā* beside *bedūṇā*, *viddūṇā* (§ 240); AMg. *vibhelaya*=*vibhedaka* (§121).

1. So correctly BOLLENSON on Vikr. 27,13 p. 279. Not correctly, thinks WEBER on H. 584 with regard to *vidyullatā*.—2. SBE. 45,68, note 1. Even JACOBI's explanation of *kulāla* is wrong; see §80.—3. FISCHER, BB. 3,237f.—4. The text has *paḍivei*, in the same stanza with *paḷitta*, for which 1,5;5,87 *paḍitta*, 15,73 perhaps *paḍitta* stands. Forms with *da* are not attested elsewhere.—5. FISCHER on Hc. 4,126.—6. Wrongly equated by HOERNLE, Uvās. s.v. as=*sūlya*, *sūlyaka*, an explanation, that is not tenable in places like as Ovav. §74 *ingālasōlliya*.

§245: *ta* becomes *ra* through *ḍa* (§ 218) in *sattari*=*saptati* (Hc.1,210);



AMg. JM. *sattariṃ*, *sattari*, JM. also *sayari* (70); AMg. *egūnasattariṃ* (69), *ēkkasattariṃ* (71), *bāvattariṃ* (72), JM. also *bisattari*; AMg. *tevatariṃ* (73), *covattariṃ*, JM. *caūhattari* (74) etc., A. *ehattari* (71), *chāhattari* (76). See §446. More frequently *da* has become *ra*, Mg. *la* through *ḍa* : AMg. *urāla*=*udāra* (Āyār. 1,8,1,9;2,15,14,15 [text o°]<sup>1</sup>; Sūyag. 95.392.408.639; Ṭhāṇ. 177; Nāyādh. §4; p. 369.566; Antag. 57; Vivāhap. 10.155.168.170.231.248.942.1039.1228f.; Uttar. 1052.1058; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas. s. v. *orāla*); *orāliya*=*audārika* (Paṇṇav. 397 [u°]<sup>1</sup>. 461ff.; Uttar.881; Vivāhap. 111.146.528ff.620; Ṭhāṇ. 54.55; Ovav.). — *karalī*=*kadalī* in the meaning “elephant flag”, but *kaalī* in the meaning “musa sapientum” (Hc. 1,220). False is *Ś. kaṇaakeriā* (Bālar. 131,14)=*kanakakadalikā* against M. *Ś. kaalī* (Karp. 46,14;102,6), *Ś. kadalīā* (Prab. 66,2), AMg. JM. *kajalī* (Pāyāl. 254; Āyār. 2,1,8,12 [so to be read]; cf. v.l.). — *gaggara*=*gaḍgada* (Vr.2,13; Hc. 1,219; Kī. 2,21; Mk. fol. 15). — *daśa* becomes *rasa*, *raha* in the numerals 11-13,15,17-18 (Vr. 2,14; Hc. 1,219; Kī. 2,21; Mk. fol. 15). So : AMg. *ēkkārasa*, A. *eāraha*, *ēggāraha*, *gāraha*, but also A. *ēkkadaha*, CP. *ekātasa* (11); AMg. JM. *bārasa*, A. *bāraha*, beside AMg. JM. *duvālasa* (§ 244) (12); AMg. *terasa*, A. *teraḥa* (13); AMg. JM. *paṇṇarasa*, A. *paṇṇaraha* (15); AMg. JM. *sattarasa* (17); AMg. JM. PG. *aṭṭhārasa*, A. *aṭṭhāraha* (18). See §443. Likewise the ordinals (§ 449). Further *aa* becomes *ra* in the adjectival and pronominal compound words formed with *-drś*, *-drśa*, *dr̥ṣa*, like M. AMg. JM. *Ś. erisa*, AMg. JM. *erisaya*, A. *erisa* beside AMg. *elisa*, *anelisa*, P. *etisa*, *Ś. idisa*, Mg. *idisa*=*idr̥ṣa* (§ 121); M. AMg. JM. *Ś. kerisa*, JM. *kerisaya*, Mg. *keliśa* beside *Ś. kidisa*=*kidr̥ṣa* (§ 121); JM. *annārisa*=*anyādr̥ṣa* (Hc. 1,142; Erz.), *Ś. aṇṇārisa* (Vikr. 52,19; Mālatim. 89,7;138,10;217,4; Mahāv. 128,7; Bhartṛharinirveda 4,1), but P. *aññātisa* (Hc. 4,317), A. *aṇṇāisa* (Hc. 4,413); M. JM. *Ś. amhārisa*=*asmādr̥ṣa* (Hc. 1,142; H.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 4,16.17.21;18,3; Mudrār. 36,4;241,8;259,1; Karp. 92,8; Viddhaś. 25,8), feminine *Ś. amhārisī* (Viddhaś. 71,9;116,5), but P. *amhātisa* (Hc. 4,317); M. JM. *Ś. tumhārisa*=*yuṣmādr̥ṣa* (Hc.1,142; G.R.; Erz.; Viddhaś.51,12;121,9; Karp.93,9), but P. *yumhātisa* (Hc. 4,317); *eārisa*=*etādr̥ṣa* (Hc.1,142), *Ś. edārisa* (Viddhaś. 102,2; so to be read); feminine *edārisī* (Prab. 44,13; so to be read), AMg. JM. *jārisa*=*yādr̥ṣa* (Hc. 1,142; Kī.1,29; Uttar.794; Erz.), AMg. *jārisaya* (Nāyādh.1284), but P. *yātisa* (Hc. 4,317), *Ś. jādisa* (Viddhaś. 29,3;32,1,2), feminine *jādisī* (Śak. 51,1,1,12; Prab. 16,10), A. *jaīsa* (Hc.4,403.404); M. AMg. JM. *Ś. tārisa*=*tādr̥ṣa* (Bh.1,31; Hc. 1,142; Kī. 1,29; R.; Karp. 115,4; Sūyag. 365.429; Uttar. 794; Dasav. 633,19=Hc. 4,287; Āv. 27,2.6.25; Erz.; Vikr. 52,19; Mahāv. 126,7; Prab. 44,12 [read *tārisīe*, AMg. *atārisa* (Āyār. 1,6,1,6), *tārisaga* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.), Mg. *tāliśa* (Mṛcch. 37,11), but *Ś.* also *tādīsa* (Śak. 32,5; Vikr. 52,7;53,11; Prab. 16,10), feminine *tādīsī* (Śak. 51,12; Viddhaś. 32,1,2), Mg. *tādīsī* (Mṛcch. 140,12; Prab. 62,7), P. *tātisa* (Hc. 4,317), A. *tāisa* (Hc. 4,403); AMg. A. *sari*=*sadr̥k* (Hc. 1,142; Nāyādh.; Piṅgala 1,42); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś.D.A. *sarisa*=*sadr̥ṣa* (Bh.1,31; Hc.1,142; Mk.fol. 11; G.H. R.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Kī. 12; Erz.; Kattig. 399,316; Mṛcch. 17,18;24,16;55,4;95,11;134,18;152,21; Śak. 132,1;134,8; Vikr. 6,1; 8,13 [so to be read]; 39,12; Mālav. 6,20 etc.; D. Mṛcch.102,23;105,4; A. Piṅgala 1,10), AMg. *sarisaya*, feminine *sarisiyā* (Nāyādh.), Mg. *śaliśa* (Mṛcch. 154,20;164,20;176,5), A. *sarisima*=*\*sadr̥śīman*=*sādr̥śya* (Hc.4,395,1); M. *Ś. sariccha*=*sadr̥kṣa* (Hc. 1,44.142; H.; Viddhaś.23,4), also M. JM. JŚ. *sāricchā* (§ 78), and *Ś. sārīkkha* (Karp. 108,2), *sāriccha*=*\*sadr̥kṣya* (Hc. 2,17; G. 852; see v.l.), AMg. A. *sārīkkha* (Hc. 2,17;4,404); *Ś. sārīkkhadā*

(Karp. 109,7,10). Cf. also *bhavārisa* (Hc. 1,142) against A. *avarāisa* = \**aparādṛṣa* (Hc. 4,413).

1. *orāla* is likewise false, as *urāliya*. Both the words are substituted by one another in the anlaut in the MSS. and the printed editions.

§246. Sometimes *va* has taken the place of *ta* and *da* just seemingly. *āvajja* is not = *āodya* (Hc. 1,156), but = \**āvādyā* (§ 130). AMg. *ujjovemāṇa* (Paṇṇav. 100,102,112; Uvās.; Ovav.), *ujjoviya* (Nāyādh.; Kappas.), *ujjoventa-* (Nāyādh.) are not = *uddyotayamāna*, *uddyotita* *uddyotayant* with the infixed *v*<sup>1</sup>, but belong to *Vdyu*, that occurs in Skt. *dyu* (day), *dīdyu* (thunderbolt; lightening), perhaps also in A. *joedi* (sees; Hc. 4,422,6 and Wortverzeichniss zu Hc) and certainly in the modern Indian dialects<sup>2</sup>. M. *rovai*, M. JM. *rovai* do not belong to *rud*, but to *ru* (§ 473). *kavaṭṭia* is not = *kadarthita* (Hc. 1,224;2,29), but = *kava* in the sense of *kad* = *ku* + \**ārtita* = *ārta* (§ 289,428). Certain other sound changes assumed by the grammarians are also not tenable. *erāvaṇa* is not = *airāvata* (Vr. 2,11; Bh. 1,35; Ki. 2,31; Mk. fol. 15), but = *airāvāṇa* (Hc. 1,148,208; §60). *gabbhiṇa* is not = *garbhita* (Vr. 2,10; Hc 1,208; Ki 2,31; Mk. fol. 15), but = *garbhin* with a transition to the *a*-declension (§ 406). *atimuktaka* form, according to Hc. 1,26,178,208, *aṇṇumṭāa* beside *aṇṇumṭāa*; in AMg. it regularly becomes *aṇṇumṭāya* (Hc. 1,26; Ovav. §8), in Ś. *adimōṭṭāa* (Mycch. 73,10), as *atimukta*, JM. *aṇṇumṭa* (Pāyā. 256), Ś. *adimutta* (Vikr. 21,9; Vṛṣabh. 15,17;47,15; Mallikān. 97,6;128,15). In Mk. fol. 34 *aṇṇumṭa* is to be read for *aṇṇumṭa* of the MS., in Bh. 4,15 probably *aṇṇumṭa* is to be read for *ahimukta*, which is explained by *abhimukta*. Where comes *aṇṇumṭāa* is not clear. On *ta* erroneously used in AMg. see §203; on *da* for *ta*, §192,203, 204; on *ṭa*, *ḍa* for *ta*, § 218,219; on *ta* for *da*, § 190,191; on *ḍa* for *da*, § 222.

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *ujjov*.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 4,322.

§247. *tha* may become *dha* (§221), *dha* may become *dha* (§223), in CP. *tha* (§ 191). AMg. *samilā* (Uttar. 592,788) is explained by JACOB<sup>1</sup> with *samidh*. That is phonetically impossible and against the sense. The explanation of the commentators by *kilikā*, *yugakilikā* points to \**samitā*; cf. *samit*, *samiti*.—*na* becomes mostly *ṇa* (§ 224). In *nimba* it may become *la*: *limba* (Hc. 1,230) = Marāṭhī *limba*, A. *limbaḍāa* (Hc. 4,387,2) = Gujarāṭī *limbaḍa*, beside M. *nimba* (Hc. 1,230; H.), AMg. *nimboliyā* = *nimbagulikā* (Nāyādh. 1152,1173; cf. §167).—On *nhāviā* = *nāpita* see § 210.

1. SBE, 45, p. 94, note 4.

§248. For *pa*, which as a rule becomes *va* (§ 199), dialectically also *ba* (§ 192) and *bha* (§ 209), there may appear sometimes also *ma*: M. AMg. JM. *āmeḷa* = *āpīdyā*, *āmeḷāa*, AMg. *āmeḷaga*, *ameḷāja* (§ 122); *ṇimeḷa* = \**nīpīdyā* (§ 122); M. *ṇumajjāi* = *nīpadyate*, *ṇumaṇṇa* = *nīpanna* (§118); AMg. *āṇamaṇi* = *āṇāpani* (Paṇṇav. 363ff.369) beside *āṇavaṇi* (Paṇṇav. 364f.); AMg. *cimīdha* = *cipiṭa* (Nāyādh. 751; commentary *cimīṭṭha*) against. *civīdha* (Nāyādh. 7+5; text *civīṭṭha*, commentary *cimīṭṭha*, in the text, therefore, to be read *cimīdha*, as for example in 751; cf. § 207); AMg. *kunīma* = *kunapa* (Sūyag. 225, 282, 483, 811; Thāṇ. 338; Paṇḥāv. 179; Jiv. 255; Ovav.); AMg. *talīma* = *talpa* (D.śin. 5,20; Pāy. 1. 117,122; Nāyādh. 1192f.); AMg. *nīma*, *nīma* = *nīpa* (Hc. 1,234; Dasav. 623,5; Paṇṇav. 31; Ovav.; cf. Ovav. § 6 note 12), beside AMg. *nīva*, A. *nīva* (Hc. 1,234; Ovav.; Pīṅgala 1,60<sup>a</sup>; 2,82); AMg. *bhīṇḍimāla* = *bhīṇḍipāla* (Jiv. 257,279; Paṇḥāv. 61,158; Ovav.), beside *bhīṇḍivāla* (Vr. 3,46; Hc. 2,38 [also FISCHER] 89; Ki. 2,65; Mk. fol. 26; AMg. *maṇāma* = Pāli *maṇāpa* (Thāṇ. 65,66,527; Samav. 94; Vivāhap. 162,480; Nāyādh.; Nīraṇḍāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.), feminine *maṇāmī* (Vivāhap. 196), *amaṇāma* (Sūyag. 630; Vivāgas. 40f.; Samav. 227; Jiv. 256; Vivāhap. 89,117,254); AMg. *vaṇimaga*,

°ja=*vanīpaka* ( Āyār. 2, 1, 1, 13; 2, 1, 5, 1; 2, 2, 2, 8ff.; 2, 3, 1, 2; 2,5,1,9ff.; 2,6,1,7;2,10,23;2,15,11; Paṅhāv. 492; Ṭhāṅ. 397; Nāyādh. 1086; Dasav. 622,31.35;626,29; Kappas.), *vanīmayajāe*=*vanīpakatayā* (Paṅhāv. 358; text *vanīmayāe*); AMg. *viḍima*=*viṭapa* (twig; Āyār. 2,4,2,12; Paṅhāv. 437; Jiv. 548f.; Dasav. 628,28; Ovav. §4; tree; Dasav. N. 645,4; Rhinoceros; Deśin. 7,89; Ovav. §37. [37]; young roe; Deśin. 7,89), but M. Ś. *viḍava* (Bh. 2,20; Ki. 2,10; G.H.R.; Śak. 67,2;137,5; Vikr. 12,17; 22,12;31,1); *viḍavi*=*viṭapin* (Pāiyāl. 54); AMg. JM. *sumiṇa* beside *suviṇa*, JM. *sumiṇaga* beside *suviṇaga*; *simiṇa* beside M. *siviṇa*, Ś. AMg. *siviṇaa*=Pāli *supiṇa*=Skt. *svaṇa* (§ 177). The transition, that is almost wholly limited, is explained by the interchange of *ma* and *va* (§ 251.261).

§249. Ś. *ṣāraddhi* (hunting; Viddhaś. 23,9), which is equated by Hc. 1,235 and Nārāyaṇadīkṣita on Viddhaś. 23,9 as=*ṣāpardhi*, is=*prārabdhī*; its synonym *ṣāraddha* (Deśin. 6,77), that means also "compensation for an act done in a former life", "oppressed" and "tortured", is=*prārabdha*.

§250. Like *pa* (§ 248), *ba* also sometimes becomes *ma*: *kamandha*=*kabandha* (Vr. 2,19; Hc. 1,239; Mk. fol. 16). Hc. 1,239; Mk. fol. 16; Prākṛtamañjarī in PISCHEL, De gr. Prācr. p. 14 teach also *kayandha*, that will originate form AMg. JM. or JŚ. and, therefore, will be=*kayandha*. We find in the texts also M. JM. A. *kavandha* (§ 201), which according to Mk. fol. 67 Ś. too always has.—*samara*=*śabara* (Hc. 1,258), but M. AMg. JM. Ś. *savara*, M. AMg. *savarī* (§ 201). AMg. JM. *māhaṇa* with WEBER<sup>1</sup>, E MÜLLER<sup>2</sup>, JACOBI<sup>3</sup>, LEUMANN<sup>4</sup>, Ś. GOLDSCHMIDT<sup>5</sup>, ASCOLI<sup>6</sup>, HOERNLE<sup>7</sup> to be equated as=*brāhmaṇa*, is linguistically impossible. Corresponding to AMg. JM. *bambha*=*brahman*, *bambhayāri*=*brahmacārin*, *bambhaṇaṇa*=*brāhmaṇyaka*, *bambhaloṇa*=*brahmaloka* etc. (§ 267) the word must be pronounced as *bambhaṇa*, as is the case also, AMg. JM. *bambhaṇa* (Uttar. 748.753f.; Āv. 18,15; Erz.; Kk.), AMg. *subambhaṇa* (Paṅhāv. 448). Sometimes both the words occur beside one another, as Erz. 1,7 *māhaṇassa*, but 1,8 *bambhaṇeṇa*; Kk. 276,25 *bambhaṇarūva*, but II, 508,19 *māhaṇarūvaga*. AMg. employs almost exclusively *māhaṇa*<sup>8</sup> (e.g. Āyār. 2,1 1,12,2,1.3,11,9,2,2,1,2,2,8,9;2,6,1,1;2,7,2,15,2,4,11; Sūyag. 17.56.74. 105.106.113.118.373.419.495.553.620.642f.; Vivāhap.115.119 343; Vivāgas. 152f.; Ovav.; Kappas.), *maḥāmāhaṇa* (Uvās.), femīn. AMg. JM. *māhaṇī* (Āyār. 2,15,2; Nāyādh. 1151; Vivāhap. 788; Kappas.; Āv. 12,1), *māhaṇatta*=*brāhmaṇatva* (Uttar. 756). I derive the word from Skt. *mākha* (sacrifice), *mākha* (pertaining to a sacrifice), and equate it, therefore, as=*\*mākhana*="sacrificial priest."

1. Bhag. 1,410, note 5.—2. Beiträge p. 29.—3. Kalpas. und Erz. s.v.—4. Aup. S. s.v.—5. Prākṛtica p. 15.—6. Kritische Studien p. 221 with note 8.—7. Uvās., Translation p. 120, note 273.—8. Cf. Uttar. 748 je loe bambhaṇo vutto...tam vayanā buma māhaṇam.

§251. In A. *ma*, in the inlaut, may become *ṃa* (Hc. 4,397); *kāvāla* beside *kamāla* (Hc. 4,397); *bhāvāra* beside *bhamāra* (Hc. 4,397); *niśāvāṇa*=*nihsāmāṇa* (Hc. 4,341,1); *ṣāṃāṇa*=*ṣamāṇa* (Hc. 4,419,3); beside *ṣamāṇa* (Hc. 4,399,1); *bhaṃvāi*=*bhramati* (Hc. 4,401,2); *vajjāvā*=*vajramāya* (Hc. 4,395,5); *sāvā*=*sama* (Hc. 4,358,2); *suṃarāhi* beside *sumari*=*smara* (Hc. 4,387). This sound-transformation has become obscure in the other dialects and partly in A. itself, as either *v* has vanished behind the *anunāsika* or more frequently the *anunāsika* has disappeared before *v*, so that only *~* or *v* has remained. Thus according to Hc. 1,178 the *anunāsika* takes the place of *m* in *aṇiṃvāntaa*=*atimuktaka* (§ 246); *kāvā*=*kāmuka*; *cāvāṇā*=*cāmūṇā*; *jāvāṇā*=*yamunā*. According to Vr. 2,3; Ki. 2,5; Mk fol. 14 *m* drops off in *yamunā*, and so has M. AMg. JM. *javāṇā* (G.; v.l. on H. 671; Kāmsav. 55,5; Pra-

bandhac. 27,2; Thāp. 544; Vivāgas. 208; Dvār. 495,20; T. 4,8). Most of the MSS. have in H. 671 *jamunā*, as also Ś. (Vikr. 23,13;41 3). The correct ecriture in M. AMg. JM. will be *jāūnā* (§ 179). For *kāua* M. Ś. have *kāmua* (H.; Mrcch. 25,21;71,6; Vikr. 21,18; 31,14), JM. *kāmuya* (Erz.); for *cāuṇḍā* Ś. has *cāmuṇḍā* (Mālatim. 30,5; Karp. 105,2;106,2; 107,1). Erroneous is M. *kuari* for *kumari*=*kumāri* (H. 298) and the similar v.l. in other words in WEBER, H.<sup>2</sup> p. LXI on strophe 298. The same sound-change is to be assumed in A. in *ihāu*=*sthāman* (Hc. 4,358,1; text *ihāu*), in the sense of *sthāna*, as the scholiasts explain. Ki. 5,99 has *thāma sthāne*. Further in *bhōhā* from *bhamuhā* (Piṅgala 2,98; text *bhohā*, S. GOLDSCHMIDT *bhaumhā*; cf. § 124.166) and *haṇṇā*=*hanumān* (Piṅgala 1,63<sup>a</sup>; text *haṇṇā*).—*va* has taken the place of *ma* in AMg. *avaḍadagga*, AMg. JM. *avaḍayagga*=Pāli *anamataḍga*=*anamadaḍga*<sup>1</sup> (Sūyag. 456 [°ṇ°]. 787.789.867; Thāp. 41.129; Paṇhāv. 214.302; Nāyādh. 464.471; Vivāhap. 38.39.160.848. 1128.1290.1324; Uttar. 842; Erz.) from *ṽnam*, which in M. JM. A. also has sometimes *va*: *ṇavaī* (Hc. 4,226); M. *oṇavia*=*\*avanamita*=*avanata* (H. 637); JM. *navakāra*=*namaskāra* (Erz. 35,23.25.27.29); AMg. *vippavanantī*=*vipraṇamantī* (Sūyag. 472); A. *ṇavahī*=*namantī* (Hc. 4,367,4), *ṇavantiāhā*=*namatām* (Hc. 4,399). In all the dialects, however, *nam* mostly retains its *m*. *ahivaṇṇu* (Hc. 1,243), beside Mg. Ś. *ahimaṇṇu* (Hc. 1,243; Venis. 34 12; 64,16); A. *raṇaṇṇa*=*ramanya* (Hc. 4,422,11); AMg. *vāṇavantara*<sup>2</sup> beside the usual *vāṇamantara* (Nāyādh. 1124; Thāp. 222; Bhag.; Ovav., Kappas.).—In the anlaut too *ma* has sometimes become *va*: AMg. *vimaṇṇā*=*mimāṇṇā* (Sūyag. 59; Thāp. 332f.; Nandis. 351.381.383.505), *vimaṇṇaya*=*mimāṇṇaka* (Paṇhāv. 109)<sup>3</sup>; *vaiṇjara* (Hc. 2,132) beside *maiṇjara* (§ 81.86); M. JM. A. *vammaha*=*manmatha* (Vr. 2,39; C. 3,21; Hc. 1,242; Ki. 2,45; Mk. fol. 18; G.H.R.; Karp. 38,11;47,16;57,6; Viddhaś. 24,12; Dhūrtas. 3,13; Unmattar. 2,19; Erz.; Piṅgala 2,88), also in Mg. in verses (Mrcch. 10,13; text *ba*<sup>o</sup>; cf. GEPABOLE 28,4 with note), but in Ś. only *mammadha*<sup>4</sup> (Śak. 53,2; Hāsy. 22,15;25,3.14; Karp. 92,8; Mālatim. 81,2;125,2;266,3; Nāgān. 12,2; Pras. 32,12;36,18;84,3; Vṛṣabh. 29,19;38,11;42,11;49,9;51,10; Pārvatip. 24,15;26,23;28,5;30,17; Bālar. 135,10; Kārṇas. 30,5; Anarghar. 270,8 etc.). On *va* from *ma* in consonant groups see § 277.312. Cf. also ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 200f.—M. A. *bhasala* (bee; H.; Karp. 10,7.8; 64,5; Hc. 4,444,5) is to be derived neither with Hc. 1,244.254; Deśin. 6,101 from *bhramara*, nor with WEBER<sup>5</sup> from *ṽbhramāś*, but it belongs with *bhasman* (ashes), *bhasad* (the hinder part), *bhasṭrā* (bellows) to *ṽbhas* “to blow”, and therefore designates the bee as “the humming creature.”<sup>6</sup> The word has also gone over into Skt. too.<sup>7</sup>

1. The correct explanation of this t.t., which, except in Vivāhap. 991, is an adjective of *samsāra*, probably means “whereof the beginning is not bent off”=“what does not change”=“endless.” The root *ṽnam* has correctly been recognized by JACOBI, Erz. s.v.; his other explanation is, however, wrong. False also FISCHER, BB. 3,245. The scholiasts explain the word by *ananta*, *aparyanta*, *aparyavasāna* and mostly consider *avadagga*, *avayagga* as Deśi words used in the sense of “end”, and, therefore, analyse the words as *av*=*avadagga*.—2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *vāṇamantara*.—3. The scholiasts explain the words by *vimarśa*, *vimarśaka*.—4. The Indian editions always write *mammaha*. Falsely they sometimes have also *vammaha* in Ś. (Bālar. 24,11;24,2,4; Viddhaś. 23,9,99,8; Rukmiṇip. 19,10;20,7;28,6;30,14; Mallikām. 122,18;124,3;153,19 etc.), as conversely *mammaha* in M. (Acyutaś. 58; false also H. 327-576 [cf. v.l.]). P. GOLDSCHMIDT (Speciman. p. 10) desired to write it wrongly as *bammaha*.—5. On H. 444.—6. FISCHER, Ved. Stud. 2,63.—7. FISCHER, on Hc. 1,244.

§252. Except in Mg. P. CP. *ya* becomes *ja* in the anlaut (Vr. 2,31; C. 3,15; Hc. 1,245; Ki. 2,38; Mk. fol. 17); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. D.

(Mr̥cch. 101,9;102,21;103,15;105,7). Dh. A. jāi, Ś. also often, Ā. (Mr̥cch. 105,3) *jadi*=*yadi*, but Mg. *yai*, *yadi*; M. AMg. JM. Ā. ( Mr̥cch. 100,12 ). A. *jaha*, JŚ. *jadha*, Ś. D. (Mr̥cch. 105,21) *jadhā*=*yathā*, but Mg. *yadhā* (§ 113 ); M. AMg. JM. *jakkha*=*yakṣa* ( G. H.; Karp. 26,1; Āyār. 2,1,2,3; Sūyag. 674; Paṇṇav. 75; Thān. 90,229; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Āv. 13,25ff.; Erz.; JŚ. *jadi*=*yati* ( Pav. 383,69 ); M. AMg. JM. A. *jūha*, Ś. *jūdhā*=*yūtha* (§ 221 ); M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *jōvvaṇa*=*yauvana* (§ 90 ); AMg. JM. *jārisa*, but P. *yātisa*=*yādṛsa*, Ś. *jādisi*=*yādṛsi* (§ 245 ). So also in the inlaut when it is, according to § 91, doubled in M. AMg. JM. JŚ. D. A. ( Vr. 2,17; C. 3,25; Hc. 1,248; Kī. 2,36.37; Mk. fol. 16 ), as M. JM. A. *dijjāi*, JŚ. *dijjadi*=*diyate*, but P. *tiyyate*, Ś. Mg. *diadi* (§ 545 ); AMg. JM. *hōjjā*=*bhūyāt*, AMg. *dejjā*=*deyāt*, *ahūtthējjā*=*adhūṣṭheyāt*, *pahejja*=*brahehyāt* (§ 466 ); M. AMg. JM. *karaṇijja*=*karaṇiya*, but Ś. *karaṇia*; AMg. *vandanijja*, but Ś. *vandanā* (§ 571 ); AMg. *aṅgulijjaka*=*aṅguliyaka* (Nāyādh. [°le°]; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. JM. *kañcuujja*=*kañcukiya* (chambe:lain; Vivāhap. 792.800.963.966; Rāyap. 289; Nāyādh. §128; Ovav.; Āv. 8,8); AMg. *koṣejja*=*koṣeya* (Ovav.); AMg. *gevejjja*=*graiveya* (Uttar. 1086; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas. [°vi°]); AMg. JM. *nāmadhējja*=*nāmadheya* (Āyār. 2,15,11,15; Nāyādh. §92,116; p. 1228.1351 [°dhi°]; Pāṇhāv. 303.327; Ovav. § 16.105.165; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Āv. 10,2). As a rule *y* drops off in the inlaut according to §186. In Mg. P. CP. *y* remains in the anlaut and inlaut, in Mg. in the inlaut only when doubled (Hc. 4,292) : Mg. *yuga*=*yuga* (Hc. 4,288); *yādi*=*yāti*, *yadhāsālūva*=*yathāsvarūpa*, *yānavatta*=*yānavattra* (Hc. 4,292); *yutta*=*yukta* (Hc. 4,302); *yaska*=*yakṣa* (Nāmiśadhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaalāmkāra 2,12); *yadhā*=*yathā*, *yam yam*=*yad yad*, *yahastam* [read °dha°]=*yathāritam* (Lalitav. 566,5.8.9); in the inlaut : *alaskiyyamāna*=*alaksyamāna*, *peṣkiyyamādi*, *peṣkiyyasi* [read °si°]=*prekṣyante*, *pr kṣyase*; *yāniyyadi*=*jñāyate* (Lalitav. 565,7.13.15; 566,1). As in the case of *ja* (§236) in this case too the manuscripts do not falsely establish the rule. P. : *yutta*=*yukta*, *yātisa*, *yumhātisa*, *yad*=*yādṛsa*, *yusmāḍṛsa*, *yad* (Hc. 4,306, 317.323); in the inlaut : *giyyate*=*giyate*, *tiyyate*=*diyate*, *ramiyyate*=*ramyate*, *paḍhiyyate*=*paḥiyate*, *huvēyja*=*bhavet* (Hc. 4,315.320.323) : CP. *niyocita*= (Hc. 4,325; cf. 327). On *doḡga*=*yugma* see §215, on *yeva*=*eva* § 336.

§253. As in the case of treatment of *na* (§ 224), so in that of *ya* too PG. shows an extraordinary variation. In the anlaut it is retained in °*yāji* (5,1); °*ṭpayutte*=°*prayuktān* (5,6); °*yaśo*=°*yaśas* ( 6,9 ); °*yōllaka* (? 6,31 ); °*yo*=°*yaḥ*; (7,46), on the contrary it becomes *ja* in *jo* (7,44) and °*saṃjutto*=°*saṃyuktah* (7,47). VG. has *yuvā*° (101,2). In the inlaut simple *ya* remains unchanged in PG. VG. : PG. °*vājapeya*° (5,1); *visae*=*viṣaye* (5,3); *neyike*=°*naiyikān* (5,6); °*āyu*=°*āyus*°, *viṣayavejyike*=*viṣayavaijyikān* (6,9); °*ppadāyino*=°*pradāyinaḥ* (6,11); *āiteya*°=*ātreya*° (6,13); °*saṃvinayikam* (6,32); *viṣaya*°=*viṣaya*° (6,35); *āpiṭṭiyam*=*āpiṭṭiyām* (6,37); *bhūyo*=*bhūyaḥ* (7,41); *vasudhādhipataye*=°*patin* (7,44); *ajātāe*=AMg. *ajjattāe* (Kappas. Th. 2; Ś.6.7)=*adyatvāya* (7,45)<sup>1</sup>; *sahasāya*=°*sahasrāya* (7,48); VG. *viṣaya* (101,1.3); *nārīyaṇassa*, *āyūm*, *vaddhanāyam* (101,8); *gāmeyikā* (101,10; cf. EI.1,2, note 2); *pariharayam* (101,11; cf. EI.1,2, note 2). In PG. the same variation is found in the case of duplicated *ya* as in the anlaut: at 6,40, beside one another, there stand *karēyja*, *kāravējjā*=*kuryāt*, *kārayet*; 7,1 *karēyyāma*=*kuryāma*, but 7,46 *vaṭṭēja*=*vartayet* and 7,48 *hoja*=*bhūyāt*<sup>2</sup>. As usual (§ 280). As usual *dya* becomes *jja* in *ajātāye*; likewise *rya* would correctly and regularly become *jja* in *golasamajasa*, *agisamajassa*, *dattajasa*, *dāmajasa*, *sālasamajasa*, *agisamaja*° (6,12.13.21.23.27.37), if BÜHLER were right in equating °*aja*° as=°*ārya*°. But *namdijasa* and *sāmijasa* (6,21.26) cannot be equated phonetically with BÜHLER as=°*nandyāryasya* and

*svāmīryasya*, but are=*nandījasya*, *svāmījasya*. Also for the rest, therefore, °*ja* has to be assumed.

1. This is the correct explanation of LEUMANN; false FISCHER, GN. 1895, 211.—2. Cf. BÜHLER, EI, 1, 2f. —3. l.c. 1, 2.

254. In the place of *ya*, apparently *ga* has entered into AMg. *pariyāga*=*pariyāya* (Āyār. 2,15,16; Vivāgas.270; Vivāhap. 135.173.220.223.235.249.796.845.968.969; Nāyādh. 1225; Uvās.; Ovav.), beside *pariyāya* (Uvās.; Ovav.). To equate *pariyāga* as=*pariyāyaka* by contraction, according to § 165, with HOERNLE (Uvās. s. v.), in the case of a t. t. of prose, is improbable. I suspect that *pariyāga* stands for \**pariyāva* with *ga* for *va* according to § 231. In support of this view stands AMg. JM. *pajjava*=*pariyāya*, which ought to be mentioned at the same time. Likewise AMg. *niyāga* (Āyār. 1,1,3,1; Sūyag. 665 [ ni ° ]) = \**nyāva* will stand for *nyāya* (commentary=*mokṣanārga*, *saṁyama*, *mokṣa*).—Interchange of *ya* and *va*, as in Skt.<sup>1</sup> and in Pāli<sup>2</sup>, occurs in *kaṭavaṁ*=*kaṭipayam* (Hc. 1,250); AMg. JM. *pajjava*=*pariyāya* (§ 81); AMg. *tāvattisā*=*trayastrimśat*, AMg. JM. *tāvattisagā*, °*yā*=*trayastrimśakāh* (§ 438); A. *āvā*=*āvāti* (Hc.4,367,1.419,3), *āvahi* (Hc. 4,422,1), *āva* [GOLDSCHMIDT *āu*]=*āvāti* (Piṅgala 2,88)<sup>3</sup>; A. *gāva* [GOLDSCHMIDT *gāu*]=*gāyanti* (Piṅgala. 2,88), *gāvanta* (Piṅgala 2,230); further in the participia necessitatis in A. -*evā*, -*evāū*, -*ievāti*, like *soevā*=\**svapeyya* (§ 497), *jaggevā*=\**jāgreyya* (§ 556), *karievāū*=\**karpeyyakam* of the passive stem (§ 547), *sahevāū*=\**saheyyakam* (§ 570). In AMg. *murava* for \**muraya*=*muraja* (Paṅhāv. 512; Vivāhap. 1102; Ovav.; Kappas. [so to be read]), *muravi*=*muraji* (Ovav.), beside M. Ś. *muraa* (Pāiyāl. 266; H.; Mṛcch. 69,23) *va* has entered for the secondary *ya*. *murava* might rest also upon the popular etymology=*mu*+*rava*. The *pa* in P. *hitapa*=*hṛdaya*, *hitapaka*=*hṛdayaka* (§ 191) goes back to a secondary *va* for *ya*, whilst *va* has become *pa*, as in *gopinta*=*govinda*, *kesapa*=*keśava* (§ 191).

1. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 188c.—2. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 42f.; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Pāli Grammar p. 30f.—3. FISCHER on Hc. 4,367,1; cf., however, also *vav* (to go) and Ved. Stud. 1,1. vi

§ 255. Corresponding to Pāli *nahāru*, Greek *νεῦρον*, Latin *nervus* AMg. JM. have *nhāru*=*snāya* (Ṭhāṇ. 55; Paṅhāv. 49; Vivāhap. 89.349.810; Jiv. 66.271; Erz.), AMg. *nhāruṇi*=\**snāyuni* (Āyār. 1,1,6,5; Sūyag. 676). There occurs *nhāu* twice (Samav. 227).—In *yaṣṭi ya* becomes *la* ( Vr. 2,32; C. 3.17a p. 49; Hc. 1,247;2,34; Kī. 2,39; Mk. fol. 17); M. AMg. JM. *laṭṭhi*, *laṭṭhi* (H.; R.; Karp. 44,3;49,12;58,5;69,8;73,10;80,10; Viddhaś. 64,4; Āyār. 1,8,3,5;2,4,2,11; Sūyag. 726; Paṅhāv. 282; Nāyādh. § 135.136; p. 1420; Vivāhap.831; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.). According to Mk. fol. 67 Ś. has *jaṭṭhi* only and so stands Vṛṣabh. 37,2 and is so meant in Mallikām. 129,19, where the text has *taṇuyatṭhi*, and at 192,22, where it has *hārayatṭhi*. Rājasekhara, however, uses *laṭṭhi* (Karp. 110,6; Viddhaś. 42,7;97,11;122,3 [*hāralatṭhi*]); Bālar. 305,10) and *laṭṭhiā* (Viddhaś. 108,3) in Ś. too, corresponding to M. *laṭṭhiā* (C.3,17a p.49), AMg. *laṭṭhiyā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,2). False is *jaṭṭhi* in M. (Sāhityadarpaṇa 73.5). Pāli has *laṭṭhi* and *yaṭṭhi*.—*kaṭivāham*, according to Hc.1,250=*kaṭipayam*, is=Pāli *kaṭipāham*=Skt. *kaṭipayāham* according to § 167.—M. *chāhā* (shade; shadow; Vr. 2,18;H.), Ś. *sacchāha* (Hc. 1,249; Mṛcch. 68,24) and M. *chāhī* (shade, shadow; sky; Hc. 1,249; Mk. fol. 19; Deśin. 3,26; Pāiyāl. 236; H. R. ) are not=*chāyā*, but=\**chāyākhā*=\**chāyākā*; they stand, hence, for \**chākhā*, \**chākhī* with contraction according to § 165 and with aspiration according to § 206. In the sense of “beauty” only *chāā* is used according to Hc. 1,249, as generally *chāyā* occurs in M. Ś. Mg. only as *chāā* (G.H.R.; Karp. 69,5; Mṛcch. 9,9; Śak. 29,4;51,6; Vikr. 51,11; Karp. 41,2; Mg. Mudrār. 267,2), in AMg. JM. as *chāyā* (Pāiyāl. 113.236; Kappas.; Erz.).

§256. *ra* always becomes *la* in Mg. (C. 3,39; Hc. 4,288; Kī. 5,87; Mk. fol. 74; Nāmīsādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12; Śimhadevaṅṅin on Vāghaṭāṅkāra 2,2) and Dh. (§ 25). Thus Mg.: *lahaśavaśaṅga-mīlaśula śīlavāliḍamandālāyī; dāmhiyuge vilayīṅe=rabhasavaśanamrasuraśīrovalī-tamandārārājīṭamhriyugo vīrajīnaḥ* (Hc. 4,288); *śāyambhālīśalaśivīla=sākambharīśvaraśībira, viggahalāṅaśēśala śīlīṅam=vigraharājānareśvaraśīṅam* (Lalitav. 565,6.11); *ṅagalantala=nagarāntara, dalīḍa cāludattāha aṅulātīḍ=darīdracārudattayānuraktā, andhaālapūḷīḍa=andhakārapūṭīta, ovāḷīḍaśalīla=apavāṭīta-śarīra* (Mṛcch. 13,8.25;14,22;127,25); *mahāḷaḍaṅabhāśula=mahāratnabhāśura, udalabbhantala=udarābhyantara* (Sak. 113,3;114,10); *śamale pīabhattālam luhi-lappīam=samare pīyabhārīārām rudhīrapīyam* (Venīś. 33,8); *bahūṅalakkaduk-khadāluṅapalīṅāme dukkale=bahunarakaduḥkhadārūṅapariṅāmo duśkarah* (Caṅḍīk. 42,6). — Dh. : *ale le=are re; luddhu=rudhah; pālīveḷīḍa=parīvepīta; kulu=kuru; dhāḷēḷī=dhārayātī; pūḷīśa=puruśa* (§ 25). — According to C. 3,38; Kī. 5,109; Śimhadevagaṅṅin on Vāghaṭāḷamkāra 2,3 in P. too *ra* becomes *la*: *ale ale duṭṭhalakkhaśā=are are duṭṭarākśaśāḥ* (C); *calaṅa=carāṅa* (Kī. 5,109); *chaṅkāḷa=jhaṅkāra* (Kī. 5,102); *halī=harī* (Kī. 5,111); *ludda=rudra* (S.). Undoubtedly in C. Kī. S., P. has again been interchanged with CP. (§ 191 note 1). The examples from P. in Hc. 4,304.307.314.316.319.320.321.323.324 have throughout *ra*, as also Kī. 5,109 *usara=uśṭra, kāria=kārya*. On the other hand Hc. 4,326 teaches that in CP. *la* may enter for *ra*: *golīcalana=gaurīcarāṅa, ekāṭasatanuṭhalām luddam=ekāḷasatanudharam rudram, hala=hara* (Hc. 4,326); *nala=nara, sala=saras* (Triv. 3,2.64). Likewise Śr. fol. 65. Most of the examples from CP. have, however, *ra*, as *nagara, kirīṭaṭa, rāca-, caccara, nicchara, chacchara, ṭamaruka, tāmoṭara, mathura* etc. (Hc. 4,325), so that the examples in Hc. 4,326 certainly originate from a third Pāīśācī dialect, which Mk. calls Pāīśācā (§ 27). Presumably the transition of *ra* into *la* in it was just as necessary as in Mg. and in Dh.

§ 257. In dialects other than Mg. Dh. Pāīśācā (§ 256) the change of *ra* into *la* is isolated and fluctuating. Vr. 2,30; Hc. 1,254; Kī. 2,35; Mk. fol. 17; Pkl. p. 52 have collected the words which take *la* under the ākṛṭigaṅa *harīdrāḷī*. The information supplied by them, however, does not hold equally good for all the dialects. They say: *haladdā, haladdī* (Grr.), M. AMg. JM. *halīḍḍā*, M. *halīḍḍī*, AMg. *hālīḍḍā* (§ 115); M. JŚ. Ś. *dalīḍḍa=darīdra* (Gr.; G. 859 [so to be read: v.l. 1]; H.; Kattig. 404, 387; Mṛcch. 18,9;29,1.3;54,3;55,25;70,7), Ś. *dalīḍḍadā* (Mṛcch. 6,8;17,18; 54,1), but M. also *darīḍḍatṭaṅa* (Karp. 16,2), Ś. *darīḍḍadā* (Mālav. 26,15), AMg. JM. *darīḍḍa* (Kappas.; Erz.), JM. *darīḍḍī=darīḍḍīn, darīḍḍīya* (Erz.); *jahīṭṭhīla* (Grr.), *jahūṭṭhīla* (Hc.), AMg. *juhīṭṭhīla*, but S. A. *juhīṭṭhīra=yudhīṭṭhīra* (§ 118); M. JM. Ś. *mūhala=mūkhara* (Grr.; G.H.R.; Erz.; Prab. 39,8); AMg. JM. *kaluṅa=karuṅa* (Grr.; Āyār. 1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 225.270.273.282.286.288.289.291; Nāyādh.; Ovav; Sagara 5,15; Erz.; everywhere adverb *kaluṅam*), beside JM. Ś. A. *karuṅa* (Erz.; Śak. 109,9; Vikr. 67,11) and always M. AMg. JM. *karuṅā* (pity; G.; Āyār. 2,2,1,8;2,2,3,15 [text here false *kaluṅa*°]; Sagara 5,18; Kk.); M. *karuṅa=karuṅaka* (pity; G.); M. *cilā*, AMg. *cilāya=kirāta*, AMg. *cilāi=kirāṭī, cilāiyā=kirāṭīkā*, beside Ś. *kirāda*, JM. *kirāya*, and M. *kirā* in the meaning “Śīva” (§ 230); M. AMg. JM. *phalīha=parīgha*, M. AMg. *phalīhā=parīkhā* (§ 208); *phālīhadda=parībhadda* (§ 208); *valuṅa=varuṅa* (Hc. 1,254), but M. *varuṅa* (H.), Ś. *vāruṅī* (Bālar. 134,13); AMg. *antalīkkha=antarīkṣa* (Āyār. 2,1,7,1;2,2,1,7; 2,4,1,13;2,5,1,20.21;2,7,1,7; Sūyag. 294.708; Uttar. 456.651; Dasav. 629,33; Nāyādh. §93; Uvās.), but Ś. *antarīkkha* (Pāīyāl. 27; Mṛcch. 44,19;

Mālav. 25,14); AMg. *ruila*=*rucira* (Sūyag. 565; Samav. 25 [°lla]. 59; Pañhāv. 269.285; Pañnav. 116; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. *lūha* (Āyār. 1,2,6,3; 1,5,3,5; 1,6,5,5; 1,8,4,4; Sūyag. 165.185.578.665; Pañhāv. 348f.; Vivāhap. 279.838; Thān. 198; Uttar. 56.106; Ovav.), *sulūha* (Sūyag. 497) and *lukkha* (Āyār. 1,5,6,4; 1,8,3,3; 2,1,5,5; Sūyag. 590; Thān. 198; Vivāhap. 1470ff.; Pañnav. 8.11.12.13.380; Anuog. 268; Jiv. 28.224; Uttar. 1022; Kappas.)=*rūkṣa*, *lukkha* (Uttar. 1028), *lukkhatta* (Thān. 188; Vivāhap. 1351), *lūhei*, *lūhittā* (Jiv. 610; Nāyādh. 267; Rāyap. 185), *lūhi* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), falsely *rukkha* (Sūyag. 239), that in AMg. too always is=*rūkṣa* (tree; § 320); but A. *rukkha* (Piṅgala 2,98). and so also JM. in the word-play with *rukkha* "tree" (Rṣabhap. 29), AMg. shows *la* also in *lādhā*=*rādhā* (Āyār. 1,8,3,2) and=*rādhāh* (Āyār. 1,8,3,6.8; Pañnav. 61; Vivāhap. 1254)=Ś. *rādhā* (Karp. 9,4)=Skt. *rādhā*; further in *pariyāla*=*parivāra*<sup>1</sup> (Nāyādh. § 130; p. 724.784.1273.1290.1327.1460 [°ra]. 1465; Ovav.; Nirayāv.), beside *parivāra* (Ovav.; Kappas.); further in *sūmāla*, *sukumāla* beside M. *sonāra*, also *somāla*, *suamāra*, Ś. *sumāra*, *sukumāra*, JM. *sukumārayi* (§ 123); in the numeral AMg. JM. *cattālisam*, AMg. *cattālisā*, JM. *cāyālisam*, *cālisā*, A. *cālisā*=*catvāriṁśat* and in combinations with other numerals, as AMg. JM. *bāyālisam* (42), *caūyālisam*, *cojālisam* (44) and others (§ 445). Often in AMg. *pari* becomes *palī*, especially in the oldest dialect; e.g. in *palīuñcayanti*=*parikuñcayanti* (Sūyag. 489), *palīuñciya*=*parikuñciya* (Āyār. 2,1,11,1), *palīuñcaṇa*=*parikuñcana* (Sūyag. 381), *apalīuñcamāna*=*aparikuñcamāna* (Āyār. 1,7,4,1; 2,5,2,1); *palīyanta*=*pariyanta* (Āyār. 1,3,4,1,4; Sūyag. 108.172); *palīeti*=*pariyeti* (Sūyag. 495), *palīnti*=*pariyanti* (Sūyag. 95.134); *palīyanka*=*pariyanka* (Āyār. 2,13,19.20; Sūyag. 386; Ovav.); *palīkkhina*=*parikkhina* (Sūyag. 978); *palicchinna*=*paricchinna* (Āyār. 1,4,4,2; Sūyag. 560), *palicchindiya*=*paricchidiya* (Āyār. 1,4,4,3; 2,5,2,3,5), *palīo cchinna*=*pariyavacchinna* (Āyār. 1,5,1,3); *palibhindiya*=*paribhidiya* (Sūyag. 243); *palicchāi*=*paricchādayati* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6); *palimadējja*=*parimardayeti* (Āyār. 2,13,2); *palīucchūḍha*=*paryuḍḍha* (§ 66); *saṃpālimajjamaṇa* (Āyār. 1,5,4,3). Therefore, AMg. has *la* for *ra* more frequently than the other dialects have. In this respect it approximates to Mg. and is removed from M. (§ 18). According to Hc.1,254 there is said beside *jadhara*=*jaṭhara*, *vaḍhara*=*vaṭhara*, *niṭṭhura*=*niṣṭhura* also *jadhala*, *vaḍhala*, *niṭṭhula*. Upto this moment the forms to be found in the text are M. Ś. *jadhara* (Pāiyāl. 112; G.; Mṛcch. 72,19); M. *niṭṭhura* (G.H.R.), AMg. JM. JŚ. *niṭṭhura* (Pāiyāl. 74; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 400,333 [ni°]). Hc. 1,254 and Triv. 1,3,78 teach that *carāṇa* becomes *calaṇa* in the sense of "foot", and that otherwise it remains. *carāṇa*. Bh. Mk. Pkl. have *calaṇa* without limitation. So *calaṇa* "foot" in M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. (Pāiyāl. 109; G.H.R.<sup>2</sup>; Karp. 46,8; 56,1,60,1; 62,8; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.<sup>3</sup>; Rṣabhap.<sup>4</sup>; Mṛcch. 41,4,12; Śak. 27,9; 62,6; 84,14; Mālav. 34.12; Karp. 22,1<sup>5</sup>; Hc. 4,399). AMg. has *carāṇa* in the meaning "way of life" (Nāyādh.), A. in the meaning "foot of a metre" (Piṅgala 1,2.13.79.80 etc.), but also in the meaning "foot" (1,4a.22.85a. 116; 2,186). In stead of *sakkāla*=*sakkāra* (Hc. 1,254) only M. AMg. JM. Ś. *sakkāra* is to be pointed to (G.R.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Śak. 23,8; 27,6; Mālav. 44,4; 70,2; 72,2). — On *ingāla* beside *āngāra* see § 102, on *kāhala* beside *kāra* see § 207, on *bhasala* see § 251.

1. The form conformably is *pariyāla*, rather=*paricāra*, the meaning, however conformably is=*parivāra*. — 2. R. 6,7; 8,28 is with the v.l. to be read as *calaṇa*, 6,8; 13,49 is to be corrected as *calaṇa*. — 3. Kappas. § 36 stands *carāṇa* behind *calaṇa* of the preceding line. One corrects it to *calaṇa*. — 4. Rṣabhap. 28 is with the ed Bombay to be read as *calaṇa*. — 5. Vikr. 53,9; 72,19 in BOLLENSEN has *carāṇa*, the v.l. excepted. The Dravidian recension, in the first place, does not have the word; in the second



place PAṆḌIT, with his MSS., reads *carāṇa* ( 127,1 ), however, FISCHER *calaṇa* ( 658,18 ). It is to be corrected as *calaṇa*.

258. AMg. *tudīya* ( Āyār. 2,11,14; Paṇhāv. 513; Nāyādh. 870; Rāyap. 20.21.60.80; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas. ) is not, with the commentators, JACOBI<sup>1</sup>, E. MÜLLER<sup>2</sup>, WARREN<sup>3</sup> and LEUMANN<sup>4</sup>, to be equated as=*tūrya*, but is=*tudita*=*tunna* from *tudai* ( Hc. 4,116 )=*tudati* with cerebralization according to § 222. Cf. Skt. *tud*, *toḍi*, *toḍikā* ( name of a musical mode ), *toḍya*, *ātodya* ( cymbal ). — *kiḍi*, *bheḍa*, presumably=*kiri*, *bhera* ( Hc. 1,251 ) are=Skt. *kīḷi*, *bheḍa*<sup>5</sup>. AMg. *paḍāyāṇa* ( saddle; Hc. 1,252 ) is not with Hc. to be assumed as=*paṛyāṇa*, but as=*\*pratyā-dāna* according to § 163; cf. Skt. *ādāna* ( decoration of a saddle ). For *ra* has entered *ḍa* in AMg. JM. *kuhāḍa*=*kuḥhāra* and *ḍihāḍa*=*ḍīthara* ( § 239 ). — AMg. *kaṇavīra*=*karavīra* ( Hc. 1,253; Pāiyal. 146; Paṇnav. 526; Rāyap. 52 ff; Paṇhāv. 194 ), *kaṇavīraya* ( Paṇnav. 527 ff. ) is to be explained p-rhaps from *\*kaḷavīra* or *kaḷavīra* according to § 260, if a synonym *\*kaṇavīra* does not occur. M. has *karavīra* ( G. ), Mg. *kaḷavīra* ( Mṛcch. 157,5 ). According to § 166.167 *kaṇera* ( Hc. 1,168 ) too goes back to *kaṇavīra*. Hc. equates it as=*karṇikāra*, and the MSS. ABCE, as well as Triv. 1,3,3 give *kaṇṇero*, according to which it has been so written in my edition too. But F and the Bombay edition read *kaṇero*, and in Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Urdū *kaṇera* means “Oleander”; for Hīnī BATE gives the meaning “Casearea Ovata”, which is in no way correct. Since *karṇikāra* may, according to § 287, form *kaṇīra* with a simple *ṇa*, Hc has evidently interchanged the plants. JM. *kaṇeradatta* ( E.v. ) will, therefore, be=*karavīradatta* *karavīra*, *karavīraka*, *karavīrya* are well known as proper names, but not *karṇikāra*. It is phonetically impossible to refer *kaṇera* back to *karṇikāra*<sup>6</sup>

1. Kalpasūtra s. v. — 2. Beiträge p. 28. — 3. Nirayāv., s. v. — 4. Aup. S. s. v. —

5. FISCHER on Hc. 1,251. — 6. JACOBI, ZDMG. 47,578.

§ 259 For Skt. *kila* dialectal *kira* has been retained in M. JM. A. *kira* ( Vr. 9,5; Hc. 2,186; Kī. 4,83; G.H.R.; Erz.: Piṅgala 1,60; Hc. 4,349 ). Beside it JM. has *kila* ( Āv. 8,45; Erz. ) and so always Ś. ( Mṛcch. 2,24; Śak. 21,4; 30,1; 116,7; 159,12; Vikr. 52,4; 72,18; 80,20 etc. ). In places where in Indian editions occurs Ś. *kira*, as Pras. 46,7; 48,12; 101,3; 119,12, there is either a false reading or a case of interchange of dialects. M. *ira*, beside *kira*, ( Vr. 9,5; Hc. 2,186; Kī. 4,83; G.; R. ) is explained according to § 184, *hira* ( Hc. 2,186 ) according to § 388. Otherwise *ra* for *la* is also only isolated and dialectal; Ś. *pharaa*=*phalaka* ( shield; Deśin. 6,82; Karp. 97,6 ); AMg. *saradūya*=*śalāṭuka* ( Āyār. 2,1,8,6 ); *sāmarī*=*sāmalī* beside AMg. *sāmālī* ( § 88.109 ).

§ 260: In the anlaut *la* has become *ṇa*, *na* in *nāhala*=*lāhala* ( Vr. 2,40; Hc. 1,256 ), beside *lāhala* ( Hc. 1,256 ); *naṅgala*, AMg. *naṅgala*=*lāṅgala* ( Hc. 1,256; Kī. 2,47; Mk. fol. 18; Pāiyal. 121 [na°]; Āyār. 2,4,2,11; Paṇhāv. 234; Dasav. N. 646,10 ), beside *laṅgala* ( Hc.; Mk. ), *naṅgaliya*=*lāṅgaliika* ( Ovav.; Kappas. ) AMg. *naṅgula*=*lāṅgula* ( Mk. fol. 18; Jiv. 883 886.887 ), *goṇaṅgula* ( Vivāhap. 1048 ), *naṅgūla*=*lāṅgūla* ( Hc. 1,256 ), *naṅgūli*=*lāṅgūlin* ( Anuog. 349 ), *naṅgola* ( Nāyādh. 502 ), *naṅgoli*- ( Jiv. 345 ), *naṅgoliya* ( Thān. 259 ); Jiv. 392 ( [na°] ), beside M. *laṅgūla* ( Hc. 1,256 ); G.; *nohala*=*lohala* ( Kī. 2,47; Mk. fol. 18 ), beside *lohala* ( Mk. ). It is noticed that the texts in AMg. mostly write, *ṇa* in the anlaut. According to to Mk. fol. 67 the sound change does not take place in Ś. Corresponding to Pāli *nalāṭa* beside *lalāṭa* Pkt. has *nalāḍa* ( Hc. 2,123 ), M. AMg. with *i* according to § 103 *niḷāḍa* ( R.; Āyār. 1,1,2,5 [ni°]; Nāyādh. 1310. 1312; Paṇhāv. 273 [ni°; commentary *niḍāla* ]; Vivāgaṣ. 90 [commentary *niḍāla* ]. 121.144.157.169 ) more frequently with transposition of the last

syllable according to § 354, M. *ṇāḍāla* (Hc. 1,257; 2,123; Ki. 2,117; Mk. fol. 38; G.); M.Amg. J.M.Ś. *ṇidāla* (AMg. JM. sometimes *ni*°; Bh. 4,33; Hc. 1,257; H.R.; Karp. 48,6. Nāyādh. 754.790.823; Vivāhap. 237; Rāyap 113; Jiv. 351.353; Pañhāv 162.285; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Āv 12,27; Erz.; Bālar. 101,6; 259,8 [text° *ḍo*°]; Caṇḍak. 87,8; Mallikām. 195,5); A. *ṇidāḷā* (Piṅgala 2,98; text *ṇidāḷā*). For Ś. the form is apparently incorrect. *lalāḍa* is made certain for Ś. by the similarly sounding *lalāḍe*, *lāḍesara* (Bālar. 74,21); It occurs also in Bālar. 270,5; Veṇis 60,5 [text° *ṭa*; v. l. *ṇidāla*, *ṇidāḷa*, *ṇidila*]. False in AMg. *lilāḍa* (Rāyap 165). Mk. fol 38 teaches also *ladāla*. *ṇidila* is edited in Ś. in Pārvatipariṇaya 24,12 [ed. GLASER 23,31 has *ṇidala*; cf. v.l. to Veṇis. 60,5]. The word has gone over to Skt. as *ṇiṭala*, *ṇiṭāla*, *ṇiṭilā*°. To *ṇāḍāla* belongs M. *ṇāḍāla* (found on the forehead; G. 29), to *ṇidāla* belongs the dialectical *ṇedālī* (a kind of head ornament; Deśin. 4,43). In the inlant *l* has become *m* in *jaṃpāi*=*jalpati* and derivatives (§ 296).— In P. CP. *la* becomes *ḷa*: in the inlant P. *kaṃala*, *kuḷa*, *jaḷa*, *saḷiḷa* *siḷa* = *śiḷa* (Hc. 4,308); CP. *thūli* = *dhūli*; *pālaka*, *bālaka* = *bālaka*; *maṅḷaḷa*=*maṇḍala*, *liḷā*=*lilā*; *saḷā*=*saila* (Hc. 4,325 — 327). So probably *ucchallāni* (Hc. 4,326) too is to be written. Cf. § 226.

1. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,573 *ṇidāla* cannot directly be identified with *lalāḷa* without more ado.

§ 261. In A. sometimes *va* becomes *ṽa*¹: *ēva*=*eva* in the sense of *evam* (Hc. 4,376.1.418.1); *ēvai*=*eva*+*api*, in the sense of *evam eva* (Hc. 4,332, 2.423, 2.441,1); *ēvaiḥ* in the sense of *idānim*=Vedic *evaiḥ* (Hc. 4,387,3; 420,4); *keṽa* (Hc. 4,343,1.401,1); *kiṽa* (Hc. 4,401, 2.422,14) in the sense of *katham*=\**keva* (cf. § 149.434), *keṽai* (Hc. 4,390.396,4) = *kathamapi*; *teṽa* (Hc. 4,343,1.397.401,4), *tiṽa* (Hc. 4,344. 367,4.376,2.395,1.397.422,2), in the sense of *tathā*=\**teva*, *teṽai* (Hc. 4,439,4); *jeṽa* (Hc. 4,397.401,4; Ki. 5,6 [so to be read]), *jīṽa* (Hc. 4,330,3.336.344.347.354.367,4.376,2.397 etc.; Kk. 272,37 [text *jiva*] in the sense of *yathā*=\**yeva*, \**yiva* (§ 336); *jāṽa*=*yāvāt* (Hc. 4,395,3); *tāṽa*=*tāvāt* (Hc. 4,395,3). From *va* a full-fledged *ma* has developed in A. *jāma*=*yāvāt* (Hc. 4,387,2.406,1; Vetālap. p. 217, No. 13); *tāma*=*tāvāt* (Hc. 4,406,1; Vetālap. p. 217, No. 13); *jāmahi*, *tāmahi*=*yāvadbhīḥ*, *tāvadbhīḥ* in the sense of *yāvāt*, *tāvāt* (Hc. 4,406,3; Erz. 86,17ff. [text° *va*°]). The same line of development has to be assumed also for the other dialects, in which *va* is represented by *ma*: *ajjama*=*ārjava* (Triv. 1,3,105)²; *ohāmāi* (excels; Hc. 4,25), *ohāmiya* (overcome; Pāiyal. 187), beside *ohāvai* (Hc. 4,160), *ohāia*=\**ohāvia* (downcast; Deśin. 1,158) = \**apabhāvati*, *apabhāvita*³; *gamesai* beside *gavesai*=*gaveṣati* (Hc. 4,189); *ṇimi* beside *ṇivī*=*nivī* (Hc. 1,259); *ṇumai*, *ṇimāi* from *vī* (§ 118); Ś. *damiḷa* (Mallikām. 296,14) = *draviḍa*, AMg. *damiḷā* (Vivāhap. 792; Rāyap. 288), *damiḷi* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.) = Pāli *damiḷi* = Skt. *draviḍi*, beside AMg. *daviḷa* (Pañhāv. 41), Ś. *daviḍa* (Mrcc. 103,6; Viddhaś. 75,2) = *draviḍa*, M. *daviḍi*=*draviḍi* (Viddhaś. 24,12); AMg. JM. *vesamaṇa*=*vaiśravaṇa* (§ 60). The same sound-change has taken place in the case of the secondary *va* in the passive *cimmaī* beside *civvai* from *civ* and JM. *summaī* beside *suṽvai* from *svap* (§ 536); further in AMg. *bhumā*=\**bhruvā*=*bhrūh*, M. *bhumā*, AMg. *bhumayā*, *bhumagā*, *bhamuhā*=\**bhruvukā* (§ 124.206). — On the analogous change of *pa*, *va* through *va* into *ma* see § 248.250, on *va* for *ma* see § 251.277, on *ga* for *va* see § 231, on *pa* for *va* see § 191.254 and on *va* for *ya* see § 254.

1. The MSS. almost always write *mva* for *ṽa*; more seldom *va*, what perhaps is corrected close to *va*. — 2. PISCHEL, BB. 76,94. — 3. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 14 f., who wrongly assumes *avabhū*. Cf. 286.

§ 262. The sibilants sometimes become *ha* dialectically, especially after long vowels and diphthongs. According to Vr. 2,44,45; C. 3,14;

Ki. 2,104.105; Mk. fol. 19 in M., in *daśan* and in the numerals connected with it *śa* becomes *ha* necessarily, and in proper names it so becomes optionally; according to Hc. 1,262 the transition to *ha* is optional also in the case of the pure numeral words, with which the texts are in agreement. M. *dasa* (R. [v.l. often *daha*]; Karp. 73,9; 87,1), *daha* (Karp. 12,7); *dasakamdhara* (G. R.); *dasakaṇṭha*, *dahakaṇṭha* (R.); *dahamuha*, *daharaha*, *dāsarahi*, *dahavaṇa*, *dasāṇa* (R.). *ha* occurs also in A. (Piṅgala 1,83 [so S. GOLDSCHMIDT], 123.125.156; 2,196); yet *dasa* (Vikr. 67,20). AMg. JM. have only *dasa* (§ 442). According to Mk. fol. 67 in Ś. *śa* in *daśan* and *caturdaśan* may become either *sa* or *ha*; on the other hand *sa* must stand in the proper names, *ha* in the remaining tens, excluding 10 itself and 14. The forms that have been found are *dasa* (Karp. 72,3; Pras. 19,5) and *daha* (Ratn. 292,12); *dasakamdhara* (Manāv. 118,3); *dasaradha* (Uttarar. 27,4 [°*ha*]); Bālar. 152, 10 [°*ha*]; Anarghar. 150,12 [°*ha*]), *dāsaradhi* (Anarghar 157,10 [°*hi*]), *dasamuha* (Mahāv. 22,20; Pras. 143,6; Bālar. 20,15), *dasāṇa* (Bālar. 57,2; 123,17; 125,10; 139,13), *dasakaṇṭha* (Bālar. 122,15; 143,17). Mg. D. have *daśa* only (Mṛcch. 11,1:32,18;38,17;121,25;122,19;133,20;134,13; Dh. Mṛcch. 29,15;30,1;31,4;32,3;34,9.12.17;35,7;39,13), Mg. *dasakamdhala* (Mṛcch. 12,13). False is Mg. *daha* (Lalitav. 566,11). In the remaining tens M.A. have *ha*, the other dialects, *sa* (§ 443). *śa* has further become *ha* in M. Ś. *ēddahameṭta=īdṛśamātra*, M. *tēddaha=īdṛśa*, *jēddaha=yādṛśa* (§ 122); A. *eha*, *keha*, *jeha*, *teha* beside *aśa*, *kaśa*, *jaśa*, *taśa=īdṛśa*, *kīdṛśa*, *yādṛśa*, *īdṛśa* (§ 121.166); A. *sāha=śasvat* (§ 64). According to Ki. 2,104 *palāśa* becomes *palāha*. A mention should be made of M.AMg. Ś. *palāśa* (G.H.; Kappas.; Mṛcch. 127,21), Mg. *palāśa* (Mṛcch. 127,24).

§ 263. *śa* has become *ha* in M. *dhaṇuḥ*=\**dhanuṣa*=*thanus* (Hc. 1,22; Karp. 38,11; Pras. 65,5), *dhaṇuho*=*dhanuṣah* (Bālar. 113,17). — M. *pacūha*=*pratyūśa*, in the meaning "morning sun" (Hc. 2,14; Deśin. 6,5; Pāiyal. 4; H. 606 [so to be read with v.l. and the commentary], but M.AMg. JM. Ś. *pacūśa* in the meaning "morning twilight" [Hc. 2,14; Pāiyal. 46; G.H.R.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kattig. 403.374 375; Śak. 29,7; Mallikām. 57,16; Viddhaś. 115,4]. — M. AMg. JM. *pāhāṇa*=*pāsāṇa* (C. 3,14; Hc. 1,262; Ki. 2,104; Mk. fol. 19; G.H.; U. ās.; Erz.), JM. *pāhāṇaga* (Erz.), beside *pāsāṇa* (Hc.; Mk.), as according to Mk. fol. 67 always in Ś. — AMg. *bihāṇa*=*bhīṣāṇa*, *bihāṇaga*=*bhīṣṛṇaka*, M. JM. *bihaī*, *bihei* beside M.Ś. *bhisāṇa*=*bhīṣāṇa* (§ 213.501). A *eho*, *eha*, *ehu*=*eśa*, *eṣā*, \**eśam*=*etad* (Hc. 4,362 and Word Index; Piṅgala 1,4 [in BOLLENSON on Vikr. p. 527]. 66,81; 2,64; Vikr. 55,16). — A. *akkhīṇ* from \**akkhīṣ*=\**akṣiṣmin*=*akṣiṇ* (§ 312.379). — *chaha*=\**śaśa*=*śaś* with crossing over to the *a*-declension (Piṅgala 1,95.96.97). So is explained *ha* also in M. AMg. JM. Ś. *sunhā*, M. *soṇhā* from P. *sunusā* for \**sunuhā* (§ 148); *kāhāṇa* (Vr. 3,39; Hc. 2,71; Ki. 2,71; Mk. fol. 25) from \**kāsāṇa* (§ 87), *kārṣāṇa*, also with shortening of *ā* of the first syllable (§ 82), *kāhāṇa* (Hc. 2,71), AMg. *kūdakahāṇa* (Uttar. 62,9); in future, as *kāhimi*, *hohimi*, *kāhāmi*, *kāham*, *hohāmi*=\**karsyāmi*, \**bhogyāmi* (§ 520 ff.); in aorist, like *kāhī* beside *kāsi* (§ 516). JACOBI<sup>1</sup>, misled by the commentators, equates AMg. *viha* (Āyār. 1,7,4,2) as=*viśa*. The word recurs in Āyār. 2,3,1,11; 2,3,3,14; 2,5,2,7 and there it is mostly assumed by the commentators as=*aṭavī*, therefore, means "forest" and probably is=*vikha* "without heaven"="where one does not see the sky." Therefore, Āyār. 1,7,4,2 is to be translated as "for the ascetic it is better that he goes into the forest alone". *viśa* in M. AMg. JM. Ś. becomes only *viśa* (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Nīrayāv.; Ovav.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Priyad. 51,1,8.

15,16; 53,14; Mudrār. 40,6; Mālav. 56,8; 65,10); Mg. *viṣa* (Mṛcch. 136,17; 164,1; Mud ār. 193,3; 194,6); JM. *nivvīsa*=*nirviṣa* (Sagara 6,2).

i. SBE. 22, p. 68.

§ 264. *sa* has become *ha* in : *ṇiharāi* beside *ṇisarāi*=*ṇīhsarāti* (Hc. 4,79). In *divasa* *sa* becomes *hā* compulsorily, according to Vr. 2,46, and optionally according to Hc. 1,263; Ki. 2,105; Mk. fol. 19; Prakṛtamañjarī in Pischel, De gr. Piācr. p. 14. M. has *dīasa*, *divasa* (G.R.) and *diāha* (G. H.; Karp. 12,7; 23,7; 43,11 etc.); AMg. only *divasa* (Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.); JM. *divasa* (Erz.; Kk.), *diyasa* (Prākṛtamañjarī l. c.), *diyasaṃyara* (Pāiyal 4), *diyaha* (Pāiyal. 157; Erz.), *aṇudiyaham* (Kk.); JŚ. *divaha* (Kattig. 402,364); Ś. only *divasa*, *dīasa* (Mrc. h. 68,4; Śak. 44,5,53,9; 67,10; 121,6; 162,13; Vikr. 52,1; Mudrār. 184,5; Karp. 33,7; 103,3; 110,6), *aṇudiasam* (Śak. 51,5) against M. *aṇudīaham* (H.; Karp. 116,1 [°hā]); Mg. *dīasa* (Śak. 114,9), falsely *diāha* (Venī. 33,5); A. *diāha* (Hc. 4,388.418,4), *diāhāḍa* (Hc. 4,333.387,2). — *dāhala* (unhappy; Deśin. 5,43) beside *dūsala* (Deśin. 5,43; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 6,87)=*duhsara*. — M. JM. *sāhai*=\**śāsati*<sup>1</sup> (Hc. 4,2; H.R.; Erz.). — AMg. JM. A °*hattari*, AMg °*hattarim*=°*saptai*, as JM. *caūhattari* (74), AMg. *pañcāhattari* (75), *sattahattarim* (77), *aṭṭahattarim* (78), A. *ehattari* (71), *chāhattari* (76); (§ 245.446). — In future, as *dāhimi*, *dāhāmi*, *dāham*=*dāsyāmi* (§520 ff.) and in aorist, as *ṭhāhi* beside *ṭhāsi* (§ 516); in the loc. sing. of the pronouns *ta-*, *ya-*, *ka-*: *tahim*, *yahim*, *kahim* beside *tassim*, *jassim*, *kassim* (§ 425.427.428) and in the loc. of nouns formed according thereto in Mg., as *kulāhim*=*kule*; *pavahaṇāhim*=*pravahane* and in A., as *antahī*=*ante*; *cittahī*=*citte*; *gharahī*=*ghare*; *sisahī*=*śirṣe* (§366); in the genitive plural formed likewise according to the pronominal declension with the ending *-sām* in Mg. and A., as Mg. *śaṇṇāhā*=*vagaṇṇānām*, A. *taṇṇāhā*=*trṇṇānām*, *mukkāhū*=*muktānām*, *loṇṇāhā*=*locanayoh*, *śaiṇṇāhā*=*śakunānām* (§ 370), in the genitive, that are found according to Hc. 4,300 also in M., as *sariāhā*=*sarītām*, *kammāhā*=*karmaṇām*, *tāhā*=*teṣām*, *tumhāhā*=*yuṣmākam*, *amhāhā*=*asmākam* (§ 395.404.419.422); in the genitive sing. in Mg. in *āha* from \**āsa*=*āsa*, as *kāmāha*=*kāmasya*; *calittāha*=*caritrasya*; *puttāha*=*putrasya*, and in A. in *-aha*, *-ahō*, as *kaṇaaha*=*kanakasya*, *caṇḍālahā*=*caṇḍālasya*, *kāmāhō*=*kāmasya*, *śesahō*=*śeṣasya* (§ 366); in A. in the 2. sing. active in *-hi* beside in *-si* as *ṇisarāhi*=*ṇīhsarāsi*; *ruahi*=Vedic *ruvasi*; *lahasi*=*labhase* (§ 455). On *h*=*s* in consonant groups see § 312 ff.

i. P. GOLLSCHMIDT, Specimen p. 72; WEBER. ZDMG. 28,369.

§ 265. For *ṣa* in *ṣaṣṭi* (60) and *sa* in *saptati* (70) there occurs *va* too beside *cha*, *sa*, *ha* (§ 211.264) in conjunctions with units in AMg. JM.: *bāvātṭhim* (62), *tevatṭhim* (63), *caūvatṭhi*<sup>o</sup> (64), *chāvātṭhim* (66), *bāvattarim* (72), *tevattarim* (73), *covattarim* (74), *chāvattarim* (76); (§ 446); AMg. *innī tevatṭhāim pāvādūyasayāim* (363 adversaries); JM. *tiṇṇam tevatṭhānam nayarasayānam* (of the 363 cities); (§ 447). The *va* has probably developed on the analogy of *va* in the numeral for 50, as *egāvāṇnam* (51), *bāvāṇnam* (52), *tevaṇnam* (53), *caūvaṇnam* (54), *paṇavaṇnam* (55), *satiāvāṇnam* (57), *aṭṭhāvāṇnam* (58), A. *bāvāṇna* (52), *satiāvāṇṇā* (57); (§ 273) in which it regularly stands (§ 199) for *pa* in \**pañcat* (§ 445). *aṇṇātṭhim* (59), *aṇṇattarim* (69); (§ 444), *paṇṇātṭhim* (65); (§ 446) stand for \**agunavātṭhim*, \**agunaaṭṭhim*, \**agunātṭhim*; \**agunavattarim*, \**agunaaattarim*, \**agunāttarim*; \**paṇnavātṭhim*, \**paṇnaaṭṭhim*, \**paṇṇātṭhim*, *paṇnavātṭhim* according to § 167.83. Spellings like *khadāṅgavi*=*śadāṅgavid* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,425), *khodāsama*=*śodāsa* (Sūyag. 562 in the subscription), *hōkkhai*=\**bhoyati* (§ 521) are Sanskritisms, with an erroneous writing of *kha* for *ṣa*, the sounds that in pronunciation have coalesced in Northern India at the present day.<sup>1</sup> On this is based the false reading

AMg. *pākhaṇḍa* (Thān. 583), Mg. *pāhaṇḍa*=*pāṣaṇḍa* (Prab. 48,1). The Madras (59,14) and the Bombay (103,2) editions correctly have *pāsaṇḍa*, as also AMg. (Aṇuog. 356; Uvās.; Bhag.)<sup>2</sup> and JM. *pāsaṇḍiya*=*pāsaṇḍika* (Kk.).

1. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,261 f.; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 19 p. 24; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 118. — 2. Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 2,213, note 6; KERN, Jaartelling p.67 note; E. MÜLLER, Beitrage p. 32 f.

§266. *ha* neither falls out, nor it is brought in to avoid hiatus. All the cases in which this has been assumed<sup>1</sup> rest partly on false readings and partly on false etymologies.<sup>2</sup> Where in the interior of a word, between vowels, there appears an aspirate for *h* of Skt. there we need not see "coarsening" of *h*<sup>3</sup>, but the old phonetic conditions.<sup>4</sup> So Ś. Mg. Ā. *idha*=*iha* (Ś. Mṛcch. 2,25;4,14;6,9;9,10,12;24,20;51,24;57,17;69,6,15; etc.; Śak. 12,4;20,3; 67,5;115,5;168,15; Vikr. 30,17;48,4; Mg. Mṛcch. 37,10;100,20;113,17; 114,21;123,21;133,15,16;164,10; Śak. 114,11; Ā. Mṛcch. 100,18). Ś. Mg. sometimes falsely have *iha*, as Ś. (Mṛcch. 70,12;72,13; Vikr. 21,12), *ihaloio* (Mṛcch. 4,1), Mg. (Mṛcch. 37,10 [beside *idha*!]; 122,12), readings, that are to be corrected.<sup>5</sup> The rest of the dialects have *iha*, also D. (Mṛcch. 101,13) and JŚ. *iha* (Pav. 389,2), *ihaloga* (Pav. 387,25), *ihaparaloy'a* (Kattig. 402,365). From this is explained the fact that Hc. 4,268 permits in Ś. *iha* beside *idha*(§21). For Dh., where *ida* was expected, examples are wanting. — *dāgha*=*dāha* (Hc. 1,264); cf. Skt. *ndāgha*. — AMg. *nibhelaṇa* beside *ñihelana*, M. *sibhara* beside *sihara* (§206). — AMg. *maghamaghanta*, *maghamaghēnta* beside M. *mahamahāi*, JM. *mahamahīya* (§558). — AMg. *vebhāra* (Vivāhap. 194,195; Uttar. 194 f.), *vebbhāra* (Nāyādh.), *vibbhāra* (Nāyādh. 1032)=*vaihāra*, with Jains also in Skt. *vaihbhāra*<sup>6</sup>. The passive *vubhāi*=*uhyate*, *dubbhāi*=*duhyate*, *libbhāi*=*lihyate* (§ 541,544) go back to the root-doublets \**vabh*, \**dubbh*, \**libh*. *bh* is related to the original *gh*, *gh*, as *v* is related to *k*, *g*, (230,231), that is to say here is a case of transformation of gutturals to labials. *-rubbhāi* from *rudh* (§ 546), also in the parasmaipada *rumbhāi* in M. AMg. commonly (§ 507), is formed on the analogy of the roots in gutturals. — On *hammāi*=Pāli *ghammāi* see § 188. Obscure is *bhimora*=*himora* (Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,259), since a Skt. word *himora* is not known, and the meaning *bhimora* has not been handed down.

1. WEBER teaches dropping off, Hāla<sup>1</sup> p. 29; <sup>2</sup> on the stanzas 4,410,584; WEBER, Hāla<sup>1</sup> p. 29; Bhag. 1,411, P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 47; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho s.v. *thāha*; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *bhamuhā* teach insertion. — 2. FISCHEL, GGA. 1880 p. 333 f.; BB. 3,246 f.; 6,92 f.; cf. § 296. — 3. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 469 ff. — 4. FISCHEL, BB. 6,91 f. — 5. FISCHEL, KB. 8,1137.

§ 267. After nasal vowels *h* can become *gh*, after nasals, the aspirates of the corresponding class of the nasals. In many cases the aspirates here as well might be older than *h*, as certainly in *saṅghaṇḍa* (body; Deśin. 8,14; Pāyāḥ, 59; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,255), AMg. *saṅghayaṇa* (Jiv. 66; Vivāhap. 83,89; Uvās.; Ovav.)=\**saṅghatana*=*saṅghanana*, AMg. *saṅghayaṇi* (Jiv. 66,87)=\**saṅghatanī*, Ś. *saṅghadi*=*saṅghati* (Anarghar. 290,2). Other examples are: *saṅghāra*=*saṅhāra* (Hc. 1,264); *siṅgha*=*siṅha* (Hc. 1,264), beside M. AMg. JM. A. *siha*, Ś. *siṅha*, Mg. *siṅha* (§ 76); falsely stands in Ś. *siṅgha* (Śak. 102,2 ed. BÖHTLINGK according to some MSS.), *virasiṅgha* (Karnas. 53,20), *siṅghala* (Mallikām. 88,21), M. *siṅghali*=*siṅhali* (Viddhaś. 24,11). AMg. *hambho* (Āyār. 1,4,2,6; Sūyag. 579; Vivāhap. 254; Dasav. 640,27; Nāyādh. 740, 761,767,769,1337; Uvās.; Nirayāv.)=Ś. Mg. *hamho* (Viddhaś. 97,10; Mg. Mṛcch. 140,12; 141,1; 149,17; 163,2; 165,8; 167,2)=Skt. *hamho*. —

Behind nasals the aspirate stands for *h* in M.AMg. JM. *cindha* from \**cinha* (§ 330) = *cihna* ( Vr. 3,34; Hc. 2,50; Ki. 2,117 [text *ciṅnam*]; Mk. fol. 25; Pāiyā. 68.114; G.; Āyār. 2,15,18; Nāyādh. §64; p. 1318; Paṅṅav. 101.117; Vivāhap. 498; Paṅṅhāv. 155.167; Ovav.; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 13.5; Dvār. 507,38 ), JM *cindhīya*=*cihṇita* ( Āv. 27,1 ), dialectical *cindhāla* ( delightful; most excellent; Deśin. 3,22 ), M. in compounds °*ndha* ( G. ), beside M. Ś. Mg. A. *ciṅha* ( Hc. 2,50; R.; Nāgān. 87,11; Mg. Mṛcch. 159,23; Nāgān. 67,6; A. Vikr. 58,11 ). According to Mk. fol. 68 Ś. has only *ciṅha*. Bh. 1,12 teaches beside *cindha* also *cēndha* (§119). Further in AMg. JM.A. *bambha*=*brahman* ( Jiv. 912; Sūy. g. 74; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; T. 5,15; Hc. 4,412 ); AMg. *bambha*=*brāhman* ( Uttar. 904.906; Dasav. N. 654,39 ), *bambha* = *brāhma* ( Āyār. p. 125,34 ), feminine *bambhī* ( Vivāhap. 3; Paṅṅav. 62.63 ) : M. *bambhaṅḍa*-*brahmāṅḍa* ( G. ); AMg. *bambhaloḷa*=*brahmaloka* ( Uttar. 1090; Vivāhap. 224.4-18; Ovav. ); AMg. *bambhacāri*- ( Āyār. 2,1,9,1; Uttar. 164; Uvās. ), AMg. JM. *bambhājāri*=*brahmacārin* ( Dasav. 618,34; 632,38; Uttar. 353. 487.917 f.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz. ); AMg.A. *bambhacera*=*brahmacarya* (§ 176 ); AMg. JM. *bambhaṇa*=*brāhmaṇa* (§ 250 ); AMg. *bambhaṇṇaya*=*brāhmaṇyaka* ( Ovav.; Kappas. ) and others. The other dialects have only *bambha*-, *bambhaṇa* (§287.330). The same phonetic alteration has taken place in the secondary *h*, that originated from a sibilant (§ 262 ff.) in *āsaṅghā*=\**āsāṅhā*=*āsāṅsā* ( Deśin. 1,63 ), mostly with a change of gender (§ 357)<sup>1</sup>, M.Ś. *āsāṅgha* ( Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,250; G.R.; Śak. 160,14; Vikr. 11,2; Viddhaś. 42,7; Kāmsav. 7,20 ), Ś. *aṅśāṅgha* ( Mallikām. 93,9 ); M. *āsāṅghai*=*āsāṅsati* ( Hc. 4,35; G.R. ); *saṅghai*=*saṅsati* ( Hc. 4,2 ); AMg. *dhimkuna*, dialectical *dhāmkuna*, *dhēṅkuna*=\**damkuna* from *damś* (§ 107.212)<sup>2</sup>. Beside AMg. JM.A. *simbha*- ( Hc. 2,74; Paṅṅhāv. 498; Erz.; Hc. 4,412 ), AMg. *seṁbha*- ( WEBER, Bhag. 1,439 ), also femin. *seṁbhā* ( Mk. fol. 25 )=*ślesman* from \**seṁha*-, \**simha*, AMg. *seṁbhiya* ( WEBER, Bhag. 1,415; 2,274.274 ), *simbhiya* ( Ovav. )=*ślaismika*, AMg. has also, with a secondary nasal vowel, *siṅghāna* from *ślesmāna*- (§ 403 ), \**seṁhāna*-, *siṅhāna*-, \**siṅhāna* ( Āyār. 2,2,1,7 [so to be read with v.l. ]; Ṭhān. 483; Paṅṅhāv. 505; Vivāhap. 164; Dasav. 631,3; Uttar. 734; Sūyag. 704; Ovav.; Kappas.; Bhag. ). The word, as *siṅghāna*, *siṅghāṇika*, has been taken into Skt. A denominative therefrom is AMg. *siṅghānei* ( Vivāhap. 112 ). A. has also *gimbha*=*grīṣma* ( Hc. 4,412 ). On *kambhāra*=*kāsmira* see § 120, on *sepha*=*ślesman* see § 312, and on *bharai*=*smarati*, §313.

1. BOLLENSON on Vikr. 11,2 p. 196; Cf. FISCHEL, De gr. Prācr. p. 5, f.; on Hc. 4,35; BB. 3,250. — 2. Cf. FISCHEL, BB. 3,255; 6,85 f.

## II. CONJUNCT CONSONANTS.

§ 268. Conjunct consonants of different classes are either separated by a separation-vowel (§131-140) or assimilated. In the anlaut, with the exception of *ṅha*, *mha*, *lha*, and dialectically also of consonant+*ra*, only a simple consonant can stand: of the consonants assimilated in the anlaut only the second one enters into the anlaut. The anlaut of the second member of a compound is generally treated as anlaut (§ 196 ). M. *kadhai*=*kvathati*; *kilai*=*krīdati*; *khandha*=*skandha*; *gaṅṅhi*=*granthi*; *jalai*=*jalati*; *thala*=*sthala*; *thāmatthāma*=*sthāmasthāma*- ( G. ); *dia*=*doḷiya*; *bhamāi*=*bhramati*; *ṅhāna*=*snāna*; *ṅhāva*=*snāpita*; *thasai*=*hrasati*. — *mhi*=*asmi*, *mha*, *mho*=*smah* can, as they are enclitic, be regarded as treated in the anlaut.<sup>1</sup> The grammarians permit a consonant+*r* in the anlaut and the anlaut ( Vr. 3,4; Hc. 2,80; Mk. fol. 20 ): *doha*, *droha*=*droka* ( Bh. 3,4 ),

*daha, draha=hrada* (§ 354; Hc. 2,80; Deśin. 8,14); *canda, candra* (Grr.); *rudda, rudra* (Bh.; Hc.); *inda, indra* (Mk.); *bhadda, bhadra* (Hc.; Mk.); *sammudda, samudra* (Hc.). So there occur *M. bodraha* (Pāiy. l. 62; cf. Deśin. 7,80) or *vodraha* (young; Hc. 2,80; Deśin. 7,80; H. 392)<sup>2</sup>; *JM. vandra* (crowd; Hc. 1,53; 2,79; D śin. 7.32; Erz. 26,3) or *bandra, bundra*<sup>3</sup>. Frequent is consonant + *r*, which sometimes is secondary, in A. So in Hc.: *tram=tad*, more correctly = *tyad* (4,360); *dramma=δρ ο κ μ η'* (4,422,4); *dravakka* (fruit; 4,422,4); *draha=hrada* (4,423,1); *drehu=\*dekhī=dr̥ṣṭi* (4,422,6; cf. § 66); *dhrum* in the sense of *yad, yasmād* (4,360, 438,1), in Kī. 5,49 *drum=tad, jrum=yad* and according to 5,69 peculiar to Vṛacaḍa Apabhraṁśa; *dhruvu=dhruvaṁ* (4,418; cf. Kī. 5,5, where *ghruva, ghru* has been edited); *praṅgana=praṅgana* (4,360,420,4); *pramāṇīa pramāṇīta* (4,422,1); *pra āvādi=prajāpati* (4,404); *praśadi=paśyati* (4,393); *prāiva. prāiva prāu=prāyah* (4,414); *pria=priya* (4,370,2,377,379,2; 398,401,6,417); *bruvahu=brūta*; *biōppi, biōppiṇu=\*brūtā* (4,391; also Kī. 5,58); *bhrantri=bhrānti* (4,360); *vatta=vrata* (4,394); *vrāsa=vyāsa* (4,399; Kī. 5,5). In Kī. besides those mentioned above also *bhūāsa=bhāśya* (5,5). In the inlaut: *antradi=antra* (Hc. 4,445,3); *bhrantri=bhrānti* (4,360); *putra* (Kī. 5,2); perhaps also in *jatru, tatra=yatra, tata* (Hc. 4,404), and in *etrula, ketrula, jetrula, tetrula=iyat, kiyat, yāvat, tāvat* (Hc. 4,435), where the MSS. waver between *ita* and *tra*. Kī. 5,50 has in the edition *yadru, tadru=yatra, tatra*. — In Mg. A. there occur dialectically in the inlaut also *yca, yja* (§ 217).

1. The relevant paragraphs supply the references. — 2. So according to Hc. 2,80, The MSS., according to WEBER on H. 392 and IS. 16,140 f., do not have *r*. — 3. FISCHEL on Hc. 1,53.

§ 269. In the inlaut, of conjunct consonants, there can stand only: 1) the consonant doubled and with the aspirate of its own class; 2) the composite sounds *ṅha, mha, lha*; 3) dialectically consonant + *r* (§ 268); 4) nasal + consonant of its class. The MSS. mostly write anusvāra in place of the nasal: the grammarians vary. According to Kī. 2,121; Mk. f. l. 34 *m* comes in for *n, ṅ*, according to Vr. 4,14, for *n, ṅ* before a consonant<sup>1</sup>: *vañcaṇīa=vañcaṇīya*; *viṅjha=vindhya*; *paṁṭi=paṅktih*; *maṁṭi=mantrin*. According to Hc. 1,1 *ṅ, ṅ* can remain before consonants of their own class; according to 1,25, on the other hand, *ṅ, ṅ, ṅ, n* must become *m* before consonants; according to 1,30, however, they may remain; yet according to Hc. some grammarians require them necessarily. From Deśin. 1,26 it is seen that *airimpa*, not *āirimpa*, was written, and Deśin. 1,18 makes it probable that *andhāndhu*, and not *amdhāndhu* should be read.<sup>2</sup> The examples of the grammarians partly relate to words in which the nasal in conformity with the phonetic laws of Pkt. goes out of its class, and in them *m* must be written.<sup>3</sup> So: *Ś. avaraṁmuha=aparāṅmukha* (Vikr. 44,9); AMg. *chaṁmāsīya=ṣaṁmāsika* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); M.A. *chaṁmuha=ṣaṁmukha* (§ 441); M.Ś. *diṁmuha=diṁmukha* (Karp. 39,3; Viddhaś. 34,11; Laṭakam. 4,3); M. *diṁmoha=diṁmoha* (H. 866); M. JM. Ś. *paraṁmuha=parāṅmukha* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Śak. 75,15; Mahāv. 34,12; Bharuḥharin. 22,13); M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *paṁṭi=paṅkti* (R.; Karp. 47,12; 101,1; Jiv. 446,512; Paṇḥāv. 520; Rāyap. 143; Vivāhap. 1325; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 36,36; Bālar. 49,2; Karp. 37,9; Piṅgala 1,10), M.Ś. *vaṁṭi* (H.; Mṛcch. 69,1), AMg. *paṁṭīyā=paṅktikā* (Āyār. 2,3,3,2; 2,11,5; Aṇuog. 386; Thāp. 94; Vivāhap. 361; Paṇnav. 80.84.85); AMg. *baṁjha=bandhya* (Sūyag. 460 [text *va°*]), *abaṁjha* (Sūyag. 600 [text *ava°*]); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *viṁjha=vindhya* (G.H.R.; Mṛcch. 41,16; Vivāhap. 1189.1274.1287; Erz.; Rukmiṇip. 48,3); Ś. *viṁjhakeḍu* (Priyad. 14,6; 52,6); M. JM. Ś. *saṁjha=śandhyā* (G.H.R.; Erz.; Karp. 67,4). In support of this are the rules,

like Vr. 3,43=Hc.2,61; Ki 2 98; Mk.fol.25 too, where for *nma* the change into *nma* is especially prescribed again. Whether an exception should, however, be generally made for nasal+nasal, and, therefore, even *parammuha*, *chammāsīya* should be written, remains uncertain. 5) In Mg., in the inlaut too, are found *śca*, *yyha*, *śīha*, *śka*, *śkha*, *śta*, *śṭa*, *śṭa*, *śta*, *śpa*, *śpha*, *ḥka* (§ 233.236.271.290.301 ff. 331 ).

1. On the misunderstanding of this rule by Bhāmaha see COWELL on Vr. p. 137, note 2.—2. FISCHER, Deśin., Introduction p. 8 f. — 3. FISCHER on Hc. 1,25.

§ 270. Of the conjunct mutes of different classes the first one is assimilated to the second ( Vr. 3,1.50; C. 3,3.24; Hc. 2,77.89; Ki. 2,49.108; Mk. fol. 19.26 ). 1) *k+t* becomes *tt*: M. *āsatta*=*āsakta* ( G.H. ); *jutta*=*yukta* ( H.R. ); *bhatti*=*bhakti* ( G.H. ); *mōttia*=*mauktika* ( G.H.R. ). Likewise the other dialects<sup>1</sup>. *mukka* beside rare *mutta*=*mukta* is derived from \**mukna*, as *ragga* beside *ratta*=*rakta* goes back to \**ragna* (§ 566 ). *sakka*, which Hc. 2,2 equates as=*śakta*, is everywhere=*śakya* ( Ki. 2,1 )<sup>2</sup>. *nakkam̐cara* ( Hc. 1,177 ) is not=*naktam̐cara*, which must become *ṇattam̐cara*, but goes back to \**nakkā* from \**nakā*' (§ 194.355 )=Vedic *nak*<sup>3</sup>.—2) *k+th* becomes *tth*: JM. *rittha*=*rikitha* ( Pāiyāl. 49; Erz.; Kk. ); AMg. *siitha*=*sikitha* ( Hc. 2,77; Ovav.; Kappas. ); *siithaa*=*sikthaka* ( Bh. 3,1; Pāiyāl. 228 ).—3) *k+p* becomes *pp*; M. *vappairā*=*vāḥpatirāja* ( G. )—4) *g+dh* becomes *ddh*: M. *duddha*=*dugdha* ( G.H. ); M. *muddha*=*mugdha* ( G.H.R. ); M. *ṇiddha* ( H.R. ), *siṇiddha*=*snigdha* ( G. ).—5) *g+bh* becomes *bbh*: M. *ḥabbhāra*=*ḥrāgbhāra* ( G.R. )<sup>4</sup>.—6) *t+k* becomes *kk*: AMg. *chakka*=*śatka* (§ 451 ); AMg. *chakkaṭṭhaga*=*śatkāsthaka* ( Nāyādh. ).—7) *t+c* becomes *cc*: AMg. *chacca*=*śatca*; *chaccaraṇa*=*śatcaraṇa* (§ 441 ).—8) *t+t* becomes *tt*: AMg. *chattala*=*śattala*; *chattisām*, *chattisā*=*śatṭrimśat* (§ 441 ).—9) *t+p* becomes *pp*: M. *chappaa*=JM. *chappaya*=*śatpada*; AMg. *chappannam*, A. *chappana*=\**śatpañat* ( 56; § 441.445 ).—10) *t+ph* becomes *pph*: *kappala*=*kaṭṭhala* ( Hc. 2,77 ).—11) *d+g* becomes *gg*: M. *khagga*=*khadga* ( G.H.R. ); M. *chaggaṇa*=*śadgaṇa*, Ś. *chaggunaa*=*śadgaṇoka* (§ 441 ).—12) *d+j* becomes *jj*: AMg. *chajjiva*=*śadjiva* ( Āyār. 1,1,7,7 ); *śajja*=*śadja* ( Hc. 2,77 ).—13) *d+d* becomes *dd*: AMg. *chaddisim*=*śaddisim* (§ 441 ).—14) *d+bh* becomes *bbh*: AMg. *chabbhāya*, °*ga*=*śadbhāga* (§ 441 ); Ś. *chabbhua*=*śadbhujja* ( Cait. 42,7 ).—15) *d+v* becomes *vv*: AMg. JM.A. *chavvāraṇa*=*śadvimśati* (§ 441 ).—16) *t+k* becomes *kk*: M. *ukkantthā*=*utkantthā* ( G.H. ); AMg. *ukkaliyā*=*utkalikā* ( Ovav. ); Ś. *balakkāra*=*balātkāra* ( Mṛcch. 13.22; 17,23; 23,23,25; Śak 137,3 ), Mg. *balakkāla* ( Mṛcch. 140.15; 146 17; 158,22; 162,20; 173,12 ).—17) *t+kh* becomes *kkh*: M. *ukkhaa*. JM. *ukkhaṇa*=*utkhāta* ( 80 ).—18) *t+p* becomes *pp*: M. *uppala*=*utpala* ( G.H.R. ); AMg. *tappadhūmajjā*=*tatprathamatā* ( Ovav.; Kappas. ); M. *sappurisa*=*satpurusa* ( G.H. ).—19) *t+ph* becomes *pph*: M. *upphulla*=*utphulla* ( H.R. ); M.Mg. *upphāla*=*utphāla* ( R.; Mṛcch. 99,10 ).—20) *d+g* becomes *gg*: M. *uggama*=*udgama* ( G.H.R. ); M.Ś. *mōggara*=*mudgara*: AMg. JŚ. *pōggala*=*ḥudgala* (§ 125 ).—21) *d+gh* becomes *ggh*: M. *ugghāa*=*udghāta* ( G.H.R. ); M. *ugghuṭṭha*=*udghuṭṭa* ( R. ).—22) *d+b* becomes *bb*: M. *bubbua*=*budbuda* ( G. ); Ś. *ubbandhia*=*udbandhya* (§ 513 ).—23) *d+bh* becomes *bbh*: M. *ubbhāa*=*udbhāṭṭa* ( G.R. ); M. *ubbhēa*=*udbhēda* ( G.H.R. ); M. *sabbhāva*=*sadbhāva* ( G.H.R. ).—24) *p+t* becomes *tt*: M. *ukkhitā*=*utkṣipta* ( G.H.R. ); M. *ḥajjatta*=*ḥaryāpta* ( G.H.R. ); M. *sutta*=*supta* ( H. ).—25) *b+j* becomes *jj*: M. AMg. JM.Ś. *khujja*=*kubja* (§ 206 ).—26) *b+d* becomes *dd*: *adda*=*abda* ( Hc. 2,79 ); M. *sadda*=*śabda* ( G.H.R. ).—27) *b+dh* becomes *ddh*: *ārdhha*=*āraddha* ( R. ); M. *laddha*=*labdha* ( G.H.R. ); *lōddhaa*=*lubdhaka* (§ 1255 ).

1. Cf. § 184, note 1. — 2. BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. 12,120; FISCHER on Hc. 2,2.



Cf. 279. — 3. Skt. *nakṣatra* "star", "constellation" too should be equated as = \**nakkṣatra* "ruling over the night". The customary explanations on account of \**naktatra* (AUFRECHT, KZ. 8,71; cf. WEBER, *Nakatra* 2,268) or from *ṽnaks* (GRASSMANN, *Wörterbuch* s.v.) are in any case perverse. — 4. So according to the usual interpretation. ZACHARIAE (Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie p. 60 ff.) sees probably rightly in *prāgbhāra* a false back formation of *pabbhāra*. He would like to derive *pabbhāra*, that is frequent in AMg. also (e.g. Uttar. 1034; Anug. 416; Vivāhap. 248,920; Thān, 135,297; Ovav.; Nirayāv.) and is found also in JM. (Kk.) and Ś. (Anarghar, 149,10), from \**prahvāra*. The common meaning "crowd" points, however, rather to \**prabhāra* (JACOBI, Kk, s.v.) with duplication according to §196.

§271. Conjunct mutes of the same class, except in the cases mentioned in §333, undergo a change only dialectically. In Mg. *ṣ* becomes *ś* (Hc. 4,290); *paṣṭa*=*paṭṭa*; *bhaṣṭālikā*=*bhaṭṭārikā*; *bhaṣṭīnī*=*bhaṭṭīnī*. STENZLER, in Mṛcch., writes *ś* for *ṣ*: *bhaṣṭaka*=*bhaṭṭaka* (10,5;16,18;22,3,5;114,16; 118,8.12.22;119,9;122,10;124,12 ff.; 125,1,3,8.24;132,11.15.18); *bhaṣṭālaa*=*bhaṭṭāraka* (22,5;32,4;112,18;119,13;121,12;154,9;164,12;165,1,5;176,4); *piṣṭadu*=\**piṭṭadu*=*piṭṭoyatu* (125,8). GODABOLE, as often in other cases also, has followed him. The manuscripts almost always have *bhaṭṭaka*, *bhaṣṭaka*, *bhaṣṭhaka*, *bhaṭṭāla*, *bhaṣṭāla*, only some of the MSS. have *ś* in 10,5;22,3,5;32,4;119,13;124,24;132,11. For *piṣṭadu* all have *piṭṭadu*<sup>1</sup> or *viṭṭadu*, likewise *aṭṭahāsaśa* (168,21), for which we should read *aṣṭa*<sup>2</sup> according to Hc. The Calcutta editions, have *ṣ* throughout, likewise all the editions at Śak. 114,12;116,11;118,4; Prab. 32,8.10.11.12; Caṇḍak. 60,12 etc. In Mṛcch. *ś* can be a dialectical variant for *ṣ*, as *śk* beside *hk*=*ks*. But elsewhere according to Hc. *ś* should be written for *ṣ*<sup>2</sup>. Cf. §290. — *kr̥tī* (skin) becomes *kicci* according to Hc. 2,12. In the text we find only *kattī* (Pāiyāl. 110; G.H.) and M. *kittī* (H). At H. 951 the MS. W has the v.l. *°kaccā* for *°kattī*; in Dhvanyāloka at 128,6 the edition reads *°kattī a* and so also Kāvya prakāśa 329,10 the edition and the best manuscripts. *kacci* and *kicci* presuppose Skt. \**kr̥tyā*=*kartyā* (scil. *tvak*) "what is to be cut off (skin)". Cf. AMg. *vigiñcā*=\**vikṛntyati* (§485). On Mg. *śca* for *ccha* see §233.

1. *piṭṭadu* in GODBOLE p. 345, note 9 is a printing error. — 2. ASCOLI, *Kritische Studien* p. 233 note; SENART, *Piyadasi* 1,29 f.; 2,418 ff; JOHANSSON, *Shāhbāzgarhi* 2,18 note 1. wrongly equate *ś* as=ṣ. Cf. FISCHEL, GGA. 1881,1319 f.

§ 272. If the first of two conjunct consonants is a nasal, the sound-group remains unchanged as a rule, when the nasal precedes: M. *anika* (G.H.R.); M. Ś. *sañkhalā*=*śṛñkhalā* (§213); M. *siñga*=*śṛñga* (G.H.); M. *jañghā* (G.); M. *kōñca*=*krañca* (G.); M. *lañchana*=*lāñchana* (G.H.R.); M. *mañjari* (G.H.); M. *karañḥa* (G.H.R.); M. *khañḍa* (G.H.R.); M. *anta* (G.H.R.); M. *manihara* (G.H.R.); *maaranda*=*makaranda* (H.R.); M. *bandha* (G.H.R.); M. *jambū* (G.H.). If the nasal quits its own class, it becomes *m* (§269).

§273. Dialectically *ñca* becomes *ṇna* in *pañcadaśan* and *pañcāśat* (Vr. 3,44; Hc. 2,43; Ki. 2,66; Mk. fol. 25). So: *pañnaraha* (15; Grr.; A. Piñgala 1,112.114); AMg. JM. *pañnarasa* (*°nna*<sup>o</sup>) (Hc. 3,123; Kappas.; Bhag.; Erz. p. XLI), *pañnarasi* (Kappas.); *paññāsā* (50; Vr. 3,44; Hc. 2,43; Mk. fol. 26; Kappas.); AMg. JM. also *paññāsam* (Ki. 2,66; Thān. 266; Bhag.; Erz.), also *paññā* (C. 3,32), in the remaining fifties shortened to *°paññam*, *°vaññam*: *ēkkāvannam* (ed. *ekā*<sup>o</sup>; 51; Samav. 112); *bāvannam* (52); *tevaññam* (53); *caivannam* (54); *pañnavannam* (55); *chappañnam* (56); *sattāvannam* (57); *aṭṭhāvannam* (58) (WEBER, *Bhagavatī* 1,426; Samav. 113-117; Erz. p. XLI)

*aiñāpaṇṇam* (49; Ovav. §163); *paṇapaṇṇaīma* (55th; Kappas.); *A. bāvanna* (52), *sattāvanna* (57) (Piṅgala 1,87.51). So also AMg. *paṇṇaṭṭhi* (65; Kappas.) and *paṇṇattari* (75; Samav. 133). Before 20—60, in JM. AMg. *paṇṇa* is mostly weakened to *paṇa*: *paṇavisaṃ* (25); *paṇatisaṃ* (35); *paṇayālisāṃ* (45); *paṇavaṇṇam* (55) and *paṇavaṇṇā* (C. 3,33; [so to be read; see v.l.]; Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 6,27; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,245 beside *pañcāvanna*); *paṇasaṭṭhiṃ* (WEBER, Bhagavati 1,425; Samav. 72-123; Erz. p. XLI). So also AMg. *paṇapaṇṇaīma* (55th; Kappas.) and *A. chappāṇa* (56; Piṅgala 1,96). Corresponding to Pāli *paṇṇuvisati*, *paṇṇuvisāṃ* (25) stands AMg. *paṇuvisāhi* (Instr.; Āyār. p. 137,25), AMg. *paṇuvisāṃ* (Rāyap. 114 f.; Jiv. 673; Jiyak. 19.20); JM. *paṇuvisā* (Āv. 48,13), of which *u* is to be explained according to §104. Pāli too has *paṇnarasa*, *paṇṇarasī*, *paṇṇarasa*, *paṇṇāsa* beside *paññāsa*. E. KUHN has conjectured (KZ. 33,478), that “ññ should be explained as arising from a dissimilation of *c* and *ś*, and accordingly it goes to back to a time, when *ś* had not yet gone over into the dental sibilant, but in its pronunciation was still distinctly connected to *c*.” That is not possible for *ṇa*. Pañjābī and Sindhī *pañjāh*, P. °*vamjā*, S. °*vamjāha* (HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. 259) point to the transition from *ñca* to *ñja*, *ñya*, *nya*. Cf. Pāli *āñā*=*ājñā*, *āñāpeti*=*ājñāpayati* and § 274.276.282.283. In A. the nasal has vanished in *pacīsa* (25) and *pacaālīsahī* (45; instr.). See §445. On AMg. *āuñṭana* supposed to be=*akuñcana* see §232.

§ 274. According to Hc. 4,293; Sr. fol. 62; Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśāstrakāra 2,12 in Mg. *ñja* becomes *ñña*: *aññali*=*añjali*; *dhaññāna*=*dhanamjaya*; *paññala*=*prañjala*. According to this *ja*, as in the anlaut (236), has become *ya*. In Mṛcch. 19,6 stands *añjalim*.

§ 275. According to Hc. 4,261.302; Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśāstrakāra 2,12; Amaraçandra, Kāvyaakalpalatāvṛtti p. 9 in Ś. and Mg. *nta* can become *nda*. The examples of the grammarians are: Ś. *andeura*=*antaḥpura*; *nicinda*=*niścinta*; *mahanda*=*mahat*; Mg. *mahanda*-; in addition to the assumptive Ś. *randūna*=*ratvā* (Hc. 4,271) and in Trivikrama 3,2,1 *sainādāle*=*śakuntale*. Inscriptionally *nda* occurs throughout for *nta* in Lalitav. in Mg. : *payamnde*=*paryante* (565,7); *avayyaminda*=*aparyantatā* (565,12); *peṣkiyyamndi*=*preksyante* (565,13); *puścande*, *ni[liškam]de*=*preçchan nirikṣamāṇaḥ* (565,20); *vaññāmdassa*=*vrajataḥ* (566,7), whilst in Ś. *nta* exclusively remains: *viloijjamti*=*vilokyante* (554,21); *peṣkkhijjamti*=*preksyante* (554,22); *vuttamntā...sunīyamti*=*vṛttāntāḥ...śrūyante* (555,2); *huvamti*=*bhavamti* (555,5); *peramntesu*=*paryanteṣu* (555,11), *desamntara*=*deśāntara* (560,19) etc. HOEFER<sup>1</sup> and LASSEN<sup>2</sup> have already collected numerous examples, from older texts, that have partly vanished in the recent editions, such as *bhakkhandi*, for which STENZLER, Mṛcch. 69,3, with his manuscripts, reads *bhakkhanti*=*bhakṣyanti*, *sandāva*, for which stands *samtāpa* (Mṛcch. 78,8; Śak. 55,1;68,1; Ratn. 298,10;229,10), etc. In Prab. the editions also of Pūṇā (P.), Bombay (Bb.) and Madras (M.), like that of BROCKHAUS (B.) frequently have *nda*, even in words other than in BROCKHAUS, as 39,2 B. Bb. *ramandī*, M.P. *ramamdi*, 9 B. *sambhāvāandī*, M. P. *sambhāvāamdi*, Bb. *sambhāvayamdi*, but 4 B. *ciṭṭhandi*, M. *ciṭṭhandi*, P. *ciṭṭhandi* Bb. *tussanti*, while all 7 read *nti* in B. *paḍichanti*, Bb.M. *paḍicchanti*, P. *paḍichanti*. The same oscillation occurs there often and so also in many of the editions published by Indians. Thus Sh. P. PAṆḌIT writes Mālav. 27,2 *oloanti*, 3 *antare*, but 5 *vaārāṇandaram* (BOLLENSON 6,9 correctly °*ntaram*); 66,1 *pañcarattabhbandare* (BOLLENSON 34,13 °*ntare*), but 5 *āntavam* etc.; TĀRĀKUMĀRA ÇAKRAVARTĪ, Uttarar. 59,5;69,10;77,4;89,11 *vāsanti*=*vāsanti*; TELANG, Mudrār. 36,4 *jānandī*, but 38,2 *jānantam*; 39,4 *sahandī*,

but 7 *nivedianti* [sic]; [DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB, Unmattarāghava 3,2,5; 7,4 *dīsandi*, but 5,4 *dīsanti*=*dr̥syante*; 7,4 *an̄nesandīe*=*an̄vesantiyā*, but 5,4 *sambhamantā*=*sambhramantaḥ*; Mukund.13,2 *kim di*=*kim iti*; 13,18 *andarēṇa*=*antareṇa*; 17,14 *sandi*=*sānti*; 21,12 *akkando*=*ākraṅtaḥ*. Frequent is the writing in both the editions of Pārvatīp., as *nirandaram cindāulam* (2,15,16), *vāsandīe* (9,3), *vāsandiā* (9,15), *ahīlasandī* (24,16;28,4) and others. LASSEN was inclined to see therein a peculiarity of Ś<sup>3</sup>. But *nda* is found also in Mg. as well as in M. too, e.g. *jāṇandā* v.l. for *jāṇantā* (H. 821); *kim deṇa* (H. 905); *bhaṇandī* (Pārvatīp. 28,2); *ramandī*=\**ramanti*, *ujjhando*=*ujjhantaḥ*, *rajjandī*=*rajyante* (Mukund. 5,2.23,2). Hc. 2,180 teaches that *hamdī* is used to express astonishment, regret, certainty, reality and doubt, and 2,181 teaches that *hamda* is used in the sense "take!", "take care". *hamda* is=*handa*=Skt. *hanta*. The example given by Hc. is H. 200, where the MSS. read *gēṇhaha*, *giṅhaha*, *maṇda*, the Jaina recension R. has *hr̥ndī* and Bhuvanapāla (IS. 16,70 on strophe 145) reads *hamta*. AMg. has *hamda* *ha* or *hamda ham* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6.11,1.2; Thāṇ. 354); elsewhere, however, M.AMg. JM.Ś. *hanta*, AMg. also *hantā* (G.; Āyār. 2,5,2,4; Nāyādh. 1332; Vivāgas. 16; Uvās.; Bhag.; Ovav.; Kk.; Vikr. 31,7). AMg. *hamdī* (Sūyag. 151; Dāsav. 624,26 [*handī*]; Dāsav. N. 647,41 [*handī*]; 653,13 [*handī*]; Thāṇ. 488; Aṇuog. 323; Nāyādh. 1134), goes back to JM. *hamti* (Kk.), that is=*ham iti*. Cf. § 185 and AMg. *hambho* §267. The examples in Hc., with the exception of *handa*, are found in the Telugu recension, and like the doubled setting of the aspirates (§193), the writing of *nd* for *nt* is to be traced back to the Dravidians, who pronounce *nt* as *nd*. Hence *nd* is found frequently especially in Dravidian MSS. and in the MSS. which go back to the Dravidians. Sometimes the Dravidian MSS. write *ntta* for *nta* in Skt. too, e.g. *śakuntalā*<sup>4</sup>, to ensure the pronunciation *nt* thereby, and so in Pkt. too the South Indian PG. writes *māhamtite* (7,43) for *mahante*=*mahataḥ* (acc. plur.)<sup>5</sup>, as also old Pkt. MSS. are fond of doubling *t* after *m*<sup>6</sup>. Especially frequently is found *samtāva* in M. (H. 817; Appendix 994) and Ś. (Mālatīm. 79,1;81,2;219,1; Uttarar. 6,1; 92,9;163,5; Nāgān. 87,12; Viddhaś. 81,4; Priyad. 4,7,22,12;2+7;25,13; Mallikām. 218,10,223,6;330,17; Rukmiṇīp. 27,6.11;33 13), *samdāvedī* (Priyad. 20,7; Mukund. 73,3 [so to be read]), *samdāvida* (Mālatīm. 79,1). Śak. too has *sandāva* at 55,1 in most of the manuscripts, at 68,1, in two of them at 127,7, most of them have *sandāvedī*. Since M. possesses a verb *dāvai*=*tāpayati* (Śak. 55,16 with note 1 at p. 184; cf. also §201, note 1), one might derive *samdāpa* from it. But in M. *samtāva* is the most accredited form, and for Ś. the only correct one. Dialectically the same phonetic change has occurred in *oandā*=*apahr̥ntati* (§485), and *vihum̄ṇva*=*vidhum̄tuda* (Deśin. 7,65; Triv. 1,3,105=BB. 3,252).

1. De Prakrita dialecto p. 54. — 2. Inst. p. 238;378 note.— 3. Inst. p. 238. — 4. FISCHER, GN. 1873, 211 f.; KB. 8, 130 f.; Vikramorvaśīya p. 615.— 5. FISCHER, GN. 1895. 210. — 6. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29, 494, note 1; Rāvaṇavaho p. xi.

§ 276. If the nasal stands in the second place, *v*, *n* become assimilated to the preceding consonant: M *aggi*=*agni* (G.H.R.); M AMg. JM. Ś. *uvviggā*=*udvigna* (G.H.R.; Uvās.; Erz.; Mr̥cch. 150,16; 151,2). *uvvīṇṇa*, that is equated by Hc. 2,79 as=*udvigna* is rather=\**udvīṇṇa* from Vedic *vrad*, \**vrd* with *ud*. An original *r* is pointed to by *vur̄ṇṇa* (timid; frightened; Hc.4,421; Deśin. 7,94; Pāiyāl. 76) and *uvvūṇṇa* (frightened; Deśin. 1, 123); JM. *nagga*=*nagna* (Erz.); M. *rugga*=*rugna* (G.); M. *viggha*=*vighna* (R.); AMg. *saṇagghū*=*śataghū* (Uttar. 285; Ovav.); *suruggha*=*sruḅghna* (Hc. 2,113); AMg. *patṭī*=*patṭī*

(Uttar. 363.422); M. *savatta*=*sapatna* (G.R.), M. J.M.Ś. *savattī*=*sapatnī* (H.; Āv. 28,9; Anarghar. 287,1; Venis. 12,6), Ś. *nisavatta*=*nihasapatna* (Mṛcch. 5,1), M. *paatta*=*prayatna* (H.); AMg. *pappoi*, JŚ. *pappodi*=*prāpnoti* (§504). See 566. The sound-group *jña*, as a rule, becomes *ṇa*, in the anlaut *ṇa* (Vr. 3,44; Hc. 2,42; Ki. 2,102; Mk. fol. 25): M. *ahiṇṇāna*=*abhijñāna* (R.); M. *janṇa*=*yajña* (H.); *paṇṇā*=*prajñā* (Hc.2,42); M. *sannā*=*saṃjñā* (R.); M.AMg. J.M. *āṇā*=*ājñā*, AMg. J.M. *āṇavei*, Ś.Mg. *āṇavedi*=*ājñāpayati* (§88); M. *ṇajjai*, AMg. J.M. *ṇajjai*=*jñāyate* (§548), AMg. *nāṇa*=*jñāna* (Āyār. 1,6,1,6). Hc. 2,83 permits also *ajjā*=*ājñā*; *pajjā*=*prajñā*; *saṃjā*=*saṃjñā*; *jāṇa*=*jñāna*, and beside *ṇa*, *ṇu* (§105) also *jja*, when *jña* forms the second member of a compound: *appanṇu*, *appajja*=*ātmajña*, *ahinṇu*, *ahijja*=*abhijña*, *iṅgiaṇṇu*, *iṅgiajja*=*iṅgitajña*; *daivāṇṇu*, *daivajja*=*daiyajña*; *maṇṇāna*, *maṇṇajja*=*maṇojña*; *savāṇṇu*, *savājja*=*sarvajña*, but only *viṇṇāna*=*vijñāna*. According to Vr. 3,5; Ki. 2,52; Mk. fol. 20 in M. only *jja* is used in words of the type of *sarvajña*: *sahajja*, *ahijja*, *iṅgiajja*, *sujj*=*sujña*, in Ś. on the other hand, according to Vr. 12,8 only *savāṇṇa*, *iṅgidāṇṇa*, according to 12,7 in *vijña* and *yajña* optionally *ṇja*, according to Ki. 5,76 *ahijjo*, and *ahiṅco* optionally, according to 5,77 *paliṅcā*=*pratiṅjñā*. The correct reading in Vr. Ki. is wholly doubtful; presumably *jja* and *ṇa* should be permitted. The forms found in the texts are Ś. *anahiṇṇa*=*anabhijña* (Śak. 106,6; Mudrār. 59,1); *janṇa*=*yajña* (Śak. 142,3; Mālav. 70,15); *paṇṇā* (§220). In AMg., beside *ṇu*, *ṇu* (§105), *ṇa*, *ṇna* also are suitable for use: *samaṇṇna*=*samanujña* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5); *khejanna*=*khedajña* (Āyār. 1,1,4,2; 1,2,3,6; 1,2,5,3; 1,2,6,5; 1,3,1,3,4; 1,4,1,2; 1,5,6,3; Sūyag. 234 [°da°]. 304.565); *māyanna*=*mātrajña* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3; 1,7,3,2; 1,8,1,19; Dasav. 623,15; Uttar. 51); *kālanna*, *balanna*, *khaṇayanna*, *khananna*, *viṇṇayanna*, *samajanna*, *bhāvanna* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3; 1,7,3,2); *mejanna* (Uttar. 508); *panna*=*prajña* (Uttar. 33); *āsūpanna*=*āsūprajña* (Uttar. 181); *mahāpanna* (Uttar. 200); *maṇṇna*, *amaṇṇna*=*maṇojña*, *amanujña* (Āyār. 2,1,10,2,11,2; 2,4,2,6; p. 136,7 ff.; Sūyag. 390; Ovav. 53,87), but Ś. *maṇṇajja* (Mallikām. 195,5). So also AMg. *janna*=*yajña* (Uttar. 742), *janṇai*=*yajñakṛt* (Ovav.). In Mg. *jña* becomes *ñña* (H. 4, 293); *avaññā*=*avajñā*; *paññāvisāla*=*prajñāvisāla*; *savaññā*=*sarvajña*. Vr. Ki. Mk. do not have this rule, and the MSS write only *ṇa*. So: *janṇa*=*yajña* (Mṛcch. 171,11); *janṇaseṇi*=*yajñaseṇi* (Venis. 34,13); for which, according to Hc., should be written *yañña*, *yaññaseṇi*; *paṇṇāda*=*pratiṅjñāta* (Venis. 35,13); *viṇṇāda*=*vijñāta* (Mṛcch. 37.21), *viṇṇavia*=*vijñāpya* (Mṛcch. 138,25; 139,1) etc. The rule accredits *vaññadi*=\**vrajñāti* (§448), which the copyists did not change, as they did not recognize it. —In P. too *jña* becomes *ñña* (Hc. 4,303; Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12): *paññā*=*prajñā*; *saññā*=*saṃjñā*; *savaññā*=*sarvajña*; *ñña*=*jñāna*; *viññāna*=*vijñāna*; *yaññā*=*yajña*; *raññā*, *rañño*=*rājñā*, *rājñah* (Hc. 4,304) beside *rāciñā*, *rāciño* (§237.399) In Vr. 10,9.12 the MSS. give *ṇja*, *jja*, which will simply be an error for *ñña*.

§ 277. If the nasal standing behind a stop is *ma*, the sound-groups are differently treated. As a rule *gma* becomes *gga*: M.AMg. *jugga*=*yugma* (Bh. 3,2; Hc. 2,62; Ki. 2,51; Mk. fol. 19; Vivāhap. 275.362); *tigga*=*tigma* (Hc. 2,62); *vaggi*=*vāgmin* (Bh. 3,2); probably also *dōgga*=*yugma* (§215). Dialectically, however, it becomes *mma* as well: AMg. *jumma*=*yugma* (Hc. 6,62; Vivāhap. 1391 ff; 1666 ff; Ṭhāp. 275; Samav. 138); *timma*=*tigma* (Hc. 2,62). —*kma* becomes *ppa* Vr. 3,49; Hc. 2,52; Ki. 2,63; Mk. fol. 26); *ruppa*=*rukma* (Bh. 3,49; Ki. 2,63); AMg. *ruppi*=*rukmin*, by Hc. 2,52 equated as =*rucmiṇ* (Samav. 114.117.139.144.157.160; Ṭhāp. 75; Nāyadh. 781 ff.; Rāyap. 177); AMg. J.M.Ś. *ruppiṇi*=*rukmiṇi*

(Antag. 3,43; Nāyādh. 529; Nirayāv. 79; Paṅhāv. 292; Dvār. 497,31 ff.; 502,34;505,34; Pracandap. 18,15; Mālatim. 266,4 [so to be read]; Nāgān. 51,8 [v.l.=ed. Jibananda Vidyasagara 49,7, where, however, *rukkiṇi*]. — According to Hc. 2,52 *kuṭmala* forms in Pkt. *kumbala*, as also Pāiyāl. 54 has. Since beside it is found also *kuṭcala* (Deśin. 2,36; Pāiyāl. 54), that cannot go back to *kuṭmala* or *kuḍmala*, *kumbala* also becomes a dialectical form, that is to be added beside *kuṭmala*. At Mk. fol. 26 the manuscript has *kuppala*. — *ātman* becomes almost always in M., always in A *appa-* (Vr. 3,48; Kī. 2,63; G.H.R.)<sup>1</sup>, very rarely M. *atta-* in *attano* (G. 63,96; Karp. 82,2). The other dialects oscillates (Hc. 2,51; Mk. fol. 26). AMg. JM. have *appa-* and *atta-* beside one another even in compounds, as AMg. *ajjhappa-*=*adhyātman* (Āyār.1,5,4,5; Paṅhāv. 437); AMg. JM. *attaya*=*ātmaja* (Vivāhap. 795; Erz.), AMg. *attayā*=*ātmajā* (Nāyādh. 727.1228.1232); AMg. has also *āja-* for *\*āta-*, corresponding to JŚ. *āda-* (§88); by the side of it JŚ. has *appa-*; in Ś. Mg. only in the nomin. sing. *appa-* is frequent; in the other cases almost only *atta-*, accus. *attānaṃ*; Dh. has *appa-* (§401). The form occurring in the Girnār inscriptions, *āpta-*, which is not to be read<sup>2</sup> *ātpa-* with ASCOLI<sup>3</sup> and SENART<sup>4</sup>, shows that *appa-*, by the route *ātma-*, *\*ātva-* (§251.312), *\*ātpa*, *āpta*, has arisen by transposition of the stops, whilst *atta* is the regular continuation of *ātman*<sup>5</sup>. In *kma*=*ppa* must be added a transition step: *rukma*, *\*rutma*=*ruppa*. — *dma* becomes *mma*: *chamma*=*chadma* (Hc. 2,112) beside the usual form *chāūma* (§139); *ḥōmma*=*ḥādma* (§166.195) beside *ḥāūma* (§139).

1. At H. 201 in place of *attano*, as also the Bombay edition has, should be read *appano* with S., likewise at G. 90 with the best manuscript J. In M. probably *appano*, should be read *attano* everywhere. — 2. BHAGVANLĀL INDRAJĪ, IA. 10,105; FISCHEL, GGA.1881, p. 1317 f.; BÜHLER, ZDMG. 37,89. — 3. Kritische Studien p. 197, note 10. — 4. Piyadasi, 1,26 ff. — 5. FISCHEL, GGA. 1881, p. 1318.

§ 278. If nasals of different classes meet together, then *nma*, *ṇma* become *nma* (§269), *nma* becomes *mma* (Vr. 3,43; Hc. 2,61; Kī. 2,98; Mk. fol. 25), *nna* becomes *ṇna*, AMg. JM. JŚ. also *nna* (Vr. 3,44; Hc. 2,42; Mk. fol. 25): M. *ummoha*=*unmukha* (G.R.), *ummūla*=*unmūla* (H.), *ummūlaṇa*=*unmūlana* (R.), *jamma*=*janman* (H.R.); *mammaṇa*=*manmana* (Hc. 2,42); M. JM.A. *vammaha*=*manmatha* (§ 251); M. *ṇiṇṇa*=*nimna* (Hc. 2,42; G.), *ṇiṇṇā*=*nimnagā* (G.), AMg. *niṇṇa* (Vivāhap. 1244), *iṣiṇṇiṇṇayara*=*iṣannimnatara* (Vivāhap. 239), *ninnagā* (Paṅhāv. 440); M.Ś. *ḥajjuṇṇa*=*pradyumna* (Bh. 3,44; Hc. 2,42; Ratn. 295,26;296,5.17). In *dhṛṣṭdyumna*, according to Hc. 2,94 *nna* becomes *ṇa*: *dhṛṣṭhajuṇṇa* Ś. has *dhṛṣṭhajuṇṇa* (Pracandap. 8,19), Mg. *dhṛṣṭhajuṇṇa* (Venis. 35,19), for which should be read *dhṛṣṭhajuṇṇa*. If *dhṛṣṭhajuṇṇa* is not purely metri causa, it is perhaps to be equated to *\*dhṛṣṭārjuna*, as there occurs the synonym *arjuna* for *dyumna*.

§ 279. When a stop or nasal collides with a semi-vowel, as a rule the semi-vowel is assimilated, provided a separation-vowel is not inserted (§131-140). If the two semi-vowels collide together, usually the second is assimilated to the first. 1). One of the sounds is *ya* (Vr. 3,2; C. 3,2; Hc. 2,78; Kī. 2,51; Mk fol. 19): *kya*=*kka*: Ś. *cāṇakka*=*cāṇakya* (Mudrār. 53,8 ff.); *pārakka*=*pārakya* (Hc. 1,44;2,148); AMg. *vakka*=*vākya* (Hc. 2,174; Sūyag. 838.841.842.844; Uttar. 674.752; Dasav. 636,10 16; Dasav. N. 644,21;649,26.658,29.31;659,22.33); Ś. *sakka*=*śakya* (Ś.k 73,11;155,8; Vikr. 10,13;12,20;18,16;22,14;40,7). — *khya*=*kkha*: M. *akkhāna*=*ākhyanaka* (H.); AMg. *akkhāi*=*ākhāti* (§491);

Ś. *vakkhāṇaiṣsam* = \**vyākhyāṇaiṣyāmi* = *vyākhyāṣye* (Viddhaś. 63,3, Rukmiṇīp. 19,3); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. A.; *so kkhā* = *saukhya* (§ 61<sup>a</sup>). On AMg. *āghāvei* see § 88.551. — *gya* = *gga*: M.; *jo gga* = *yogya* (G.H.R.), AMg. JM. *veragga* = *vairāgya* (Ovav.; Erz.); M. *sohagga* = *saubhāgya* (G.H.R.). — *cya* = *cca*: AMg. *cuya* = *cyuta* (Āyār. 1,1,1,3; Kappas.).; M. *muccai* = *mucyate* (G.); AMg. *uccai*, Ś. Mg. *vuccadi* = *ucyate* (§ 544). — *jya* = *jja*: M. *jujai* = *jujyate* (H.), *bhujjanta* = *bhujyamāna* (G.); *rajji* = *rājya* (H.R.). — *tya* = *tt*: *naṭṭaa* = *nātyaka* (Mṛcch. 70,3); M. *tuṭṭai* (Hc. 4,116), M. A. *tuṭṭai* (§ 292) = *tru tyati*; M. *lōṭṭai* = *lutyati* (Hc. 4,146; Karp. 39,3). — *dya* = *dda*: *kudda* = *kudya* (Hc. 2,78; H.); AMg. *piḍḍai* = *piḍyate* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4). — *dhya* = *ddha* = *ādhyā* (G.); Sūyag. 957; Uvās.; Ovav.; Niraṣyāv.).; AMg. JM. *vejadḍha* = *vaitādhyā* (§ 60). — *pya* = *ppa*: AMg. *apye* = *apyeke*, *appagaiyā* = \**apyekeatyāh* = Pāli *appakacce* (§ 174); M. *kuppai* = *kupyati* (H.G.), *suppall* = *supyatiām* (H.). — *bhya* = *bbha*: M. *abbhantara* = *abhyantara* (G.H.R.); Ś. Mg. *abbhuvaṇṇa* = *abhyupapanna* (§ 163); AMg. JM. *ibbha* = *ibhya* (Thān. 414.526; Paṇhāv. 319; Nāyādh. 547.1231; Vivāgas. 82; Ovav.; Erz.). On *d* for *jy* see § 215.

§ 280. In conjunction with dentals *y* is assimilated only after it has palatalized the preceding dental. Thus *tya* becomes *cca* (Vr. 3,27; Hc. 2,13; Ki. 2,32; Mk. fol. 23), *thya* = *ccha* (Vr. 3,27; Hc. 2,21; Ki. 2,92; Mk. fol. 23), *dya* = *jja* (Vr. 3,27; Hc. 2,24; Ki. 2,22; Mk. fol. 23), *dhya* = *jja* (Vr. 3,28; Hc. 2,26; Ki. 2,87; Mk. fol. 23). — *tya* = *cca*: M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *accanta* = *atyanta* (§ 163); M. *naccai* = *nṛtyati* (Vr. 8,47; Hc. 4,225; H.); M. *dōcca* = *dautya* (H.); AMg. *vejāvacca* = *vaiyāpṛtya* (Ovav.); M. *sacca satya* (G.H.). — *thya* = *ccha*: M. Ś. *nevaccha*, AMg. JM. *nevaccha* = *nepathya*<sup>1</sup> (G.R.; Vkr. 75,14; Ratn. 309,16 [°*ttha*]; Mālatīm. 206,7; 234,3 [both the times °*ttha*]; Pras. 41,7; Mālav. 33,18; 36,3; 38,3; 73,17; 74,17 [throughout °*ttha*]; Priyad. 27,18; 28,1,4; Viddhaś. 30,8; 120,11 [both the times °*ttha*]; Rukmiṇīp. 37,15; 41,11 [°*cca*]; 42,5; 43,5,9; Āyār. 2,15,18 [°*ttha*]; Vivāgas. 234; Paṇhāv. 240.459 [both the times °*ttha*]; Thān. 238 [°*ttha*]; Nāyādh. § 117 [°*ttha*]; Ovav.; Āv. 27,17; Erz.), AMg. JM. also *nevacchiya* (Vivāgas. 111; Paṇhāv. 196 [both the texts °*tthiya*]; Āv. 28,5) = \**nepathyita*; JM. *nevaccheṭṭā* (absol.; Āv. 26,27) = AMg. *paccha* = *pathya* (Grr.; Kaopas.); M. Ś. *raccā* = *rathya* (G.H.; Mṛcch. 2,20; Karp. 20,4; 30,7). — *dya* = *jja*: PG. *ajātāye* = *adyatvāya* (§ 253); M. *ajja* = *adya* (G.H.R.); M. *ujjāna* = *udyāna* (G.R.), *chijjai* = *chidyate* (R.), *vijjujjoa* = *vidyuddya* (G. 907); M. JM. Ś. *vējja* = *vaidya* (§ 60). — *dhya* = *jja*: M. Ś. *uvajjhāa*, AMg. JM. *uvajjhāya* = *upādhyāya* (§ 155); M. *majjha* = *madhya* (G.H.R.); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *vimjha* = *vindhya* (§ 269); M. JM. Ś. *saṃjhā* = *sandhyā* (§ 269). In Mg. *dya* becomes *yya* corresponding to § 236 (Hc. 4,292; Ki. 5,90; Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12): *ayya* = *adya*; *avayya* = *avadya*; *mayyi* = *madya*; *vivyāhala vidyādhara*. Corresponding to this *dhya* must become *yyha*, therefore, e.g. *madhyamādna* becomes *mayyhanṇa* (§ 148.214.236). The MSS. write throughout *jja*, *jja*, as in the rest of the dialects; so also Latitav. 566,11 *jujja* = \**yudhya* = *yuddha* = M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *jujja* (G.H.); Bālar. 180,5; Nāyādh. 1311.1313; Erz.; Lalitav. 568,4; Bālar. 246,5; Jivān. 86,10; Hc. 4,386). The separation-vowel *i* does not hinder palatalization: AMg. *ciyatta* from \**tiyākta* = *tyakta* (Thān. 528 [text *bi*°]; Kappas. § 117; cf. § 134), absol. *ciccā*, *cēccā*, *ciccāna* *cēccāna* = \**tiyakoā*, \**tiiktvā*, \**tiiktvā* = *tyaktvā* (§ 587), quite like *cayāi* = *tyajati* (Hc. 4,86; Uttar. 902; Dasav. 638,18), *cayanli* = *tyajanti* (Āyār. 1,4,3,1; 1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 100 [cī°]. 174), *cae* = *tyajet* (Āyār. 1,5,4,5), *cayāhi* = *tyaja* (Āyār. 1,6,1,5), *caissanti* = *tyakanti*

Sūyag. 361 ), *catta*=*tyakta* ( Āyār. 2,15,23,24 ), JM. *cāi*=*tyāgī* ( KJ; 5 ). AMg. *jhiyāi*=*dhyāti*, as M. *jhāi* (§479).

1. As the text shows, not only the Jaina-MSS., which steadily interchange *cha* and *ttha*, but also the MSS. of the dramas particularly very often write *ttha* in this word. The v.l. has throughout the only correct form *ṣvaccha*.

§ 281. D. *dakḥhiṇṭatī*=*dākṣiṇṭyāh* (Mṛcch. 103,5) forms an exception to §280. See §26. Further AMg. *ghatta* (Sūyag. 964), *aghatta* (Sūyag. 969,983), provided these cases, with the scholiasts, are to be equated as =*ghātya*, *aghātya*. Yet *ghatta* may also be equated as =*ghātd* according to §90, with a change of gender according to §357, which is more probable. Other cases too are simply apparent exceptions. *caitta* (Hc. 1,151;2,13; Mk. fol. 203) is not =*caitya*<sup>1</sup>, but =*caitra*, in the sense of *caitya* (B-R. s.v. *caitra*). — In M. *paṭṭai*, AMg. JM. *paṭṭiyāi*, Ś. Mg. *paṭṭiāadi* (§487) =*paṭṭiyāti* and AMg. *putteya*=*pratyeka* (Hc. 2,210; Āyār. 1,1,6,2;1,2,1,5; Sūyag.28.783; Jiv. 44.47.436.478 ff.; Paṇṇāv. 30.32.35.40; Rāyap. 68.124.126.134.139.152 ff.; Nāyādh. §42; p. 1268; Ovav.; Kappas. ), *paṭṭeyabuddha*=*pratyekabuddha* (Nandīs. 245; Paṇṇāv. 19) *paṭṭi* =*\*parati*, *\*parti* with separation-vowel is from *prati* (§132). *prati* and *\*parti* may, therefore, be compared with *πορι*' and *πορι*'<sup>2</sup>. AMg. *ṣvattiyam* (Ovav.) is not, with LEUMANN<sup>3</sup>, to be equated as =*pratyayam*, but as =*vṛtīkam*. On AMg. *paḍucca*, *paḍuppanna* etc. see §163. — AMg. JŚ. *tacca* (Hc. 2,21; Uvās.; Kappas.; Kattig. 400,324) is not with Hc. and the commentary to be equated as =*tathya*, but with WEBER<sup>4</sup> and HOERNLE<sup>5</sup> as =*tattva*, more correctly through the intermediate step *\*tāttya* (§299). *tathya* with the separation-vowel becomes in AMg. *tahija*=*\*tathija*; it sometimes stands beside *tacca*, as *taccānam tahiyānam* (Nāyādh. 1006; Uvās. §85), *taccēhiṇṭ tahiehiṇṭ* (Uvās. §220.259). — *sāmattha* beside *sāmaccha* (Hc. 2,22) is not = *sāmarthya*, but presupposes a *\*sāmartha*. — M. *kutthasi*, *kutthasu*=*kvathyase*, *kvathyasva* (H. 401) is a false reading (cf. the v.l.) for *kaḍḍhasi*, *kaḍḍhasu* passive of *kaḍḍhai*=*kvathati* (§221).

1. With Hc., WEBER, ZDMG. 28,403; on Hāla<sup>2</sup> 216. — 2. FISCHER on Hc. 2,210. Cf. HOERNLE, Uvās. s.v. *paṭṭiya*. Deviating BOLLENSON on Vikr. p. 331 f.; WEBER on Hāla<sup>2</sup> 216; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 64. — 3. Aup. S. s.v. — 4. Bhag. 1,398, note 2. — 5. Uvās. Translation p. 127, note 281.

§ 282. *y* is assimilated to a nasal: *nya*, *nya* become *ṇṇa*; in AMg. JM. JŚ. it is written also *nna*; in Mg. (Hc.4,293; Nāmisādhū on Rudrāṭa, Kāvym-ākāra 2,12), P. CP. (Hc.4,305) they become *ñṇa*. So M. *dakḥhiṇṇa*=*dākṣiṇya* (G.H.R.), *puṇṇa*=*puṇya* (H.R.); AMg. *hiraṇṇa*=*hiranya* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3; 2,15,10.12.17.18; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.), Mg. *sahilaṇṇa*=*sahiranya* (Mṛcch. 21,9); AMg. *pinṇāga*=*pinṇāka* (Āyār. 2,1,8,8; Sūyag. 926.928.931; Dasav. 623,7), *paṇṇa*=*paṇya* (Sūyag. 921); M. Ś. Mg. *aṇṇa*, AMg. JM. *anna*=*anya*; M. *nāsa*=*nyāsa* (H.), *viṇṇāsa*=*vinyāsa* (G.); M. Ś. *maṇṇe*=*maṇye* (§457); M. Ś. *sēṇṇa*=*sainya* (G.R.; Adbhutad.56,6.19). — Mg. *abamhañṇa*=*abrahmanya*; *puñṇa*=*puṇya*; *ahimañṇu*=*abhimanyu* (cf. §283); *añṇadiśam*=*anyadiśam*; *kañṇakā*=*kanyakā*; *sāmañṇa*=*sāmānya*; (Hc.; Nāmisādhū). The MSS. of the dramas have only *ṇṇa*. — P. *puñṇa*=*puṇya*; *abhimāñṇu*=*abhimanyu*; *kañṇakā*=*kanyakā* (Hc.). According to Vr. 10,10 in P. *kanyā* becomes *kañjā*, according to 12,7 in Ś. *bhāhmanya* becomes *bamhaṇṇa* or *bamhañica*, *kanyā* becomes *kaṇṇā* or *kañcā*. The reading in Vr. and Kī. is very doubtful. In Ś. we find in the texts *bamhaṇṇa* (Mṛcch.89,12), *abbamhaṇṇa*=*abrāhmanya* (Śak. 142,8.14; Vikr. 84,13; Kārṇas. 10,3;33,10); *kaṇṇā* (Śak. 30,3;71,3 [so to be read]; 134,8; Mālatim. 73,8;80,1 [so to be read]; 223,1;243,1 [so to be read]; Mudrār. 40,6 [so to be read]; Ratn. 299,6; Nāgān. 10,14 [°kā]; 11,1,10

etc.); in Mg. Mudrār. 193,3;194,6 [ so to be read]. -*mya* becomes *mma*, after a long vowel *ma*: M. *kilammai*, Ś. *kilammadi*=*klāmyati* (§136); M. *tāmai*=*tāmyati* (H.), Ś. *uttamma*=*uttāmya* (Śak. 19,8), *uttammia*=*uttamyā* (Śak. 56,9); so *mma*, AMg. JM. *soma*=*saumya* (61<sup>a</sup>); Ś. *kāmāe*=*kāmyayā* (Mṛcch. 49,14).

§ 283. *abhimanyu* becomes, according to Vr. 3,17; Ki. 2,70; Mk. fol. 21, *ahimajju*, according to Hc. 2,25 *ahimajju*, *ahimañju*, *ahimañnu*. Ś. has *ahimañnu* (Mk.fol.68; Venis. 64,16, likewise Mg. Venis. 34,12), for which *ahimaññu* should stand according to §282. Beside M.Ś. *mañnu* (H.R.; Venis. 9,19;11,15;12,1;61,22) according to Hc. 2,44 for *manyu* is used also *mantu*. This appears several times in the Telugu recension of Hāla as a.v.l. for *mañnu*<sup>1</sup>. According to Pāiyāl. 165 *mantu* means "bashfulness", "unpleasantness", the meanings that in Deśin.6,141 are evidently given to the connected word *mantakkha*. Skt. too has *mantu*<sup>2</sup>, which according to the form, is compared with *kantu* (love; Deśin. 2,1).

1. WEBER on Hāla 683.— 2. BÜHLER, Pāiyāl. s.v.

§ 284. *yya* becomes *jja* (Vr. 3,17; Hc. 2,24; Ki. 2,70; Mk. fol. 21): M.AMg. JM. *śējā*=*śayyā* (§101), in Mg. P. CP. *yya* (§252).— *rya* becomes in all the dialects, other than Mg., *jja* (Vr. 3,1; C. 3,15; Hc. 2,24; Ki. 2,89; Mk.fol.21): M. *ajja*=*ārya*(G.) *ajjā*=*āryā*(H.), *kajja*=*kārya*(G.H.) *majjā*=*maryādā*(H.R.). In S.Mg. according to Hc.4,266.302 *rya* can become *jja* or *yya*: Ś. *ayyāutta* *ṭayyākulikada* *mhi*=*āryaputra* *ṭaryākulikṛtāsmi*; *suyya*=*sūrya*; beside *ajja*=*ārya*; *ṭajjāula*=*ṭaryākula*; *kajjaṭaravaśa*=*kāryaṭaravaśa*; Mg. *ayya*=*ārya*. The writing *yya* is found only sometimes in the South Indian MSS. Mostly they write, however, in place of the ligature a small circle: *oō*=*ārya*; *ṭoōvathāḥvehi*=*ṭaryavasthāpaya*; *suōya*=*sūrya*, an orthographic device which may either permit of a choice between the pronunciations *jja* and *yya*<sup>1</sup> or express an intermediate sound between the two sound-groups. The circle, as rightly remarked by MÜLLER<sup>2</sup>, has the same value as the peculiar ligature of the Jaina MSS. which WEBER<sup>3</sup> wished to read as *yya*, which, however, with JACOBI<sup>4</sup>, and E. MÜLLER<sup>5</sup>, is read as *jja*. Probably it betokens a sound intermediate between both. Hc.'s rule will, therefore, be explained by the pronunciation of the Jains. The MSS. of the dramas write in both the dialects *jja*. Right is *jja* for Ś., *yya* for Mg. which are prescribed by Vr. 11,7: *kayya*=*kārya*, and is offered by Lalitav.: *ṭayyāṃde*=*ṭaryante* (565,7), *avayyāṃdadā*=*āṭaryantatā* (565,12). Instead of *jja* there occurs after *i*, *ū*, except the sound-group, which arise through the partition vowel, *ria*, *riya* (§134), also *ra*, therefore, elision of *y* according to §87 (Vr. 3,18,19; Hc. 2,63; Ki. 2,79; Mk. fol. 22): M. *gambhīra*=*gāmbhīrya*(R.); M.AMg. JM. S.A. *tūra*=*tūrya* (Grr.; G.H.R.; Āyār. p. 128,32; Erz.; Vikr. 56,5; Mahāv. 121,7; Venis.23,11;64,2;73,16; Bālar. 147,18;200,10; Piṅgala 1,15); M. *soḍṭira*=*śauḍṭīrya* (Mk.; R.), Ś. *soḍṭirattana* (Karp. 30,7), *soḍṭira*=*śauḍṭīrya* (Hc.; Mallikām. 146,6), *soḍṭiradā* (Mṛcch. 54,4;74,12). So especially in the passive, as *ṭirai*=*ṭiryate*, M. JM. *ṭirai*, *ṭirae*=*ṭiryate*, M. JM. *ḥirai*=*ḥiriyate* (§537), M. AMg. JM. *ḥirai*=*ḥiriyate* (§547)<sup>6</sup>. The word *sūra*, Mg. *śāla* frequent in all the dialects, is to be derived with Hc. 2,64 from *sūra*. In P., necessarily according to Vr. 10,8, sometimes according to Hc. 4,314, the partition-vowel comes in *bhāriā*=*bhāryā*. Hc. has also *sujja*=*sūrya*, for which \**suyya* was expected, and *ḥirate* for \**ḥiryate*=*ḥiriyate* (4,316).— *kacca* (business; Deśin. 2,2) is not=*kārya*, but=*kṛtya*.

1. FISCHEL, GN. 1873, p. 208; Monatsberichte der Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1875, p. 615 f. — 2. Beiträge p. 12.— 3. Bhag. 1,388 f. — 4. Kalpa-sūtra p. 18 note 1. — 5. Beiträge p. 12 f. — 6. Falsely JACOBI, KZ. 28,250.



§ 285. Like simple *ra* (§256.257), sometimes even *r*, that is in conjunction with *y*, is changed into *l*, to which *y* is assimilated: JM. *paḷāṇa*=*paryāṇa* (Hc. 2,68; Ki. 2,80; Mk. fol. 20; Erz.). whilst AMg. *paḍāyāṇa* is=*pratyādāna* (§258); *soamalla*=*saukumārya* ( Vr. 3,21; Hc. 2,68; Ki. 2,80; Mk. fol. 22; cf. §123). M. *paḷaṅka* ( Vr. 3,21; C. 3,22; Ki. 2,80; Mk. fol. 22; G.; Karp. 36.3) can, like AMg. *paḷiyāṅka* (§257) with Hc. 2,68, be derived from Skt. *palyaṅka*, if it itself is not a Prākritic bye-from of *paryāṅka*. In *pallaṭṭa* (Hc. 2,68), Ś. *paḷlattha* ( Vr. 3,21; Hc. 2,68; Ki. 2,80; Mk. fol. 22; Bālar. 243,11; Veniś. 60,10; 65,13; Mallikām. 26,18;57,9;125,6;135,16;195,3; Rukminīp. 29,8), M.AMg.Ś. *paḷhattha* ( Hc. 4,258; Triv. 3,1,132; G.R. s.v. *as*; Kappas; Mrcch. 41,20; Mālatim. 118,3;260,5), M. *vivalhattha*, Ś. *vipaḷhattha* (Uttarar. 63,13 [text °*nha*°]; 92,10 [text °*nha*°]) and their denominatives *paḷlaṭṭai*, *paḷhatthai* (Hc. 4,26,200; G.R. s.v. *as*), AMg. *paḷhatthiya* (Pāiyal. 201; Vivāhap. 282.284; Nāyādh. 1326; Uttar. 29), which are derived by the grammarians, scholiasts and all the moderns<sup>1</sup> from *as* (to throw) with *paṛi*, two roots are to be referred to. *pallaṭṭa* and *paḷlattha* are=*paryasta* (§308), *paḷhattha*, on the contrary=*\*prahlata* is from *hlaś*=*hras* with *pra*; cf. *nirhrasta*, *nirhrasita*. M. *paḷhattharaṇa* (R. 11,108) is a false reading for *paḷcattharaṇa*, as CK have=*\*pratyāstarāṇa*; cf. *pratyāstāra* (carpet).

1. WEBER, Bhag. I,409, note 2; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 521; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 45,64; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho s.v. 2 *as*; Sh. P. PAṆḌIT, Gauḍavaho s.v. *as*; JACOBI, Kalpasūtra s.v. *paḷhattha*; JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,454 f.; HOERLE, Comp. Gr. §137.143.

§ 286. *lya* becomes *lla*: M. *kalla*=*kalya* (G.H.); M. *kullāhi tullā*=*kulyābhis tulyāh* (Karp. 44,6); M.AMg. JŚ. Ś. *mulla*, AMg. JM. *mōlla*=*mūlya* (§83.127).—*vya* becomes *vva*: M. *vavasāa*=*vyavasāya* (G. R.), *vāha*=*vyādha* (G. H.), *kavva*=*kāvya* (G.H.R.); and the participia *necess. in-tavya*, as AMg. JM. *hojavya*, Ś.Mg. *hodavya*. JŚ.Ś. *bhavidavya*, Mg. *huvidavya*=*bhavitavya* (§570). AMg. *pitijja* (Kappas.) is not=*pitrya*<sup>1</sup>, but=*\*pitrya*. AMg. *pūha* (Nāyādh. §18; p.331.353.845; Ovas.) is not=*vyūha*<sup>2</sup>, but=*\*pyūha* for *\*apyūha* from *ūh* with *api* (§142). *pp* in some passive, which P. GOLDSCHMIDT<sup>3</sup> and S. GOLDSCHMIDT<sup>4</sup> wish to explain from *vy*, which WEBER<sup>5</sup> earlier regarded as erroneously written *yy*, JACOBI<sup>6</sup> and according to him JOHANSSON<sup>7</sup> wished to derive from false analogy, has regularly arisen from *py*, M. JM.AMg.A. *ghēppai* is=*\*grhpyate* for *\*grbhate*=*grhyate* (§212.548). JM. *āḍhappai* (Hc.4,254; Āv.12,21) beside *ādhavai* (Hc.4,254) and M. *viḍhappai* ( Hc. 4,251; R. ) beside *viḍhavijjai* ( Hc. 4,251) are regular passive from *āḍhavai* ( Hc. 4,155; Ki. 4,46) and *viḍhavai* ( Hc. 4,108), the causatives from *dhā* (§553) with cerebralization according to §223. The past passive participle M.AMg. JM. *āḍhatta*, M. *samāḍhatta* M. JM.Ś. *viḍhatta*, A. *viḍhattai* (§565) may be derived from the causative, so that *āḍhatta* would be=*\*āḍhapta*, like *ānatta*=*ājñapta*; they are probably better derived from the present stem (§565)<sup>8</sup>.—*sippai*=*smihyate* and *sicyate* ( Hc. 4,255), M. *sippanta-* ( v.l. to H.185 ) belongs to *simpai* (Hc. 4,96), which is related to Marāṭhī *simṇem*, Gujarāṭī *simṇum*<sup>9</sup> and presupposes a root *\*sip*, which was parallel to *sic* from *\*sik*. This is, therefore, a case of interchange of gutturals and labials (§215). To *\*sip* belongs M. AMg. Ś. *sippi* (conch; Hc. 2,138; Mk. fol. 40; H.R.; Karp. 2,4; Viddhaś. 63,8; Uvās.; Bālar. 195,9;264,3; Viddhaś. 108,2)=Pāli *sippi*, Marāṭhī *śipa*, *śimpa*, Gujarāṭī *śipa*, Hindi *śipi*, *śipa*, Sindhi *śipa*<sup>10</sup>.—*vāhippai* ( Hc. 4,253), JM. *vāhippantu* (Āv. 38,6), which is derived, with Hc. 4,253 from *vhr*, is=*vyāhriyate*, is rather=*vyākṣipyate* with a somewhat more special meaning than in Skt., as *samākṣip* occasionally has in Skt. As a proof we

have M. *nihippantā-* (R. 8,97) = *niksīpyamāna*, which is wrongly derived from *vdhā* by S. GOLDSCHMIDT. From this may be derived M. *nihitta*, AMg. JM. *nihitta* ( Bh. 3,58; Hc. 2,99; Ki. 2,112; Mk. fol. 27; G.R.; Karp. 2,5; Vivāhap. 116; Erz.), A. *nihittai* ( Hc. 4,395,2 ) and M.AMg. JM. *vāhitta* ( Hc. 1,128; 2,99; Pāyā. 247; H.; Uttar. 29; Āv. 38,6)<sup>11</sup> = *niksīpta*, *vyākṣipta*. Possible is also, however, the explanation from *nihita*, *vyāhṛta* according to §194. — Hitherto several forms with *pp* have been falsely regarded as passive, which are so according to neither their form nor their meaning. *khuppai* ( sinks; immerses; Vr. 8,68; Hc. 4,101; Ki. 4,51 ), M. *khuppantā-* ( R. ), past passive participle M.AMg. *khutta* ( R.; Pañhāv. 201 ), explained by S. GOLDSCHMIDT<sup>12</sup> from *\*khuvyai* and derived from *khu* = *khan*, is = *\*kṣupya* from *Vkṣupa avasādane*, *sāde* ( WESTERGAARD, Radices p. 333). — *juppai* ( yokes; Hc. 4,109 ) is = *yuppyati* from *yupa ekikarane*, *samīkarane* ( B.-R. s.v. ), with which may be compared AMg. *juvala*, *juvalaya*, *juvaliṃya* (§231). — M. *pahuppai* ( Hc. 3,142; 4,63; Mk. fol. 53; G.H.R. ), which has been explained by WEBER<sup>1</sup> as a deponentially used passive of *bhū* with *pra*, is a denominative from *prabhutva* = *\*prabhutrati* “exercises authority”; “is able to”; “is in a position to”. This is borne out by A. *paḥuccai* ( Hc. 4,390.491 ), which presupposes a *\*prabhutyati* with the phonetic change discussed in §299. So too M. *ohuppantā-* ( R. 3,18 ) = *\*apabhutvant-*. The scholiasts explain it by *ākramyamāna* and *abhibhūyamāna*. It belongs to *ohivai* = *\*apibhāvati* = *\*apabhāvayati* in the sense of *ākramati* ( Hc. 4,160 ), from which spring also *ohāta*, *ohāmai*, *ohāmiṃya* (§261) and *ohua* ( overcome; Deśin. 1,158 ) = *\*apabhūta*. — M. *appīhai* ( entrusts; Hc. 4,180 ), *appāhei*, *appāhēnta-*, *appāheum*, *appāhijjai*, *appāhia* ( H.R. ), which S. GOLDSCHMIDT<sup>14</sup> artificially derives from an impossible *\*āvāhṛta*, and WEBER<sup>15</sup> doubtfully equates as = *har* + *abhyā*, is regularly = *\*āprāthayati* from *pratha prakhyāne* ( Dhātupāṭha 32,19 ); cf. *viprathayati*, *saṃprathita*.

1. JACOBI, Kalpasūtra s.v.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 17,35. — 2. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. with the scholiasts. — 3. GN. 1874, p. 512 f. — 4. ZDMG. 29,491 ff.; Prakṛtica p. 3,13 note 1, 17 f. — 5. ZDMG. 28,350; Hāla<sup>2</sup> p. 64; cf. IS. 14,92 f. — 6. KZ. 28, 249 ff. — 7. KZ. 32,446 ff.; where occur further literary details. — 8. The derivation from *rah* is linguistically impossible. — 9. FISCHER on Hc. 4,96 — 10. FISCHER on Hc. 2,138. — 11. Cf. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 513 note; JACOBI, Erz. s.v. *nihitta*. — 12. Prakṛtica p. 17 f.; against it JOHANSSON, KZ. 32, 448, note 1. — 13. On Hāla 7. — 14. Rāvaṇavaho s.v. — 15. Hāla s.v.

§287. II) One of the sounds is *r* ( Vr. 3,3; C. 3,9; Hc. 2,79; Ki. 2,50; Mk. fol. 19 ); *rka* = *kka*: M. *akka* = *arka* ( G. ); AMg. *kakkejana* = *karketana* ( Ovav.; Kappas. ); Ś. *taktemi* = *tarkayāmi* (§ 490). On M. *kaṅkoḍa*, *kaṅkoḷa* beside M.AMg. *kakkoḷa* = *karkoḷa* see §74. — *kra* = *kka*: A. *kijjai* = *kriyate* (§547); M. *caḅka* = *caḅkra* ( G. ), *vikkama* = *vīkrama* ( G. ). On M.AMg. JM. A. *vamka* = *vakra* see §74. — *rka* = *kka*: Ś.Mg. *mukkha* = *mūrka* (§139). — *rga* = *gga*; Ś. *niggamagga* = *nīrgamamārga* ( Lalitav. 567,24 ); M. *duggama durgama* ( G.R. ), *vagga* = *varga* ( G.H.R. ). — *gra* = *gga*: P. G. *gāmāgāmabhōjake* = *grāmāgrāmabhōjokān* ( 5,4 ), *gāme* = *grāme* ( 6,28 ), *gahaṇam* = *grahaṇam* ( 6,31.33.34 ), *nigaha* = *nīgraha* ( 7,41 ); M. *gaha* = *graha* ( G.H.R. ); AMg. JM. *naggoḅha*, *ṅaggoḅha* = *nyagrodha* ( C. 3,9; Āyār. 2,1,8,5,7; Jiv. 46; Pañnav. 31; Vivāhap. 41[ni°]. 1530; Kappas. §212[*text ni°*]; see also the v.l.]; Āv. 48,25; Erz. ); AMg. JŚ. *niggantha* = *nīrgantha* ( e.g. Āyār. 2,15,29; p. 132,4.6.15 ff.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Kattig. 404,386 ). — *rgḅ* = *ggha*: M. *nigghāna* = *nīrghṛṇa* ( H. ), *nigghosa* = *nīrghoṣa* ( R. ), Ś.Mg. *digghā* = *dīrghikā* (§ 87). — *ghra* = *ggha*: *āigghai* = *ājighrati*, *jigghia* = *\*jighṛita*, M.AMg. *agghai* = *āghrāti*, *agghāia* = *\*āghrāyita* (§408). — *vca* = *cca*: M. *accā* = *arcā* ( G. ); JM.Ś.D. *kucca*

=*kūrca* (Erz.; Śak. 134,4; Karp. 22,8; D. Mṛcch. 104,7); Ś. *caccarī carcarī* (Ratn. 293,17,18). — *rch=cch*: M. *mucchā=mūrchā* (R.). — *chra=ccha*: Ś. *samucchida=samucchrita* (Mṛcch. 68,15). — *ria=ija*: M. *ajjuna=arjuna* (G.), *gajja=garjita* (G.H.R.), *jajjara=jarjara* (G.H.), *bhua* (birch; Deśin. 6,106) is not=*bhūrja*, but=*bhuja* (Vaijayanti 48,89), therefore, M. *bhuavattā* (G. 641)=*\*bhujapattra*. In Mg. *rya* becomes *yya* (Vr. 11,7; Hc. 4,292); *ayyuna=arjuna*; *kayya=kārya*; *gayyadi=garjati*; *gunavayyida=gunavarjita*; *duyyana=durjana*. The MSS. of the dramas have only *ija*, thus *kajja* (Mṛcch. 126,6; 139,23); *dujja* (Mṛcch. 115,23). — *jra=ija*: M. *vajja=vajra* (G.H.R.). — *rjha=rjha*: M. *nijjhara=nirjhara* (G.H.). — *rṇa=ṇa*: M. *kanna=kāṇa* (G.H.R.), *cuṇa=cūrṇa* (G.H.R.). *vaṇa=varṇa* (G.H.). *karnikāra* can, beside *kanniāra*, form also *kaniāra* (Bh. 3,58, Hc. 2,95; Kī. 2,114; Mk. fol. 27). So AMg. *kaniyāra* (Āyār. p. 128,28), A. *kaniāra* (Hc. 4,396,5). The form shows accentuation on the final=*\*karnikārā*. On *kaṇera* see §258. A *cūra* (Hc. 4,337) is not=*cūrṇa*, which too becomes in A. *cuṇa* (Hc. 4,395,2), but=*\*cūrya*. — *rpa=ppa*: M. *kuppāra*, AMg. *kōppara* (§127); M. *kuppāsa=kurpāsa* (G.H.), *dappa=d.rpa* (G.H.R.). — *pra=ppa*: PG. *amhapesaṇappayuttā=asmattṛesaṇaprayuktān* (5,6), *appatihata=apratihata* (6,10), *satasahasappadāyino=śatasahasrapradāyinaḥ* (6,11), *patibhāgo=pratibhāgaḥ* (6,12 e.c.) etc.; M. *piā=priya* (G.H.R.) *appiā=apriya* (H.). — *rba=bbā*: AMg. *kabbaḍa=karbaḍa* (Āyār. 1,7,6,4; 2,1,2,6; Sūyag. 684; Thān. 347; Paṇhāv. 175. 246. 406. 486; Nāyādh. 1278; Uttar. 891; Vivāhap. 40,295; Ovav.; Kappas.); Ś. *ṇibbandha=nirbandha* (Mṛcch. 5,4; Śak. 51,14); M. *dōbballa=daurbalya* (G.H.R.). — *bra=bbā*: PG. *bamhaṇāṇam=brāhmaṇāṇam* (6,8. 27. 30. 38), AMg. JM. *bambhaṇa* (§250), Ś. Mg. *bamhaṇa* (e.g. Mṛcch. 4,16. 18. 21. 24; 5,5; 6,2; Mg. Mṛcch. 45,17; 121,10; 127,4; Śak. 113,7); Ś. *abbamhaṇa=abrāhmaṇya* (§282). — *rbha=bbha*: M. *gabha=garbha* (G.H.R.), *ṇibbhara=nirbhara* (G.H.R.); Ś. *dubbhējja=durbhedyā* (Mṛcch. 68,19). — *bhra=bbha*: PG. *bhātukāṇa=bhātṛkāṇam* (6,18); M. *ṇaribbhamāi=ṇaribhramati* (G.H.), *bhamara=bhramara* (G.H.R.). — *rma=mma*: AMg. *ummā=ūrmi* (Ovav.; Kappas.); PG. M. *dhamma=dharma* (5,1; G.H.R.), PG. *dhamāyubala°=dharmāyurbala°* (6,9), *sivakhaṇḍavāmo=śivaskandavarmā* (5,2), Ś. *dummaṇussa=durmaṇusya* (Mṛcch. 18,8; 40,14). — *mra=mma*: M. *dhummakka=dhūmrākṣa* (R.); AMg. *makkhei=mraḥṣayati* (Āyār. 2,2,3,8), *makkhējja=mraḥṣayet* (Āyār. 2,13,4). — *rla=lla*: M. *ṇillajja=nirilajja* (H.R.), *dullaha=durlabha* (H.). — *rva=va*: PG. *savvattha=sarvatra* (5,3), *puvavadattam=pūrvadattam* (6,12,28); M. *puva=pūva*, *sava=sarva* (G.H.R.). — *vra=vva*: Ś. *pārivvājja=parivrajaka* (Mṛcch. 41,5,7,10,17); M. *vaa=vraja* (H.); AMg. *vīhi=vrīhi* (Āyār. 2,10,10; Sūyag. 682; Thān. 134; Vivāhap. 421,1185; Jīv. 356). On *rya* see §284,285.

§ 288. In conjunction with dentals *r* may be regularly assimilated. *rtā=ttā*: PG. *nivātāṇam=nivartanam* (6,38); M. *āvatta=āvarta* (G.R.), *kittī=kīrti* (G.R.; cf. §83); Dh. *dhutta=dhūrta* (Mṛcch. 30,12; 32,7; 34,25; 35,1; 36,23); M. *muhutta=muhūrta* (H.R.). — *tra=ttā*: PG. *gotṭasa=gotrasya* (6,9 etc.); M. *kalattā=kalātra* (H.R.), *cittā=citra*, *ṇatta=ṇatra*, *sattu=satru* (G.H.). — *rtha=ttā*: M. *attha=artha* (G.H.R.), *ṇatthiva=ṇārthiva* (G.R.), *sattha=sārtha* (G.H.R.), *samattha=samartha* (H.R.). — *rda=dda*: PG. *balivadda=balivardā* (6,33); M. *kaddama=kardama* (G.H.R.), *daddura=dardura* (G.), *duddiṇa=durdina* (G.R.). — *dra=dda*: PG. *ācanda°=ācandra°* (6,29); M. *inda=indra*, *ṇiddā=ṇidrā* (G.H.R.), *bhadda=bhadra* (G.H.), *samudda*

=*samudra* ( G. H. R. ). — *rdha*=*ddha* : PG. °*vadhanike* = \**vardhanikān* ( 6,9 ); M. *addha*=*ardha* ( G.H.R. ), *niddhūma*=*nirdhūma* ( H.R. ); AMg. *muddha*=*murdhan* (§402). — *dhra*=*ddha*: AMg. *saddhim*=*sadhrim* (§103).

§ 289. In lieu of the dental, there occurs frequently the cerebral in the groups, in which the first member is *r*, especially in AMg. According to the grammarians ( Vr. 3,22; Hc. 2,30; Kī. 2,34; Mk. fol. 22 ) in the case of *rt* cerebralization is the rule. The words, which retain the dental, are collected by Vr. 3,24; Hc.; Kī.; Mk. in the *ākṛigaṇa dhūrtādi*. The dialects oscillate, sometimes, in the case of the same words: AMg. JM. *aṭṭa*=*ārta* (Āyār. 1,1,2,1; 1,2,5,5; 1,4,2,2; 1,6,1,4; Sūyag: 401; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. *aṭṭatarām* (Sūyag. 282); AMg. *aṭṭiya*=\**ārtita* (Ovav.); in addition to *kavaṭṭia* (§246); but Ś. *atti*=*ārti* (Śak. 57,4). — AMg. *kittai*=*kirtayati* (Āyār. 1,5,4,3; 1,6,1,1), *kittē* (Sūyag. 661), *kiṭṭimāṇa* (Sūyag. 663), *kiṭṭittā* (Āyār. p. 137,27; Kappa. ), *kiṭṭiya* (Āyār. p. 132,33; 137,23; Sūyag. 578.661), but always *kitti*=*kirti* in all the dialects (§ 83.288). — *kevaṭṭa*=*kavarta* ( Hc.; Mk. ), *kevaṭṭaa* ( Bh. ). — M. AMg. JM. *cakkavaṭṭi*=*cakravartin* ( Karp. 7,3; 79,4; 115,10; Thān. 80.197; Samav. 42; Vivāhap. 7.1049; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz. ), but Ś. *cakkavatti*- ( Caṇḍak. 87,15; 94,10; Hāsy. 21,7 ), as perhaps also Karp. 104,2,4 with the v.l. is to be read. — AMg. *naṭṭaga*=*nartaka* ( Ovav.; Kappas. ); *naṭṭaa* ( Bh. 3,22; Mk. fol. 22 ); *naṭṭai*=*nartakī* ( Bh. 3,22; Hc. 2,30 ). — Ś. Dh. *bhaṭṭā*=*bhartā* in the sense of "Lord"; but in all the dialects *bhaṭṭā* in the sense of "husband", "consort" (§ 390 ); AMg. *bhaṭṭidārāja*, Ś. *bhaṭṭidāraa*, *bhaṭṭidārīā* (§55). — The root *vrt* forms M. *vaṭṭasi* ( H. ), *vaṭṭai* ( R. ), AMg. JM. *vaṭṭai* ( Vivāhap. 268.1408; Erz. 6,3 ), AMg. *vaṭṭanti* ( Āyār. 2,2,2,11.12; Kappas. S. § 35 ), M. AMg. JM. *vaṭṭanta*- ( R.; Uttar. 712; Erz. 22,9 ), AMg. JM. *vaṭṭamāṇa* ( Āyār. 2,2,2,1; Vivāp. ap. 268; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz. ), JŚ. *vaṭṭadi* ( Pav. 382,27; Lalitav. 560,15; Mṛcch. 2,20; 3,1,20; 169,21; Śak. 37,7; 59,12; Vikr. 21,10; 52,1; Caṇḍak. 86,4; Hāsy. 21,8; 25,3; 28,20 etc. ), JŚ. *vaṭṭadu* ( Pav. 387,21 ), Mg. *vaṭṭāmi* ( Mṛcch. 32,22 ). Likewise with prefixes, pro ex. M. *āvaṭṭanta*-, *āvaṭṭamāṇa* ( R. ); AMg. *anupaṭṭamāṇa* ( Sūyag. 328 ), *anupriyaṭṭai* ( Āyār. 1,2,3,6; 1,2,6,5 ), *niyaṭṭai* ( Uttar. 116 ), *niyaṭṭanti* ( Āyār. 1,2,2,1; 1,6,4,1 ), *niyaṭṭamāṇa* ( Āyār. 1,6,4,1 ), *nivaṭṭājjā* ( Sūyag. 415 ), *uvaṭṭeṭṭiya* ( Āyār. 2,2,1,8 ), *uvaṭṭeṭṭi* ( Āyār. 2,2,3,9 ), JM. *uvaṭṭiya* ( Erz. ), Ś. *paṭṭadi*=*pravartale* ( Mṛcch. 71,7 ), A. *paṭṭai* ( Hc. 4,347 ), and in derivatives, such as AMg. *priyaṭṭanā* ( Āyār. 1,2,1,1; 2,1,4,2; Ovav. ), *priyaṭṭaja* ( Kappas. ), but M. Ś. *pariattana*, *parivattana* ( G.R.; Mṛcch. 2,20; Vikr. 31,6 ), AMg. *priyatta*=*parivarta* ( Ovav. ); AMg. *samvaṭṭaga* ( Uttar. 1056 ). In conjunction with prefixes, as the examples form Gr. already show, the dentals predominate. Thus pro ex. M. *uvattai* ( G. ), *niattai* ( G.H.R. ), *pariattai* ( G. ), *parivattasu* ( H. ), *pariattanta*-, *parivattium* ( R. ); AMg. *pavattai* ( Pannav. 62 ); Ś. *niattiadi* ( Vikr. 46,19 ), *niattadu* ( Mṛcch. 74,25; 78,10 [°va°] ), *nivattissadi* ( Vikr. 17,2 ), *niattaissadi* ( Śak. 91,6 ), *niattāvehi*, *niattadu* ( Śak. 91,5,6 ), *niattāsu* ( Śak. 87.1.2 [ to be so read ] ), *nivattamāṇa* ( Vikr. 5,11 ), *nivattēhi*, *nivattēdu* ( Mṛcch. 27,12,15 ), *nivattamha* ( Śak. 74,3 ) etc. Likewise in derivatives. — AMg. *vaṭṭaja*=*vartaka* ( quail; Āyār. 2,10,12; Sūyag. 100; Uvās. ), *vaṭṭaga* ( Sūyag. 681.708.722.747 ), but *vattā*=*vartikā* ( Bh.; Hc. ) against *vaṭṭā* ( Mk. ). — AMg. *vaṭṭi*=*varti* ( Hc. 2,30 ) in *gandhavaṭṭi* ( Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh. ) against M. *vatti* ( H. ). — The cerebrals stand throughout in the absolute, as AMg. *kaṭṭu*=*kartu*°, *āhaṭṭu*=*āhartu*°, *samāhaṭṭu*, *sāhaṭṭu* etc. ( § 577 ). On *kāum*, *kādum*=*kartum* etc. § 62. — Transition to the

media occurs in AMg. *gadda*=*garta* ( Vr. 3,25; Hc. 2,35; Mk. fol. 23; Vivāhap. 246.479); *gaddā*=*gartā* (Hc. 2,35).

§ 290. *riha* becomes *ttha* in AMg. JM. *aṭtha*=*artha* in the sense of "reason", "cause", "thing", "story", but *attha* in the sense of "wealth", "money" ( Hc. 2,33 ). So especially in the phrase AMg. *no in' aṭṭhe samaṭṭhe* (§173), and in adverbially used cases like AMg. *se ten' aṭṭhenam* ( Vivāhap. 34 ff.; Uvās. §218.219 ), *se ken' aṭṭhenam* ( Uvās. §218.219 ); AMg. JM. *aṭṭhāe* ( Uttar 363; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Erz. ), *aṭṭhāyāe* ( Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Erz. ); JM. *aṭṭhā* ( Erz. ). However, the dental also occurs in the meaning "thing", "story" ( Ovav. ) and in adverbially used forms, such as AMg. *iccattam* ( Āyār. 1,2,1,1 ), and more frequently in JM. ( Erz. ). The rest of the dialects have only the dental in all the meanings of the word.<sup>1</sup> AMg. has also *anaṭṭha* "aimless", "false" ( Uvās.; Ovav. ), *niraṭṭhaga* ( Uttar. 113 ), *samaṭṭha* (§173). Beside M.AMg. JM A. *caṭṭha*=*caurtha*, Hc. 2,33 teaches also *caṭṭha*; beside Ś. *caduṭṭha*, there occurs also *caduṭṭha* (§449). AMg. *addhuṭṭha* is=*adha*+*\*turiha* (§450). On *kavattia* said to be=*kadarthita* see § 246.289. In Mg. *riha* becomes *ṣṭa* ( Hc. 4,291; Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12 ); *eṣe aṣe*=*eṣo 'rthah* ( Nāmis. ); *astavadi*=*arthavati*, *ṣastavāhe*=*sārthavāhā* ( Hc. 4,291 ); *tista*=*tīrtha* ( Hc. 4,301 ). So the Lalitav. 566,9 has *vahastam* ( read *yadhastam* )=*yathārtham*, but 566,7 *ṣastaśsa*=*sārthasya* and 566,8, *paṣtidum*=*prārthayitum* with *ṣta*. In Mṛcch. 131,9;133,1;140,13;146,16;152,6;168,2 all the MSS. have *attha*, likewise Caṇḍak. 60,11; Prab. 28,14, where, however, the ed. Madras reads *palamacco*. Mṛcch. 145,17 K in GODABOLE has *accha*, 158,21 the very good manuscript E has *aṣṭa*. In Mṛcch. 138,17 the MSS. have *kajjattih* for *kryyavati*; in Śak.114,11 there stand; *vikkaattam*=*vikrayārtham*, 115,7 *sāmippaśādattam*=*svāmiprasādārtham*, Prab. 28,15 has *tittihim*=*tīrthikah*, 29,7 *tittihā*=*tīrthikāh*. Mṛcch. 122,14;128,3;158,19 STENZLER has *ṣatthavāha*=*sārthavāha*, 133,1, *ṣatthavāha*. The MSS. vary greatly, and at 128,3 E in GODABOLE correctly has *ṣastavāha*, to which the reading *ṣasyastavāha* of B and *ṣatthavāha* of H point<sup>2</sup>. The manuscripts are to be everywhere corrected according to the rules of the grammarians.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 2,33. Not quite correctly LEUMANN, Aup. S. s.v. *attha*, —

2. FISCHER, GGA. 1881, p. 1319 f.

§ 291. *rda* becomes *dda* in *kavadda*=*kaparda* ( Hc. 2,36; Mk. fol. 23 ); — *gaddaha*=*gardabha* ( Vr. 3,26; Hc. 2,37; Kī. 2,23; Mk. fol. 23 ) beside *gaddaha* ( Hc. 2,37; Pāiyāl. 150 ), which is the only form authenticated by the texts in AMg. JM.Ś.Mg.Dh. and is expressly prescribed for Ś. by Mk. fol. 67 ( Sūyag. 204.724 f. 727 [°bha]; Samav. 83; Uttar. 794; Kk.; Ś. Mṛcch. 45,16; Mg. Mṛcch. 79.13;175,14 ), JM. *gaddabhī* and *gārdabhī* ( Kk. ), *gaddabhilla* ( Kk. ), *gaddabbha*=*\*gārdabhya* ( unharmonic u, shrill; Deśin. 2,82; Pāiyāl. 204 ); *gaddaha* ( Deśin. 2,83 ), *gaddahaya* ( Pāiyāl. 39; white lotus ); Dh. *gaddahi* ( Mṛcch. 29,19 ). Kāleyak. 25,15 *gadduho* [s'ic] is edited in Ś. — *chaddai*=*chardati* ( Hc.2,36 ); AMg. *chaddējjā* ( Āyār.2,1,3,1 ) *chaddasi* ( Uvās. § 95 ), JM. *chaddijjai* ( Āv. 41,8 ), *chaddai*, *chaddijjai*, *chaddiṣya* ( Erz. ); A. *chaddēṣinu* ( Hc. 4,422,3 ); JŚ. *chaddiṣa* ( Pav. 387,18; Tex. °ya ); *chaddi*=*chardi* ( Hc. 2,36 ); JM. *chaddi*=*chardis* ( Erz. ); AMg. *chaddiyalliyā* ( Ovav. ); M. JM.Ś. *vicchadda*=*viccharda* ( Hc. 2,36; Mk. fol. 23; Pāiyāl. 62; Deśin. 7,32; G.H.R.; Kk.; Erz.; Anarghar. 277,3 [so with ed. Calcutta to be read] ); *vicchaddi*=*vicchardi* ( Vr. 3,26; Kī. 2,23 ); AMg. *vicchaddaittā* ( Ovav. ); Kappas. ); M. *vicchaddia* ( R. ). AMg. JM. *vicchaddiṣya* ( Ovav.; Pāiyāl. 79 ), Ś. *vicchaddiṣa* ( Uttarak. 20,11; Mālatim. 241,5;254,4;276,6; Anarghar. 149,10 [so to be read everywhere] ). — *madḍai*=*mardate* ( Hc. 4,126 ), but Ś. *maddiadi*=*mardyate* ( Mṛcch. 69,9 );

*maḍḍia*=*mardita* ( Hc. 2,36 ); *saṃmaḍḍa*=*saṃmarda* ( Vr. 3,26; Hc. 2,36; Kī. 2,23; Mk. fol. 23 ), but M. JM.Ś. *saṃmaḍḍa* ( G ; Erz.; Mṛcch. 325,17 ); *saṃmaḍḍia*=*saṃmardita* ( Hc. 2,36 ). Against these Ś. *uṃamadda*=*uṃamarda* ( Mṛcch. 18,11 ); AMg. *paṃamaddaṇa*=*paṃamardana* ( Ovav.; Kappas. ), *paṃamaddi*=*paṃamardin* ( Nāyādh.; Ovav. ); *pāṃamaddā*=\**pāḍamardā* ( stamping asunder of corns with the feet; Deśin. 6,40 ); AMg. *paṃimaddaṇa*=*paṃimardana* ( Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas. ), *piḍḍimadda*=*piḍḍimarda* ( Ovav.; Kappas. ); Ś. *piḍḍhamaddiā* ( Mālav. 14,9 ); Adbhutad. 72,13;91,9 ), AMg. *vāṃamaddaṇa*=*vyāṃamardana* ( Ovav.; Kappas. ). — *viḍḍi*=*vitardi* ( Vr. 3,26; Hc. 2,36; Kī. 2,23 ). — *khuddiā*=*kūrdita*, *saṃkhuddai*=*saṃkūrdati* ( § 206 ), beside AMg. *ukkuddai* ( Uttar. 788 ). According to Mk. fol. 23, some taught also *taddū*=*tardū*. — *rdha* has become *ḍḍha* in : AMg. JM. *aḍḍha*=*ardha* beside *addha*, as the other dialects alone have ( Hc. 2,41; § 450 ); *addha*, pro ex. also in AMg. *avaḍḍha*=*apārdha* ( Jiv. 1055 f.; Vivāhap. 1057.1306 ), *saaddha*, *aṇaddha* ( Vivāhap. 354 ), *divaddha* ( § 450 ); JM. *aḍḍhamāsa* ( Erz. ), beside *addha*<sup>o</sup> ( Kk. ) and AMg. *māsaḍḍha* ( Vivāhap. 168 ); JM. *aḍḍharatta*=*ardharātra* ( Erz. ) etc.; M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. Ā. A. *addha* ( G. H. R. ); Samav. 156.158; Thān. 265; Jiv. 231.632 f.; Vivāhap. 209.1178; § 450; Erz.; Kk.; Ṛṣabhap.; Mṛcch. 69,16; Caṇḍak. 51,11; Karp. 60,11; Mg. Mṛcch. 31,17.20.23.25;32,5;133,10;168,20.21; Śak. 118,4; Ā. Mṛcch. 100,12; A. Hc. 4,352; Piṅgala 1,6.61 ff. ) — M. AMg. JM. *vaḍḍhai*=*vardhate* ( Vr. 8,44; Hc. 4,220; Kī. 4,46; Mk. fol. 23; H. R. ; Āyār. 2,16,5 [°i ] ); Sūyag. 460; Vivāhap. 160; Kk. ); Ś. *vaḍḍhādi* ( Vikr. 10,20; 19,7; 49,4; 78,18; 88,14; Mālav. 25,4 ). Likewise with prefixes, in the causative and in derivations. The proper name *vardhamāna* becomes AMg. JŚ. Ś. *vaḍḍhamāna* ( Āyār. 2, 15,12; Pav. 379,1; Mṛcch. 25,18; 44,24; 45,5 etc. ), but AMg. also *vaḍḍhamāna* ( C. 3,26; Āyār. 2,15,15; Ovav.; Kappas. ), as also AMg. *nandiḍḍhaṇa* ( Āyār. 2,15,15; Kappas. ) and *vaḍḍhāvei* ( Ovav.; Kappas.; Niraṣyāv. ) are said. For *govardhana* Mk. fol. 24 teaches *govaddhaṇa*. Ś. has *govaddhaṇa* ( Vṛṣabh. 19,5 ).

§ 292. *tra* has become *ṭṭa* in M. A. *tuṭṭai*=*truṭṭyati* ( R.; Piṅgala 1,65.68 ) beside AMg. *tuṭṭai* ( Sūyag. 100.105.148 ), *tuṭṭanti* ( Sūyag. 539 ); *tuṭṭai* ( Hc. 4,230 ); A. *tuṭṭai* ( Hc. 4,356 ). According to Vr. 12,5 in Ś. *putra* in certain cases (*kvacit*) can become *puḍa*. Perhaps it is connected with the old form of *pāṭaliputra*, which will have been \**pāṭalipuṭa* (§ 238, note 2 ), which must have regularly become \**pāḍaliuḍa*. To the Skt. form corresponds M. Mg. *pāḍaliuṭta* ( H. 2,150; Mṛcch. 37,3 ), JM. *pāḍaliputta* ( Āv. 8,1; 12,1.40; Erz. ), Ś. *pāḍaliputtāa* ( Mudrār. 149,3 ). In Mg. STENZLER writes in Mṛcch. 118,1; 119,11.21; 124,5; 129,18; 132,9.164,16; 165,3 *puṭṭhaka*=*putraka*. The MSS. vacillate very much and point rather to *puṭṭaka* or to *puṭṭaka*. Almost everywhere occurs the v.l. *puṭṭaka*, and in Mg. in Mṛcch. *putta* 19,19; 116,8; 129,7; 133,1; 160,11; 166,1; 167,24; 168,3; *puttaka* 114,16; 122,15; 158,20; *saḍḍputtaka* 166,18.21 stand. STENZLER likes to correct it to *puṭṭhaka* at p. 294 on 114,16. But only at 158,20 some MSS. have *puṭṭake*, *puṭṭake*, *puṭṭhake*, otherwise all have °*ṭṭa*<sup>o</sup>, which will be right. As at 158,19 for *naṭṭike*=*naṭṭikah* the vv. ll. *naṭṭhike* ( so STENZLER, GODABOLE and the Calc. editions in the text ), *naṭṭike*, *naṭṭhike* also occur, there seems to be a case of interchange with the change from *rtha* (§ 290 ). After a long vowel *tra* frequently becomes *ṭṭa* through *ta* in AMg., as *gāṭṭa*=*gātra*, *goṭṭa*=*gotra*; *dhāi*=*dhātri*; *pāi*=*pātri* (§ 87 ). In *rātri* the same law occurs in M. Ś. (§ 87 ). *dhāri* ( nurse; Hc. 2,81 ) is not =*dhātri*, but is derived from *vdhai* ( to suckle ) with suffix *-ra*=“wet nurse”. Cf. *dhāru*.

§ 293. Against 288 *tra* apparently becomes *ttha* in the adverbs ending in *-tra*, as *anṇaittha*=*anyatra* (Hc. 2,161;3,59); Ś. *attha*=*atra* in *atthabhavam* ( Śak. 33,3;35,7; Vikr. 30,9 ), *atthabhavado* ( Mālav. 27,11 ), *atthabhodī* ( Vikr. 38,17;83,13; Mālav. 26,1 ); M.AMg. JM. *kaṭṭha*=*kuṭra* ( Bh. 6,7; Hc. 2,161; G.H.R.; Kappas.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kk.); M.AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś.D. *jaṭṭha*=*yatra* ( Bh. 6,7; Hc. 2,161; H.R.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig.; 401,353; Uttarar. 20,11;21,10; D. Mṛcch. 100,3 ); M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *taṭṭha*=*taṭra* ( Bh. 6,7; Hc. 2,161; Kī 3,42; G.H.R.; Āyār. 1,1,1,7;1,1,2, 1.2 etc; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Kk.; Vikr. 48,14; Mg. Prab. 32,6 ), in Ś. also in *taṭṭhabhavam* (Vikr.46,6;47,2;75,3.15), *taṭṭhabhavadā* ( Śak. 30,2; Vikr. 16,11; 80,14; 84,19; Mālav.10,13), *taṭṭhabhavado* ( Mṛcch.6,4; 22,12; Vikr. 38,18; 51,13; 79,16 ), *taṭṭhabhodī* ( Mṛcch. 88,13; Śak. 95,12; 125,7;132,7;134,13; Vikr. 16,4 7.13;18,5 etc.); *iarattha*=*itaratra* ( Bh. 6,2); M. JM. *savvattha*=*sarvatra* ( Bh. 6,2; Hc. 3,59,60; G.H.R.; Erz. ). Meanwhile PG.M.AMg. JM.Ś. Mg.D. Ā *ēṭṭha*, A. *ēṭṭhu* ( §107 ), on account of the *e*, cannot be equated as=*atra*, but as=*Vedic itthā*. From i the rest of the adverbs cannot be separated, so that *kattha* must be derived from \**katthā*, *jaṭṭha* from \**yaṭṭhā* etc.<sup>1</sup> The regular continuation of *yatra*, *taṭra* are A. *jaṭṭu*, *tattu* ( Hc. 4,404; cf. 268 ), of *anyatra*, Dh *anṇatta* ( Mṛcch. 36,23;39,10 ). Mg. *atta*=*atra* ( Mṛcch. 161,17;167,17 ) is probably false. In the first place D. has *ēṭṭha*, in the second it is wanting in most of the MSS. The writing *atthabhavam*, *tatthabhavam*, which the Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions of Śak. and Mālav. have<sup>2</sup>, and which occurs occasionally elsewhere also, is erroneous<sup>3</sup>. On A. *keṭṭhu*, *jeṭṭhu*, *teṭṭhu* see §107. — Ś. *mahāmēṭṭha*=*mahāmātra* ( Mṛcch. 40,22 ) is a false reading for *mahāmēṭṭa*, as the MSS. D H in GODABOLE p.120 read, and *mēṭṭhapurisa* =\**mātrapuruṣa* ( Mṛcch. 69,12 ) for *mahāmēṭṭapurisa* ( cf. D in GODABOLE p. 196 ), since *mātra* becomes only *mitta*, *mēṭṭa* (§109). Cf. also *mēṇṭha*, JM. *miṇṭha* ( mahout, elephant-driver; Deśin. 6,138; Erz.), Pāli *mēṇḍa*. — M. *paṭṭhī* ( H. 240 ), which WEBER wishes to equate as=*pāṭrī*, is a false reading for *pacchī* ( Deśin. 6,1 ), Pāli *pacchī*; cf. v.l. ZDMG. 28,408; IS. 16,78 on strophe 185.

1. Others in S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 22; R. s.v. *kattha*; WEBER on H. 240. Cf. FISCHER, BB. 3,253. — 2. BÖHTLINGER on Śak. 20,11 p. 177. — 3. FISCHER, *De Kālidāsac Cākuntalī recensionibus* p. 34 f.

§ 294. *dra* has become *dda* in AMg. JM. *khudda*=*kṣudra* (Deśin.2,74; Āyār. 2,2,3,2; Sūyag. 414; Ṭhān. 546; Uttar. 13; Jiv. 476 ff.; 559.622. 663.1013 ff.; Kappas.; Erz. ); *khuddaa* ( Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3,105 ), AMg. JM. *khuddaya*, femin. *khuddiyā* ( Āyār. 1,3,3,2;2,2,1,4;2,2,3,2; Ṭhān. 67; Paṇhāv. 520; Vivāhap. 1100; Kappas.; Āv. 23,6 ), AMg. *khuddāga* (Sūyag. 872; Ṭhān. 545; Vivāhap. 1101; Ovav.), *khuddāga* ( §70 ); rarely AMg. also *khudda* ( Sūyag. 504 ) and *khuddāya* ( Kappas. ). — Like simple *da* becoming *la* ( §244 ), *dda*, originalyng from *dra*, also becomes *lla* in M. AMg. *alla*, beside M.AMg. JM. Ś. *adda*=*ārdra* ( §111 ), and *chilla* ( hole; hut; Deśin. 3,35 ), *ucchilla* ( hole; Deśin. 1,95 ), beside M.AMg. JM. *chidda* ( H.; Uvās.; Erz. ) and AMg. JM. *chidda* ( Nirayāv.; Āv. 41,4,5; Erz. v.l. ), M. *chiddā*=*chidrita* ( G. ). On *culla* see § 325. M. *maḷai* is not=*marḍai*, but=*mrādai* (§244). The synonymous *maḍhai* (Hc. 4,126) is=*maḥṭai* from *maḥṭa mardanivāsayoḥ* ( Dhātupāṭha 9,47 according to Bopadeva), which belongs to *math*, *manth*. On *dra* beside *dda* see § 268.

§ 295. *b* is inserted between *m* and *r* in *āmra* and *tāmra*. The sound-group *mbra* created in this manner either is separated by a separation vowel: *ambira*, *tambira*(§137), or in it *r* is assimilated. So M.AMg. JM. *amba*

(Vr. 3,53; C. 3,9; Hc. 2,56; Kī. 2,64; Mk. fol. 27; Pāiyāl. 145; H.; Āyār. 2,1,8,1.4.6; 2,7,2,2 ff.: 2,10,21; Ṭhāp. 205; Paṇṇav. 482.531; Vivāhap. 116,1256; Erz. ); AMg. *ambaga* ( Aṇuttar. 11; Uttar. 231.983 ff.); AMg. *ambādaga* = *āmrātaka* ( Āyār. 2,1,8,1.4; Paṇṇav. 482 ). — M. AMg. *tamba*=*tāmra* ( Gr.; Pāiyāl. 93; G.H.R.; Sūyag. 282 834; Uttar. 597; Vivāhap. 1326; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. *tambaga* ( Uttar. 1065 ), *tambija* ( Ovav.); M.Ś *tambavaṇṇi*=*tāmraparṇi* ( Karp. 12,4;71,8; Bālar. 264,3.4; Anarphar. 297,15 [ so to be read ] ); M. *āmba*, AMg. *āyamba*=*ātāmra* ( G.H.; Śak. 119,6; ( Ovav. ); *tambakimi*=*tāmrakrimi* ( cochineal; Deśin. 5,6); *tambarattī*=\**tāmraṛaktī* ( wheat rust; Deśin.5,5); *tambasiha*=*tāmraśikha* ( cock; Pāiyāl. 125 ); M. *tambā*=*tāmṛā* ( cow; Deśin. 5,1; Pāiyāl 45; H.). — According to Mk. fol. 27 *kamra* also becomes *kamba*. — *m* is treated in the same way. *amla* becomes either *ambila* or *amba*: AMg. *sehambādāli-jambehim* = *sedhāmladālikāmlaiḥ* ( Uvās. § 40 ); A. *ambaṇu* = *āmlatvam* ( Hc. 4,376,2).

§ 296. III) If one of the sounds is *la* ( Vr 3,3; C. 3; Hc. 2,79; Kī. 2,50; Mk.fol 19) : *lka*=*kka*: M *ukkā*=*ulkā* ( G R. ); *kakka*=*kalka* ( Vivāhap. 1025); M.Ś. *vakkala*=*valkala* ( § 62 ). — *kla*=*kka*: AMg. *kisanū*=*kliśyanti* ( Uttar. 576), *kesa*=*kleśa* ( Uttar. 202.575), *kīva*=*klīra* ( Ṭhāp. 181); *vikkava*=*viklava* ( Bh 3,3; Hc. 2,79 ) *śukla* forms beside AMg. *sukka* ( Sūyag. 313; Ṭhāp 25 ff) and *suila*, AMg *sukkila* ( §136 ) according to Hc 2,11 also *suṅga*. Provided this goes back to *śukla*. the more correct writing would be *suṅga*, corresponding to *suṅka*=*śulka* ( §74 ) with transition to the media — *lga*=*gga* : M. *phaggu*=*phalgu*, AMg. Ś. *phagguṇa*=*phalguna* ( §62); AMg. *vaggai*, *vaggiitā*=*valgati*. *valgitvā* ( Vivāhap. 253 ), *vaggana*=*valgana* ( Ovav. ), *vaggu*=*valgu* ( Sūyag. 245 ). — *lpa*=*ppa* : AMg. JM. Ś. *appa*=*alpa* ( Sūyag. 371; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 150,18 ); M.AMg. JM. Ś. *kappa*=*kalpa* ( G.H.R.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Vikr. 11,4 ); M.AMg. JM. *sippa*=*silpa* ( H.; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Rṣabhap. ), AMg.Ś. *sippi*=*silpin* ( Uvās.; Ovav.; Mṛcch. 152,25;153.3 ). In *jalp* and derivatives *l* becomes *m* : M. JM. *jampai*=*jalpati* ( Vr. 8,24; Hc. 4,2; Kī. 4,46; G.H.R.; Erz.; Kk. ); JM. *jampā* [ sic ], *jampanteṇa* ( Kī. 8,15 ); AMg. *jampantiā* ( Sūyag. 50 ); JM. *paṇjampae*=*praṇjapate* ( Erz. ); Dh. *jampidum*, *jampasi* ( Mṛcch. 34,24;39,9 ); Ś. *jampasi* ( Vikr. 41,11 ), *jampijjadi* ( Lalitav. 568,6 ), *jampissam* ( Mālatim. 247,2 ); *jampaṇa* ( disgrace; mouth; Deśin. 3,51 ); JM. *ajampaṇa* ( non-betrayal; Erz. 10,34 ); M.A. *jampira* ( Hc. 2,145; H.; Hc. 4,350,1 ), AMg. *ayampira* ( Dasav. 619,22;631,13;632,28 ); AMg. *pajampāvaṇa*=\**praṇjapāvaṇa* ( teaching to learn; Ovav. ); Mg. *yampideṇa* ( Lalitav. 566,12 ), A *paṇjampaha* ( Hc. 4,422,10; so to be read ). For *mpa* there often occurs *ppa*: AMg. *jappanti* ( Sūyag. 26 ); Ś. *jappemi* ( Hāsy. 33,21 ), *jappasi* ( Kāmsav. 49,7 ), *jappesi* ( Hāsy. 25,10 12;34,3.7 ), *jappissadi* ( Pras. 144,2 ), *jappidum* ( Hāsy. 33,13 ), *jappanti* ( Prab. 44,1; so ed. Bomb. P.M. ), \**appipi* ( Pras. 37,16; Vṛṣabh. 26,7 ), *jappida* ( Pras. 120,1 ) etc. Probably everywhere it is to be read *mpa*, as certainly in M. *jampieṇa* for *jappieṇa* ( Ratn. 322,4 ), as rightly stands *jampie* ( Karp.38,4 ) as well as A. *jampiam* ( Piṅgala 1,60; so GOLDSCHMIDT for *im*, *am*, *jam* ). — *pla*=*ppa*: M. *pavaṅga*=*plavaṅga*, *pavaṅgama*=*plavaṅgama* ( R ), *parippavanta*=*pariplavant* ( G.R. ), *pappua*=*prapluta* ( G. ); AMg. *ppvium*=*plavitum* ( Sūyag. 508 ); *vippava*=*viplava* ( Hc. 2,106 ). — *lpha*=*ppha* : AMg. *guppha*=*gulpha* ( Āyār. 1,1,2,5; Ovav. ). *lba*=*bba*: M. *ubhāna*=*ulbaṇa* ( G. 734; text *uvaṇa* ); AMg. *kibbisa*=*kilbiṣa* ( Uttar. 156 [ text °vvi°; Dasav. 624,11.12 ), *kibbisīya*=\**kilbiṣika* ( Ovav. ); *subba*=*śulba* ( Hc 2,79 ). — *lpha*=*bpha* : AMg. *pagabbhai* = *pragalbhate* ( Āyār.1,5,3,3[°r]; Sūyag.134.150), *paḡabbhiya* ( Sūyag.31.146.198 ), *pḡabbhiya*



( Sūyag. 596 ), *pagabbhittā* ( Sūyag. 358 ), *vippagabbhiya* ( Sūyag. 50 ), *pagabbhi-* ( Sūyag. 332 ), *pāgabbhi-* ( Sūyag. 268.296 ). Hence *pagambhāi* ( Uttar. 202 ) is a printing error for *pagabbhāi*=*pagabbhāi*. — *lma*=*mna*: *kamma*=*kalma* ( Hc. 2,79; Pāiyal. 53 ); AMg. *kummāsa*=*kulmāsa* ( Āyār. 1,8,4,4.13 ); AMg. Ś. Mg. *gumma*=*gulma* ( Āyār. 2,3,2,15; Nāyādh.; Mṛcch. 97,22; Mudrar. 185,8;197,5; Priyad. 12,3;13,3;19,17;23,14; Karnas. 28,7; Subhadra. 12,5; Mg. Caṇḍak. 61,11 ), PG. *gumike*=*gulmikān* ( 5,5 ); M. *vammā*, AMg. *vammīya*=*valmika* ( §80 ); Ś. *vammī*=*vālmiki* ( Bālar. 6,15 ). — *mīa*=*mna*: AMg. JM.Ś.A. *mēcca*=*mleccha* ( § 84.105 ). — On *lya* see §286, on *rla* §287. — *lva*=*lla*: Ś. *gallakka*=*galvarka* ( Mṛcch. 6,6 ); M. *pallala*=*palvala* ( G. ); AMg. *bilā*=*bitva* ( Hc. 1,85; Mk. fol. 7; Pāiyal. 148; Paṇṇav. 531; Vivāhap. 1530 [vi°]; Dasav. 621,5 ), according to Hc. and Mk. also *bēlla* ( §119 ).

§ 297. IV) One of the consonants is *va* ( Vr. 3,3; C. 3,2; Hc. 2,79; Kī. 2,50; Mk. fol. 19 ); *kva*=*kka*: M. *kaḍhāi*=*kvathati*, Ś. *kaḍhida*, AMg. *sukādhīya* ( §221 ); M. *kaṇakkaniya*=*kvaṇakvaṇita* ( Karp. 55,7 ); M. AMg. Ś. *pikka*, AMg.Ś. *pakka*=*pakva* ( §101 ). — *gva* h: s become *vva* instead of *gga* in *divvāsā*=*digvāsāh* ( Cāmūṇḍā; Deśin. 5,39 ). — *jva*=*jja*: M. *jalai*=*jvalati*, *ujjala*=*ujjalata*, *pajjalai*=*prajjalati* ( G.H.R. ); M. *jara*=*jara* ( H. ). — *ṇva*=*ṇa*: M. *kiṇṇa*=*kiṇva* ( G. ); Ś. *kaṇṇa*=*kaṇva* ( Śak. 9,10;14,1;15,1 etc. ); Ś. *rumaṇṇado*=*\*rumaṇvatah* ( Ra'n. 320,16 ). On *vya* see §286, on *rova*, *vra* §287, on *lva* §296.

§ 298. In conjunction with dental stops *va* may be assimilated to the dental. *tva*=*tta*: PG. M. AMg. JM. *cattāri*, Mg. *cattāli*=*catvāri* ( §439 ); M. Ś. *satta*=*sattva* ( H. ; Śak. 154,7 ); the suffix *tta* = *-tva*, as *piṇatta*=*pinatva*; AMg. *bhaṭṭita*=*bhartvta*; \**-ttaṇa*=*-tvana*, as M. *piṇattana*=*\*pinatvana*, Ś. *niṇattana*=*niṇatvana*, A. *pattattana*=*\*pattatvana* ( §597 ). — *dva*=*dda*: M. AMg. JM. *dāra*=*dvāra* ( C. 3,7; Hc. 1,70; 2,79,112; G. H. R.; Sūyag. 129; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Erz. ); always M. Ś. A. *dia*, JM. *diya*=*divya* ( Hc. 1,94; Pāiyal. 102; G.; Erz.; Kī. 11 [dīa]; Caṇḍak. 3,16; 52,6; 56,6; 93,13; Piṅgala 2,48 ), *diāhama*=*diviādhama* ( the bird bhāsa; Deśin. 5,39 ), also=*divpa* ( Hc. 2,79 ); Ś. *diṇṇa*=*diviṇṇa* ( Śak. 140,13 ), *diṇṇadara*=*diviṇṇatara* ( Mṛcch. 22,13 ), *diṇṇida*=*diviṇṇita* ( Nāgān. 18,2 ); Mg. *diṇṇa* ( Mṛcch. 177,10 ); *diraa*=*dirada* ( Hc. 1,94 ); AMg. *dāvāra*=*dvāpara* ( Sūyag. 136 ), *danda*=*dvandva*, *digu*=*divigu* ( Aṇuog. 358 ); AMg. JM. *jambuddīva*=*jambudvīpa* ( Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Kk. ); PG. *bharaddāyo*=*bharadvājah* ( 5,2 ), *bhāradāya*, *bhāradāyasa* ( 6,16.19 ); M. *saddala*=*sādvāla* ( G. ). — *dhva*=*ddha*: *dhattha*=*dhvasta* ( Hc. 2,79 ), M. *uddhattha*=*uddhvasta* ( G. 608; so to be read ). If the prefix *ud* occurs before a word beginning with *va*, so *dva* becomes *vva*: M. *uvattāna*=*udvartana* ( G. H. R. ), AMg. *uvattāna* ( Uvās. ); JM. *uvattīya* ( Erz. ); M. *uvahana*=*udvahana* ( G. R. ); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *uvigga*=*udvigga* ( § 276 ).

§ 299. Dialectically *tva* becomes *cca* through *tva*, *thva* becomes *cca* through *thya*, *dva* becomes *jja* through *dya* and *dhva* becomes *jja* through *dhya*. *tva*=*cca*: M. AMg. JM. *caccara*=*catvara* ( Hc. 2,12; Kī. 2,33; H.; Vivāgas. 103 f.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz. ), beside M. Ś. *cattara* ( Hc. 2,12; Kī. 2,33; H.; Mṛcch. 6,7; 28,20; Bālar. 147,20 ); AMg. JŚ. *tacca*=*\*tāttva* ( § 281 ); A. *pahuccai*=*\*prabhutvati* ( § 286 ); AMg. JM. JŚ. in the absolutes, as AMg. JŚ. *kiccā*=*kṛtvā*; AMg. JM. JŚ. *so ccā*=*śrutvā*; AMg. *bhōccā*=*bhuktvā*; AMg. *ciccāṇa*, *cēccāṇa*=*\*tyaktvāna*, *hiccāṇam*=*\*hūtvānam* ( §587 ). — *thva*=*cca*: AMg. *picchi*=*prithvī* ( Hc. 2,15 ). — *dva*=*jja*: AMg. *vijjam*=*vidvān* ( Hc. 2,15; Sūyag. 126.306 ). — *dhva*=*jja*: AMg. JM. *jha**ya*

(Hc. 2,27; Nāyādh. § 47; Vivāgas. 61; Kappas. § 4,32; T. 5,10; Erz.); AMg. *isijjhaya*=*ṛsidhvaja* (Uttar. 630); *aruñajjhaya* (Uvās. § 179; 277,5), *indajjhaya* (Samav. 97), *mahindajjhaya* (Ṭhāṇ. 266; Jiv. 551 f.; Kappas. p. 96,26), *mañgalajjhaya* (Jiv. 552), *ūsiyajjhaya*=*ucchritadhvaja* (Nāyādh. 481; Ovav. § 40), *kaṇajjhaya* (Nāyādh. 1084), *cindhajjhaya*=*cihnadhvaja* (Nirayāv. § 5), *dhammajjhaya* (Ovav. § 16), *chattajjhaya*=*chattradhvaja* (Pañhāv. 286), *tālajjhāiuvuddha*=*tāladhvajodiddha* (Pañhāv. 249), *sajjhaya* (Samav. 97; Rāyap. 128; Ovav. § 2. 42. 49), beside M. *dhaa* (Hc. 2,27; H. R.), JM. *dha* (Pāiyal. 68; Erz.), M. Ś. *maarddhaa* (H.; Karp. 66,11; 76,9; 83,1; 110,5; Śak. 120,5; Bālar. 289,13; Viddoas. 105,8); P. *makaraddhaja* (Hc. 4,323), but AMg. *mayarajjhaya* (Pañhāv. 286); JM. *garuḷaddhaya* (Dvār. 507,37), but AMg. *garuḷajjhaya* (Pañhāv. 235); AMg. *tāladhaya* (Samav. 236). — A. *jhuni* (Hc. 1,52; 4,432), beside Ś. *dhuni* (Pras. 14,10; Kamśav. 9,15; Vṛṣabh. 48,9)=*dhvani* from \**dhvuni* with *u* according to § 104. — AMg. *bujjhā*=*buddhvā* (Hc. 2 15), *abujjha* (Sūyag. 504). — M. JM. Ś. *sajjhasa*=*sādhvasa* (Hc. 2,26; Kī. 2,75; Mk. fol. 23; G.; Erz.; Jivān. 88, 14; Mālatīn. 276,6; Pāvati. 12,14.23), beside *saddhasa* (Mk.). Nāgān. 27,14 stands *adisaddhasena*; the ed. Calc. 1873 p. 27,1 has *adisajjhasena*. — *māukka* is not=*mṛduta* (Hc. 2,2; Mk. fol. 26), but=\**mārukya* from *mṛduka* (cf. § 52), as JM. *garukka* (Kī. 13)=\**gukukya* from *guruka* (§ 123).

§ 300. However, *va* behind *ta* shifts to *pa*, behind *da* to *ba*; dialectically *tva* becomes *ḥpa*, *dva* becomes *bbā*. *tva*=*ḥpa*: M. *paḥḥpa*=\**prabhutvati* (§ 286); A. *pa*=*tvām*, *tvayā* and *tvayī* (§ 421); A. *-ḥpaṇa*=*-tvana*, as *vaddappana* beside *vaddhattana*=\**vadrātvana*, *maṇusappana*=\**maṇusātvana* (§ 597); A. absolutive in *-ppi*=*-tvī*, as *jinēḥppi*, *jēḥppi*=\**jitvī*; *gampī*=\**gantvī*=Vedic *gatvī*, *gamēḥppi*=\**gamitvī*, and *-ḥpinu*=*-tvīnam*, as *gamēḥpinu*, *gampīnu*=\**gamitvīnam*; *karēḥpinu*=\**karitvīnam* (§ 588). This secondary *pa* becomes *va* as well, as *karevi* beside *karēḥppi*; *levīnu* beside *lēḥpinu*; *ramevi* beside *ramēḥppi* (§ 184.588). On *ḥpa* from *tva* see § 277. — *dva*=*bbā*: PG M. AMg. *be*, A. *bi*=*dve*, *bēṇṇi*, *biṇṇi*=\**dveni* (436. 437); M. *biṇṇa*=*dviguna* (Hc. 1,94; 2,79; G. H. R. <sup>2</sup>), but Ś. Mg. *diṇṇa* (§ 298); AMg. JM. *bāraṇa*, A. *bāraha*=*dvādaśa* (§ 443), as generally AMg. JM. A. *bā*<sup>o</sup>=*dvā*<sup>o</sup> (§ 445 ff.); M. *biā*, *biā*, *biijja*, AMg. JM. *biīya*, *biya*, A. *biā*=*dvītiya* (§ 82 91. 165. 449); M. A. *bāra*=*dvāra* (C. 3,7; Hc. 1,79; 2,79. 112; H.; Hc. 4,436); AMg. JM. *bāravā*=*dvāravatī* (Nāyādh. 524. 1296 ff; Nirayāv. 79; Dvār. 495,1 ff.); *bisamtava*=*dvīśamtapa* (Hc. 1,177); M. *besa*=*dvēṣa* (G.); M. AMg. =*dvēṣya* (Hc. 2,92; G. H.; Pañhāv. 397; Uttar. 33), metrically also AMg. *baissa* (Uttar. 961). *dhva*=*bbha*; JM. *ubbha*=*ūrdhva* (Hc. 2,59; Erz.); JM. *ubbhaya*=*ūrdhvaḥ* (Pāiyal. 234); M. *ubbhā*, JM. *ubbhīya*=\**ūrdhvitā* (R.; Erz.), *ubbheha*=\**ūrdhvayata* (Erz. 40,15), beside M. JM. Ś. Mg. A. *uddha* (§ 83), AMg. JM. *uddha* (Āyār. 1,1,1,1,5,2 3; 1,2,5,4,6,5; 1,4,2,3,4 etc; Sūyag. 215 273 288 304. 590. 914 931; Vivāhap 11. 101. 105 f. 260 etc.; Erz.). — *nva*=*ṇṇa*: M. JM. *anṇesana*=*anveṣana* (G.; Erz.), Ś. *anṇesana*=*anveṣanā* (Vikr. 32,3), *anṇesīdi*=*anviṣyate*, *anṇesīdava*=*anveṣīta* (Mṛcch. 4,4.21); Ś. *dhanantari*=*dhanvantari* (Bālar. 76,1); Mg. *maṇantala*=*manvantara* (Prab. 50,13; so correctly ed. Bombay. M. P.); Ś. *evam*, *ṇedam*=*evam* *nv* *etat*; Ś. Mg. *kim* *ṇedam*=*kim* *nv* *etat* (§ 174).

1. ASCOLI, Vorlesungen p. 59; Kritische Studien p. 197 ff.; FISCHER, GGA. 1881, p. 1317 f. — 2. The Indian editions and WEBER in H. mostly write *v* in lieu of *b*.

§ 301. If the first member of conjunct consonant is a sibilant and the consonant following it, a tenuis, as a rule, the sibilant is assimilated

to the tenuis which gets aspirated. If, however, the sibilant stands at the end of a member of a compound, generally the aspiration of the initial tenuis of the following member does not take place, particularly when the first member is a prefix. *śca=cca* ( Vr 3,40; Hc. 2,21; Ki. 2,92; Mk. fol. 25 ); M. Ś. *acchari*, JM. *acchariṣya*, Ś *accharia*, M. AMg. *acchera*, *acchariṣya*; AMg. JM. *accheraṣya*, AMg. *accheraṣya=āścarya, āścaryaka* ( § 138. 176 ); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *pacchā=paścāt* ( G. H. R.; Erz.; Vivāh. p. 101; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Mṛcch. 150,18; Śak. 105,14; Karp. 33,8 ); A. *pacchi=\*paśce* ( Hc. 4,388 ); M. AMg. JM. Ā. *pacchima=paścīma* ( Grr.; G. R.; Vivāh. p. 63; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 99,18 ); Ś. *pacchādīva=paścāttāpa* ( Vikr. 33,11; 38,17 ); AMg. *pājacchitta*, AMg. A. *pacchitta=prāyaścitta* ( § 165 ); AMg. JM. *nicchaya*, A. *nicchaa=niścaya* ( Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kk.; Hc. 4,422,10 ), but M. *niccaa* ( R. ); AMg. JM. *nicchiya=niścita* ( Dasav. 642,7; Nirayāv.; Erz. ), Ś. *nicchida* ( Bālar. 87,1 ), but also Ś. *niccida* ( Muḍrār. 208,10 ed. Calc. Samvat 1926; Mahāv. 55,1 ed. Bomb. ); M. Ś. A. *niccala=niścala* ( Hc. 2,21,77; Mk. fol. 25; G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 59,24; Muḍrār. 44,6; Hc. 4,436 ), AMg. JM. *niccala* ( Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz. ); M. AMg. *niccēṭṭha=niścēṣṭha* ( R.; Nirayāv. ); M. *duccaria*, JM. *duccariṣya*, Ś. *duccarida=duścārīta* ( H.; Erz.; Mahāv. 118,11 ); AMg. *duccara=duścara* ( Āyār. 1,8,3,2 ), *duccaraga* ( Āyār. 1,8,3,6 ); JM. Ś. *tavaccaraṇa=taṣaccaraṇa* ( Dvār. 496,19; 502,36; 505,15,38; Mṛcch. 68,8,9; 72,6; Pārvatip. 24,3; 25,19; 26,23; 27,2,10 ). — *nahaara* is not=*nabhaścara* ( Ki. 2,110 ), but=*nabhacara* ( § 347 ). M. JM. Ś. *harianda* ( G.; Ki. 3; Karp. 58,4 ), JM. *hariyanda* ( Dvār. 503,16 ) is not=*hariścandra* ( Hc. 2,87; Ki. 2,110 [ text *hariṇṇo*, LASSEN *hariṇṇo* ] ), which becomes Mg. *haliccanda* ( Caṇḍak. 43,5 ), but=*haricandra* like M. *hārianda* ( G. )=*hāricandra*. — *cuai* may be=*\*scūtāti* ( Hc. 2,77; cf. § 210. note 2 ), or=*\*cyutāti*. — In M. *vimchua*, *vimchia* beside *vicchua*, AMg. *vicchuya*, *vicchiya=viścika* ( § 50.118 ) the nasal vowel is to be explained as in M. *vimcha=piccha*; *gumcha=gucca*; *pumcha=pucca* ( § 74 ); *vimcua* ( § 50 ) is treated according to the rule which holds good for compounds. — Corresponding to the change of old *cca* to *śca* ( § 233 ), in Mg. *śca* remains unaltered: *aścaliā=āścarya* ( § 138 ); *niścāa=niścaya* ( Mṛcch. 40,4; text. °*cca*° ); *niścala* ( Mṛcch. 135,2 ); *paścādo=paścāt* ( Veniṣ. 35,10 in Hc. 4,299; Bengal recension *paścādo* ); *paścā* ( Muḍrār. 174,8 [ text *pacchā*; cf. v.1 ] ); Caṇḍak. 42,12 [ text *pacchā* ]; *piścima* ( Mṛcch. 169,22; text *pacchima*; v.1. *pacchima* and *pakṣima* ); *śiṣāścālana=śiṣāścālana* ( Mṛcch. 126,7 ). — *ścha* becomes *cca*: M. *nicchaliā=niśchalliā* ( G. ); AMg. *nicchodējja=niścoteyam* ( Uvās. § 200 ); JM. *nicchoḷiṇṇa=niścodya* ( Erz. 59,13 )

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 261,264. — 2. FISCHER on Hc. 4,299.

§ 302. *śka* and *śkha* become *kkha* as a rule ( Vr. 3,29; Hc. 2,4; Ki. 2,88; Mk. fol. 24 ). *nikkha=niška* ( Hc. 2,4 ), according to Mk. fol. 24 also *nikka*; Ś. *poḷkkhara*, AMg. JM. *pukkhāa=puścara*, AMg. Ś. *poḷkkhariṇi*, AMg. *pukkhariṇi* ( § 125 ); *mukkha=muška* ( Bh. 3,29 ); M. AMg. *vikkhambha=viścambha* ( Ki. 2,88; R.; Ovav. ). In many cases, however, the aspiration does not take place, even outside the compounds, while it sometimes appears in compounds against the rule: M. Ś. *kikkindha=kiścindha* ( R.; Anarghar. 262,5 ); M. AMg. JM. *caukka=catuška* ( Deśin. 3,2; G.; Āyār. 2,11,10; Anuv. 388; Paṇnav. 702; Nāyādh. § 65; p. 1294; Ovav.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk. ); Ś. *cadukkiā=catuścikā* ( Bālar. 136,16; Viḍhaś. 52,4 [ text *cau*° ] ); AMg. JM. *turukka=turuška* ( Paṇhāv. 258; Samav. 210; Paṇnav. 96,99,110; Vivāh. p. 941; Rāyap. 28,36,60,190; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Āv. 40,17 [ read so ] ); Ś. *dhārupukka*

= *dhānuṣka* ( Mk fol. 24 ; Ṭālar. 86, 15 2(2, 16 ), *dhānukkadā* ( Bālar 261, 1 ); *sakkai=śvaṣkati* ( Mk. fol. 55; WEBER on H. 608 ), *osakka=\*apaṣvaṣka* ( g. me . way; Deśin 1, 149; Pāyā 178 ); AMg. *osakkāi* ( Paṇṇav 541 ), M. *osakkanta* ( R. ), AMg. *avasakkejja* ( Āyār. 1, 2, 5, 3 ), AMg. *paccosakkāi=\*pratyapaṣvaṣkati* ( Nāyādh 1463; Vivāh . p. 1035. 1217. 1248 ), M. *parisakka* ( H. R. [ text falselv *paḍi°* ] ), M. *parisakkaṇa* ( G. R. ); AMg. *sakkuli* beside *saṅkuli=śaṅkuli* ( § 74 ); AMg. JM. *sukka=suska* ( Hc 2, 5; Anuttar. 11 13; Nāyādh 984; Vivāh . p. 270; Uttar. 758 ff; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz ), *sukkanti* ( D. śin 8, 18, 23 ), A. *sukkahī* ( Hc. 4, 427 ) = \**śuskanti*, M. AMg. *parisukka=parisuska* ( G. ; Ut . ar. 53 ); beside M. AMg. *ś sukla* ( Hc 2, 5; H. R. ); Dasav N 660, 16; Mṛcch. 2, 15; 44, 4 ), Ś. *sukkhāna* ( Mṛcch. 18, 4 ) M. *sukkhanta* ( H. ), *osukha, osukkhanta* ( R. ) Examples for compounds are : M. *nikkāiava=niskaitava* ( H. ); M. Ś. *nikkampa=niskampa* ( G. R. ; Śak. 126, 14; Mahāv. 32, 21 ); M. JM. *nikkāraṇa=niskāraṇa* ( G. R. ; Dvār. ); AMg. *nikkaṇa=niskaṇa* ( Vivāhas. 102 ), *nikkākaḍa=niskākaḍa* ( Paṇṇav. 118; Ovav. ); M. Ś. *nikkiva=niṣkṛpa* ( Pāyā . 1. 7. ; H ; Śak 55, 16; Cand . k. 87, 2 ); M. AMg. Ś. A. *dukkara=duskara* ( Hc 2, 4; G. H. R. ; Vivāh . p. 817; Uvās.; Mṛcch. 77, 14; Hc 4, 414, 4, 441 ), AMg. *dukkada, JM. dukkaya* ( § 49 ) *kram+nis* forms in M. *nikkhamāi*, in AMg. *nikkhamāi* ( § 481 ), AMg. *nikkhamma=niṣkramya* ( Āyār. 1, 6, 4, 1; Kappas. ), *nikkhami+santi, nikkhamimsv, nikkhamittae* ( Kappas. ); AMg. JM. *nikkhanā* ( Āyār 1, 1, 3, 2; Erz ); AMg. *paḍinikkhamāi* ( § 481 ); AMg. JM. *nikkhamāṇa* ( Kappas ; Erz ) M. has also *nikkamāi* ( H. ), *viṅkkamāi* ( G. ) beside *viṅikkhamāi* ( G. ), a point on which the manuscripts vary. Ś. has only *nikkamadi* ( § 481 ), *nikkamidum* ( Mudrār. 43, 6 ), *nikkamanta* ( Mu . irār. 186, 2 ), *nikkanta* ( Mṛcch. 51, 5. 8. 12 ), *nikkāmaissāmi* ( Mṛcch. 52, 9 ); Dh. *nikkamia* ( Mṛcch. 36, 23 ); D. *nikkamantassa* ( Mṛc h. 105, 24 ). — In Mg. *śka* becomes *ska* and *śkha* becomes *skha* ( Hc. 4, 289 ): *śuska=suska; dhanuṣkhaṇḍa=dhanuṣkhaṇḍu*. According to Nāmi ādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālmkāra 2, 12, *śka* and *śkha* appear, and thus the talav. has *tulūska=turuska* ( 565, 14 17 ), *śuśke=suskaḥ* ( 566, 12 ) The texts write *kkha, kka*. So Mṛcch. 21, 17 *sukkhe*, but MS A. *suskhe*; 132, 24; 133, 17; *sukkhā* without v. l.; 161, 7 *sukkhī*, v. l. *suskā=suskaḥ*; 133, 15. 16 *sukkhāvaiśam* without v. l.; 112, 11 *poḅkhalinīe*, 113, 22 *pukkhalinīe* without v. l.; 134, 1; 165, 22; 166, 22 *nikkamadi, nikkamu* with the v. l. *niśkama, nikkhama* 133, 21; 173, 9 *nikkide*, 134, 13 *nikkidaṃ=niskṛitah, niṣkṛitam* without v. l.; 43, 4; 175, 15 *dukkala=duskara* without v. l.; 125, 1 4 *dukkida=duskṛta* with the v. l. *dukkhida, dukkhida, dukhida* etc. We should read *śuska, poḅkaliṇī, niśkamadi, niśkida, duskala, duskida* etc

§ 303. *ṣṭa* and *ṣṭha* before *ṭṭha* ( Vr. 3, 10, 51; G. 3, 8 11; Hc. 2, 34, 90; Kī. 2, 86, 49; Mk. fol. 21. 19 ); PG. *aggiṭṭhoma=agniṣṭoma* ( 5, 1; cf. LEUMANN, EI. 2, 484 ), *aṭṭhārasa=aṣṭādaśa* ( 6, 34 ), *veṭṭhi=viṣṭi* ( 6, 32 ); M. *iṭṭha=iṣṭa* ( H. ), *diṭṭhi=drṣṭi* ( G. H. R. ), *muṭṭhi=muṣṭi* ( G. H. R. ) — PG. *kaṭṭha=kāṣṭha* ( 6, 33 ); *goṭṭhi=geṣṭhi* ( G. ), *niṭṭhura=niṣṭhura* ( G. H. R. ), *suṭṭhu=suṣṭhu* ( G. H. R. ). Likewise the other dialects except Mg. In Mg. *ṣṭa* and *ṣṭha* become *ṣṭa* ( Hc. 4, 289. 290 ): *kaṣṭa=kaṣṭa; koṣṭāgāla=koṣṭhāgāra; suṣṭu=suṣṭhu*. Nāmi ādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaśālmkāra 2, 12 prescribes *ś* for *ṣ* in consonant groups ( cf. § 302 ): *koṣṭhāgāla* ( MSS. *kosthā°*, *keṣṭa°*; e. l. *kāśya°* ). The manuscripts of the dramas vary; the texts have *ṭṭha* mostly falsely, STENZLER in Mṛcch., mostly has *ṣṭa*. Thus in Mṛcch. *kaṣṭa=kaṣṭa* ( 29, 18; 127, 13 ); the MSS. have *kaṣṭa, kaṭṭha, kaṭṭha, duṣṭāna, pabbhaṣṭe=\*drṣṭoāna, prabhraṣṭah;* ( 29, 21 ); the MSS. have *daṭṭhāna, pabbhatṭhe; duṣṭa=duṣṭa* ( 19, 5; 20, 17; 21, 8; 40, 9; 79, 17. 18; 112. 14. 21; 113, 19; 133, 19; 151, 25 ); the MSS. have mostly *duṭṭha*, partly *duṣṭa, duṣṭha, dutṭha, duṭṭa, duha, duṣṭa, ducha; paṇaṣṭā*

=*pranaṣṭā* (14,11); the MSS. have °*ṭhā*, °*ṣṭā*, °*ṣṭā*, °*ṣṭhā*; *palāmiṣṭā* = *parāmrṣṭā* (16,23); the MSS. have °*miṣcā*, °*miṣvā*, °*miṭhā*, °*miṣṭā*, °*miṣṭā*, °*miṣṭhā*, °*miṭṭā*; *uvaviṣṭe*, °*paviṣṭā*, °*ppaviṣṭam*=*upaviṣṭah*, °*praviṣṭam* (14,10; 21,12.21.22); the MSS. have *viṣce*, °*viṭṭhe*, °*viṣṭe*, °*viṣṭam*, °*viṣṭa*, °*viṭṭha*, °*viṣṭam*, °*viṭṭhā*, °*viṣṭā*, °*viṣṭā*, etc.; *laṣṭia*=*rāṣṭrika* (121,12;125,21;130,13;138,14), the MSS. have *laṭṭhia*, *laṭṭia*, *laṣṭhia*, *laṣṭia*, *ṣaveṭṭhaṇam* (11,22), but *ṣaveṣṭaṇeṇa* (127,12) = *ṣaveṣṭanam*, °*neṇa*, the MSS. point to °*veḍha* (see STENZLER p. 242 301; GODBOLE p. 32.35 and §304), and so GODBOLE 32,9 rightly reads *ṣavedhaṇam* etc.; Prab: *miṭṭham*=*miṣṭam* (46,17); *paṇaṭṭhassa*=*pranaṣṭasya* (50,14); *uvadiṭṭhe*=*upadiṣṭah* (51,2); *duṭṭha*=*duṣṭa* (51,10); *diṭṭhānde* (sic; 51,10; Bomb. *diṭṭhamdo*, M. *diṭṭhānde*, P. *diṭṭhānde*); so also Bombay M., whilst P, except 50,14, has always °*ṭṭha*. BROCKHAUS does not note any v.l. Venis.: *paṇaṭṭha*=*pranaṣṭa* (35,2.7) without v.l.; Mudrār.: *paṇeṭṭhum*=*praveṣṭum* (185,6), printed *paṇeṭṭhum* for which the best MSS. and the ed. Calc.156,8 have *pavididum* (read °*ṣi*°) etc.—*ṣṭha*: Mṛcch.: *koṣṭake*=*koṣṭhaka* (113,15), the MSS. have *koghaṭake* (?), *koṣṭake*, *koṭṭhake*, *koṣake*, *koṣṭhake*, while in Venis.33,6 *gōṭṭhāgāle*, in the ed. Calc. p.69,1 *koṭṭhāgāle* stand, and the MSS. have mostly *koṭṭhāgāle*, none of them has °*ṣṭa*, in the face of Hc.'s *koṣṭhāgālam*, apparently taken from here and Nāmīśādhū's *koṣṭhāgālam*; *piṣṭi*, *puṣṭi*=*prṣṭha* (79,9;165,9), the MSS. *piṭṭhi*, *puṭṭhi*; and so Venis. 35,5.10 *piṭṭhado*, °*nupiṭṭham*=*prṣṭhato*, °*nupṣṭham*, where *piṣṭado anupiṣṭam* should be read; *suṣṭu*=*suṣṭhu* (36,11;112,9;115,16;164,25), the MS. *suṭṭhu*, *suṣṭu*, in the face of Hc.'s *susṭu*; for *ṣōṭṭhakam* (20,21) we should read *ṣōṣṭukam*=*\*suṣṭhukam*; the MSS. have *ṣonukkam*, *ṣonukam*, *ṣōṭṭhikam*, *ṣōṭṭhakam*, *ṣōṣṭakam*, the ed. Calc. has *ṣōṭṭhikam*, which it explains as =*svastikam*; *ṣeṣṭi*=*ṣreṣṭhi*- (38,1), the MSS. have °*ṭṭha*°, as is printed in Mudrār. 257,5 (the ed. Calc. 212,10 °*ṭṭi*°) etc. *ṣṭha* is retained according to Vr. 11,14; Hc. 4,298 in Mg. *ciṣṭhadi*=*tiṣṭhati*. STENZLER in Mṛcch. writes throughout *ciṣṭadi* (pro ex. 9,22.24;10,2.12;79,16;90,3;97,2 etc.), the MSS. mostly have *ciṣṭha*, *ciṣṭa*, *ciṭṭha*, only quite rarely *ciṣṭa*; Prab. 32,11; in Mudrār. 185,8;267,2 occurs °*ṭṭha*°, °*ṭṭa*°, °*ṭṭha*° in the different editions. In Ki. 5,95 the printed edition has *ciṭṭa*, LASSEN, Inst. p. 393 *chitṭha*. P. also has the like-form according to Ki. In Simhadevaganin on Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra 2,2 *ciṭṭha* is edited.—In P., according to Hc.4,313, the dental may enter into the ending \**ṣṭvāna* of the absol.: *ṇaṭṭhūna* beside *ṇaṭṭhūna*=*\*naṣṭvāna*, *tatṭhūna* beside *taṭṭhūna*=*\*drṣṭvāna*. On P. *kaṣaṭa*=*kaṣṭa* see § 132. M. *vuttha* with its compounds, as *uvvuttha*, *paṭṭha*, *padiuttha*, *parivuttha*; JM. *pavuttha* (§ 564) is not =*\*uṣṭa* (BÜHLER, Päiyāl. s.v. *vuttho*), which would have given *\*vutṭha* or *\*uṭṭha*, but =*\*vasta* with a secondary transition of *a* into *u* according to § 104 Like M. *vasia* and its compounds, such as *uvvasia*, *pavasia*, *Ṣ. uvavasida*=*\*vasita* (§ 564). so is also *vuttha*=*\*vasta*, formed from the present stem, beside the regular M. *usia* = *uṣita* (G.). Cf. § 337. *ālēddham* (Hc. 1,24;2,164), *ālēddhum* (Hc 2,164), *ālidḍha* (Hc. 2,49; Päiyāl. 85; Deśn. 1,66), M. *āliddhaa* (Vikr. 51,6) are not to be derived with Hc. from *slis*, but they belong to *ālihaī* (touches; Hc. 4,182; cf. BÜHLER, Päiyāl. s v. *ālidḍham*), which = *āleḍhi* from *lih* of the 6th class with *ā*, and is =*\*ālihati*, and are =*\*ālegdhukam*, *\*ālegdhum*, *\*āligdha*, *\*āligdhaka*. *h* here is to be treated according to the analogy of roots in an old *gh*. So correctly already BOLLENSEN, Vikr. p. 364.

§ 304. In *iṣṭā* (Hc. 2,34), *uṣṭra* (Hc. 2,34; Mk. fol. 21) and *saṃdaṣṭa* (Hc. 2,34) the aspiration does not take place: M. AMg. JM. *iṭṭā*=*iṣṭā* (G.; Thāṇ. 478; Antag 29; T. 7,9.15 [so it should be read; cf. v.l. to 7,15]), AMg. JM. *iṭṭagā*=*iṣṭakā* (Antag. 28; Paṇhāv. 128

[<sup>o</sup>kā]; Āv. 16, 10, 13; 19, 4), AMg. *iṭṭayagini* = *iṣṭakāgni* (Jiv. 293). — *uṭṭa* = *uṣṭra* (Sūyag. 253, 724 f.; 727; Vivāgas 163; Jiv. 356; Paṇhāv. 304; Paṇṇav. 366, 367; Uvās.; Ovav.), *uṭṭiya* = *auṣṭrika* (Uvās.), *uṭṭiyā* = *uṣṭrikā* (Uvās.; Ovav.). According to Mk. fol. 21 there occurs also *uṭṭha* — M. *saṃdajjā* = *saṃdajjā* (Deśin. 8, 18; G.R. s v. *damś, daś*). — *damṣṭrā* becomes M.AMg.Ś. *dādḥā*, CP. *tāḥhā*; *damṣṭrin*, AMg. Ś. *dādhi-* (§ 76). — *veṣṭate*, with the long vowel retained according to § 87, forms *vedhaṭ* = Pāli *vethati* (Vr. 8, 40; Hc. 4, 221; Kī. 4, 67). So M. *vedhia*, *āvedhia* (H.); AMg. *vedhemi* (Uvās. § 108), *vedhei* (Nāyādh. 621; Uvās. 110; Nirayāv. § 11; Vivāhap. 447), *vedhēnti* (Paṇhāv. 112), *uvvadheṭṭija vā nivvedheṭṭija vā* (Āyār. 2, 3, 2, 2), *vedhittā* (Rāyap. 266), *vedhāvai* (Vivāgas. 170), *āvedhiya*, *parivedhiya* (Thān. 568; Nāyādh. 1265; Paṇṇav. 436; Vivāhap. 706 f. 1323); JM. *vedhēttā*, *vedhiya*, *vedhium*, *vedheum* (Kk.), *parivedhiya* (Rṣabhap. 20), *vedhiyaya* (Pāyāl. 199), *vedhāvīya*, *parivedhāvīya* (T 7, 15, 17); Ś. *vedhida* (Mṛcch. 44, 4; 79, 20 [to be so read; see v.l.]; M.AMg.Ś. *vedha* = *veṣṭa* (G.H.R.; Anug. 557; Jiv. 862; Nāyādh. 1323, 1370; Rāyap. 266; Bālar. 168, 6; 267, 1); M. *vedhaṇa* = *vṣṭana* (H.R.), M. *saveḍhaṇa* (Mṛcch. 11, 22; 127, 12; so it should be read; see § 303). AMg. *vedhima* (Āyār. 2, 12, 1; 2, 15, 20; Anug. 29; Paṇhāv. 490, 519; Thān. 339; Nāyādh. 269; Vivāhap. 823; Jiv. 348, 605; Rāyap. 186; Nandī. 507; Dasav. N. 651, 10; Ovav.); M. AMg. *āvedha* (R.; Paṇhāv. 185); M. *āvedhaṇa* (G.). Likewise formed are: AMg. *koḍha* from *koṭṭha*, \**kuṭṭha* = *kuṣṭha*, *koḍhi-* from and beside *koṭṭhi-*, *kuṭṭhi*, *koḍhiya* = *kuṣṭika* (§ 66); AMg. *sedhi* from \**seṭṭhi*, \**siṭṭhi* = *śliṣṭi*, *sedhiya*, *anusedhi*, *paredhi*, *visedhi* (§ 66); AMg. JŚ. *loḍha* = *loṣṭa* (Dasav. 620, 14; Pav. 389, 10), beside Ś. *loṭṭhaka* (Mṛcch. 79, 21), M. *loṣṭagudā* (Mṛcch. 80, 5). Beside the regular AMg. *leṭṭhu* = *leṣṭu* (Paṇhāv. 502; Ovav.; Kappas.), JM. *leṭṭhuya* = *leṣṭuka* (Erz.); Ś. *leṭṭhū* = *leṣṭukā* (Mṛcch. 78, 12) stands *leḍhukka* (Deśin. 7, 24; Pāyāl. 153) with duplication of *k* according to § 194, further with dropping of the aspiration *leḍu* (Pāyāl. 153), *leḍua* (Deśin. 7, 24; Pāyāl. 153), *leḍukka* (Deśin. 7, 29) = Pāli *leḍḍu*, and the AMg. *leḷu*, written *lelu* (§ 226; Āyār. 1, 8, 3, 10; 2, 1, 3, 4, 5, 2; 2, 10, 8; Sūyag. 647, 692; Dasav. 616, 14; 630, 17), going back to *leḍu*. Instead of *ḍha* there occurs *ḷha* (written *lha*) in *koḷhua* = \**kroṣṭuka*, *kuḷha* = *kroṣṭṭ*, *koḷhāhala* = \**kroṣṭāphala* (§ 242). The same soundchange, without lengthening of the vowels, has taken place in M. *maradhū* = *māhārāṣṭri*; AMg. *aḍha* = *aṣṭa*, *ūsaḍha* = *uṣṭṣṭa*, *niṣaḍha* = *niṣṭṣṭa*; M. *visadha* = *viṣṭṣṭa*; AMg. JM. *samosaḍha* = *samavaṣṭṣṭa* (§ 67). Cf. § 564.

§ 305. *ṣpa* and *ṣpha* become *ppha* (Vr. 85, 51; Hc. 2, 53, 90; Kī. 2, 100, 49; Mk. fol. 25, 19); PG. *puppha* i.e. *puppha* = *puṣpa* (6, 34), M.AMg. JM.Ś. *puppha* (H.R.; Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 9; Uttar. 981; Kappas.; Erz.; Hāsy. 31, 21), Ś. *pupphaka* = *puṣpaka* (Mṛcch. 68, 9); Ś.A. *pupphakarandaa* = *puṣpakarandaka* (Mṛcch. 93, 9; 107, 2; 100, 24); A. *pupphavai* = *puṣpavai* (Hc. 4, 438, 3); *sappha* = *śaṣpa* (Bh. 3, 35; Hc. 2, 53). *bāṣpa* in the sense of “tear”, according to § 87, 188, becomes *bāha* through \**bāpha*, in the sense of steam, however, it becomes *bappa* (Vr. 3, 38; Hc. 2, 70; Mk. fol. 25). Thus M. JM.Ś.A. *bāha* (tear: G.H.R.; Acyutaś. 60; Vikr. 51, 8; 53, 6; 54, 10; Karp. 43, 12; 44, 6; Bālar. 156, 16; Erz. 8, 9 [vāha]; Dvār. 507, 16; Sagara. 8, 14; Rṣabhap. 12; Mṛcch. 325, 15; Śak. 82, 11; Mālatīm. 89, 7; Uttarar. 78, 5; Ratn. 298, 26; Bālar. 281, 3; Karp. 83, 2; Mallikām. 161, 11; 196, 18 [vā°]; Cait. 38, 10 [vā°]; Hc. 4, 395, 2; Vikr. 59, 6; 60, 17; 61, 5; 69, 21); Ś. *bappa* (steam; Jivān. 43, 10). Instead of *bappa* Mk. fol. 25 has *bappa*, as in Pāli, and as taught by him in the section on Ś. fol. 68, that in Ś. in the meaning “tear” *bappa* also may be used. Whether *bappa* is not merely an error of MSS. for *bāppha* cannot be said with certainty. In Venis. 62, 13; 63, 17; 76, 4, *bappa* is edited; the ed. Calc. has *bāppa*, *bāṣpa*; in Mudrār.

260,4, there stands in the text *vāha*; but the best MSS. have *bāpā*, P. *bāppha*, the ed. Calc. Saṁv. at 1926 p. 214,6 has *bāppa*; at Rukminīp. 30,1, there stands *bāppha*, like *vā* in Mallikām. 85,14; 124,22 [ *vā* ]. The vv. ll. *vaspa*, *vāspa*, *vāppa*, *vāppha* in Śak. 140;13 also point to *bāppa* or *bāppha*; in Priyad. 42,4 there stands *bāppha*, in the ed. Calc. 47,1 *vāppa*; in Cait. 44,8 stands *vāspa*; in Śak. 82,11 *Z* has *bāppha*. Consequently for Ś. *bāppha* too, perhaps *bāppa* also, beside *bāha* in the meaning "tear" will be correct. In Pāiyal. 112 *bāppha* and *bāha* are given in the meaning "tear". — The compounds oscillate between *ppa* and *ppha*, y-*ppa* preponderates: AMg. JM. *caūppaya*, AMg. *caūpaya*, A. *caupaa*=*catuṣpada* (§ 439); Ś. *caduppo dha*=*catuṣpatha* (Mr̥ch. 25,14; text *caūppaha*); AMg. *duppadham-saga*=*duṣpradharsaka* (Uttar. 286); M. *duppariia*=*duṣparicita* (R.); M. JM. *duppēccha*, Ś. *duppēkkha*=*duṣpreksya* (R.; Erz.; Lalitav. 555,11; Prab.45,11); M. *niṣpacchima*, *niṣpatta* *niṣpivāsa*=*niṣpaśīma*, *niṣpatra*, *niṣpipāsa* (H.). *niṣpakka*=*niṣpakṣa* (G.), *niṣpaampa*, *niṣpasava*, *niṣpaha*=*niṣprakampa*, *niṣprasara*, *niṣprabha* (R.); AMg. *niṣpaṅka*=*niṣpaṅka* (Paṇḥāv. 118; Ovav.) B-side M. *niṣpaṅga*=*niṣpaṅga* (H.), one says more usually<sup>1</sup> M. *niṣpaṅga*, JM. AMg. *niṣpaṅga* (R.; Erz.; Kk.; Thān. 525; Das v. N. 653,20; 657,5; Nāyādh.; Kappas.); *niṣphesa*=*niṣpeṣa* (Hc. 2,53); AMg. *niṣpāva*=*niṣpāva* (Thān. 398), but more frequently *niṣphāva* (Bh. 3,35; Hc. 2,53; Sūyag 747; Paṇḥāv. 34; JM. *niṣphāya*=*niṣpādita* (Erz.). One always says M. Ś. *niṣphanda*, AMg. *niṣphanda*, which should be equated as=*niṣpanda* (H. R.; At. tōg. 48; Nāyādh. 1383; Uvās.; Kappas.; Mahāv. 14,20; Mallikām. 85,14; 87,9; 124,6; 154,21; 221,12; Cait. 43,4). — *spha*=*ppha*: M. *niṣphura*=*niṣphura* (G.), M. Ś. *niṣphala*, JM. *niṣphala*=*niṣphala* (H. R.; Dvā. 501,30; Rṣa'hap. 14; Lalitav. 555,8; Mr̥ch. 120,7; Mu-drār. 266,2; Candak. 8,11; Mallikām. 181,17; 224,5). — In Mg. *spha* becomes *spha* and *spha* becomes *spha* (Hc. 4,289); *śaspakavala*=*śaspakavala*, *niṣphala*=*niṣphala*. According to Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lamkāra 2,12 *spha* and *spha* should be written in such words. In Mr̥ch. there stands *puṣṣhakalaṇḍa*=*puṣṣakaraṇḍa* (113,20), *puṣṣhakalaṇḍa* (96,18; 99,4; 100,21; 158,22), *puṣṣhakalaṇḍaka* (129,5; 132,2; 133,2; 140,8,14; 146,16; 162,18; 173,11). The MSS. have partly *puṣṣa*, *puṣṣha*. At 116,7, stands *duppēkkhe*=*duṣpreksyaḥ*; the v.l. is *duppēcche*. One reads *puṣṣa*<sup>o</sup> and *duppēske*.

<sup>1</sup>. So correctly S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Rāvaṇavaho together with a translation 4,32; false FISCHER, GGA. 1880 p. 329.

§ 306. *ska* and *skha* become *kkha* (Vr. 3,29 51; C. 3,3; Hc. 2,4,90; Kī. 2,88,49; Mk. fol. 24,19). M. AMg. JM. *khandha*=*skandha* (G. H. R.; Āyār. 2,1 7,1,8,11; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.); PG. *khaṁḍakoṁḍisa*=*skandakuṁḍinaḥ* (6,19); M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *khaṁbha*=*skambha* (G. R.; Ac. utas. 42,51; Sūyag. 961; Jīv. 448,481; Paṇḥāv. 279; Samav. 101; Vivāhap. 658. 660. 823; Rāyap. 58. 144; Nāyādh. § 21.122; p. 1054; Ovav.; Erz.; Mr̥ch. 40,22; 68,18; Viddhaś. 60,2; Dhūr. as. 6,5; Hc. 4,399). The grammarians (Vr. 3,14; Bh. 3,50; C. 3,10,19; Hc. 1,187; 2,8,89; Kī. 2,77; Mk. fol. 21) derive *khaṁbha* from *stambha*, since they make classical Skt. the basis. It is naturally = Vedic *skambha*. *avakkhanda*=*avaskanda* (Hc. 2,4); AMg. *amaṅakkha*, *samaṅakkha*=*amanaska*, *samanaska* (Sūyag. 842); *makkhara*=*maskara* (Kī. 2,88). In *skanda*, according to Hc. 2,5; Mk. fol. 24 aspiration may not take place; *khandā* and *kanda*. As a rule it does not occur in compounds (§ 301): *ēkkāra*=*ayaskāra* (Hc. 1,166); AMg. JM. *naṁōkkāra*=*namaskāra* (Hc. 2,4; Āyār. 2,15,22; Erz.; Kk.), beside *naṁojāra*, *ṇavajāra* (C. 34 p. 51) and M. *ṇamakkāra* (G.); cf. § 195; AMg. JM. *takkara*=*taskara* (Paṇḥāv. 120; Nāyādh. 1417; Uttar. 289; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.), AMg. *tukkarattāna* (Paṇḥāv. 147); Ś. *tirakkāra*=

*tiraskāra* (Prab. 15,1); Ś. *tirakkariṇī* = *tira-kuriṇī* (Śak. 119,3). So reads also the Kashmir recension 112,14, whilst the D vanāgarī recension 77,9, ed. BÖHTLINGK and the South Indian recension 256,17 read *tirakkharini*, as also BOLLENSSEN, Vikr. 24,4; 42,19 against his best MSS., which have °*kka*°; the ed. Bomb. 1888 has at 41,6; 72,1 rightly °*kka*°; the South Indian MSS. of Śak and Vikr. oscillate between °*kka*° and °*kka*°. M. *sakkaa*, AMg. JM. *sakkaja*, Ś. *sakkada* = *saṃskṛta*, AM. JM. *asakkaja* = *asaṃskṛta*, M. *sakkāra* = *saṃskāra*, JM. *sakkāriya* = *saṃskārita* (§ 76), AMg. *purakkada* = *puraskṛta* (Sūyag. 692); *purekada* (Sūyag. 284,540; Dasav. 627,7; 633,17; Ovav.), beside AMg. *saṃkhaja* (§ 49), *saṃkhadi* = *saṃskṛti* (Kappas.), *uvakkhada* = *upaskṛta* (Uttar. 355), *purēkkhada* (Paṇḍav. 796 ff.). Cf. § 49. 219 To it belong also *nikkha* (thief; Deśin. 4,47) = \**niṣkr* AMg. *nakkhi* (nose; Deśin. 4,46; Āyār. 2,3,2,5; Sūyag. 280,748) is = \**nāska* from Vedic *nās* with a change of gender; to it belong *nakkasirā* (nostril; Pāiyāl. 114). — *skha* = *kkha*: M. JM. *khalai*, Ś. *khaladi* = *skhalati* (R.; Dvār 504,34; Śak. 131,6), Dh. *khalanta* (Mṛcch. 30,8); M. *khalia*, JM. *khalija*, Ś. *khalida* = *skhalita* (G. H. R.; Erz.; Vikr. 35,9); M. S. *parikkhalanta* (H. R.; Mṛcch. 72,3), M. *parikkhalia* (G. R.). In Mg. *śka* and *śkha* are retained according to Hc. 4,289; *maskali* = *maskarin*; *paṣkhaladi* = *praskhalati*. According to Nāmi-ādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvya-lamkāra *s* becomes ś. The texts have *kkha*: *khalanti* (Mṛcch. 10,15) *paḥkhalanti* (Mṛcch. 9,23; 10,15), *khandṇa* (Mṛcch. 22,8), without any v. l. *hatthikkhandam* (Śak. 117,4), where R. has °*skandham*. One reads *skhalanti* = *paṣkhalanti*, *skandheṇa*, *hastiskandham*. So in all the cases.

§ 307. *sta* and *stha* become *ttha* (Vr. 3,12,51; Hc. 2,45,90; Ki. 2,85,49; Mk. fol. 21,19); M. *thaṇa* = *stana* (G. H. R.); *thui* = *stuti* (G. R.), *thoa* = *stoka* (G. H. R.), *attha* = *asta* (G. R.) and = *astra* (R.), *atthi* = *asti* (§ 498), *paithara* = *prastara* (H.), *hattha* = *hasta* (G. H. R.); PG. *vattthavāṇa* = *vāstavyāṇam* (6,8), *sahattha* = *svahasta* (7,51). Likewise the other dialects. In compounds the aspiration does not take place as a rule: AMg. JM. *duttara* = *dustara* (Āyār. 2,16,10; Sūyag. 213; Erz.), M. *dutiāra* = *dustāra*, *duttāratana* = \**dustāratana* (R.), AMg. *suduttāra* (Ovav.); AMg. *nittusa* = *nistuṣa* (Paṇḍav. 435). So also M. AMg. *samatta* = *samasta* (Hc. 2,45; R.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), beside M. JM. Ś. *samattha* (R.; Erz.; Kk.; Māhāv. 27,6; 28,1; where, however, the ed. Bomb. 59,4; 62,1 has *samatta*). *uraḍa*, which Ki. 2,110 equates as = *uastata*, is explained, as already recognized by LA'SEN<sup>1</sup>, from the stem *ura-* (§ 407). Beside *theṇa* = *stena* (thief; Hc. 1,147; Deśin. 5,29; Pāiyāl. 72), *theṇilla* (taken; fearful; Deśin. 5,32), *thūna* (§ 129), AMg. and JM. exclusively have *teṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4; 2,3,1,9,10; 2,4,1,8; Paṇḍav. 412 f.; Saṇḍav. 85; Uttar. 228,990; Dasav. 623,36,40; 624,10; 627,34; Uvās.; Āv. 44,7); AMg. *ateṇa* = *astena* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4), *teṇa* (Ovav.), *teṇija* (Jiyak 87; Kappas.) = *stainya*. *theṇa* is related to *teṇa*, as *stāyu* is to *tāyu* (theft) has gone over also to Skt of the Jainas.<sup>2</sup> According to Hc. 2,46; Mk. fol. 21 *tava* also may be used beside *thava* = *stava*; according to Vr. 3,13; Hc. 2,45; Mk. fol. 21 *stamba* becomes *tamba*. — *stha* = *ttha*: M. *thaiḍa* = *sthapūṭa* (G.), *thala* = *sthala* (G. H.), *thira* = *sthira* (G. H.), *avathā* = *avasthā* (H. R.); Ś. *kāatthaa* = *kāyasthaka* (Mṛcch. 78,13).

<sup>1</sup> Inst. § 82 p. 273. — 2. E. MÜLLER, Beitrage p. 47.

§ 308. Instead of the dental *ttha*, sometimes the cerebral *ṭṭha* too occurs for *sta* and *stha*. Sometimes both of them accompany one another, even in various forms and derivatives of the same roots and in the same dialect, without it being possible to find a rule, when one of the



other sounds must stand M AMg. JM. Ś. *aṭṭhi*=*asthi* (Vr.3,11; Hc. 2,32; Kī. 2,69; Mk. fol. 21; G. H. ; Aṇuṭar. 11,12; Āyār. 1,1,6,5; 2,1,1,2,3,4; Sūyag. 594; Vivāgas 90; Vivāhap. 89.112 168.183 280 926; Thān 54 f 186.431; Uvās.; Ovav; Kappas.; Erz.; Caṇḍak 87,9); M. *aṭṭhia*, AMg. *aṭṭhiya*=*asthika* (H.; Āyār. 2,1,10,6), Ś. *aṭṭhia*=*asthiya* (Mṛcch. 69,12; so should be read; cf. v.l.); AMg. *bahuatṭhiya* (Āyār. 2,1,10,5.6). — *stambha* forms *thambha* and *ṭhambha*, when it means “immovability” and “stiffness” (Hc. 2,9). Mk. fol. 21 has *thambha* only, and so M. (R.), JM. *gāṭhambha* = *gatistambha* (Erz. 82,21), *muhathambha* = *mukhastambha* (Erz. 82,22), Ś. *ūrutthambha* (Śak. 27,1; Priyad. 17,12). In the meanings “pole” and “post” one says only *thambha* in M. AMg.Ś. (C. 3,11; Hc. 2,1; R.; Vivāhap. 1327; Mālav. 63,1; Viddhās. 74,7). Beside *thambhijai*=*stabhate*, Hc. 2,9 teaches also *ṭhambhijai*. Frequently there occurs in the text the dental *tha*, as M. *thambhia*, AMg. JM. *thambhiya* (G.; Nāyādh.; Ovav; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.), M. *uttambhijai*, *uttambhijanti* (R. G.); M. *uttambhia* (H. R.), Ś. *uttambhida* (Priyad. 4,7); cerebral *tha* occurs in A. *uṭṭhabbhāi* (Hc. 3,365,3)<sup>1</sup>. On *khambha*, see § 306. — Beside *thera* there occurs more frequently *ṭhera*=*sthavira* (§ 166). — Beside AMg. *tattha*=*trasta* (Uvās.), M. *uttattha* (H.), *saṃtattha* (G.), there occurs, according to Hc. 2,136. also *taṭṭha*. The grammarians (Vr. 8,62; Appendix A 37; Hc. 2,136; Deśin. 8,67; Pāiyal. 260; Triv. 3,1,132) refer M. *hittha* (H. R.) and *āhittha* (R.) also to *trasta*. S GOLDSCHMIDT<sup>2</sup> refers *hittha* to *bhīṣ*, WEBER<sup>3</sup> refers it to *dhvasta* or *adhastāt*, which in M. AMg. JM. forms *heṭṭha*, *hiṭṭha* (§ 107) and HOEFER<sup>4</sup> thought of aspiration of the initial of *trasta*. Dialectically there occur also *hittha* (noun — shame; Pāiyal. 167), *hitthā* (shame; Deśin. 8,67), *hittha* (ashamed; fearful; Gopāl in Deśin. 8,67; cf. Deśikoṣa on H. 386), *āhittha* (angry, confused; Deśin. 1,76; Pāiyal. 177), and with cerebralization *hiṭṭha*, *hiṭṭhahiḍa* (confused; Deśin. 8,67). The interchange of *ttha* and *ṭtha* points to *sta*, and hence I consider the derivation from *adhastāt* as correct. — Ś. *pallattha*, beside the dialectical *pallaṭṭha*, *pallaṭṭai* (§ 285)=*paryasta*; *pallaṭṭha* has lost its aspiration, as *samattha* beside *śmattha* =*samasta* (§307). M. Ś. A *visamṭhula*=*visamṭhula*, written in Skt. as *visamṭhula* as well (Hc. 2,32; Mk. f.l. 21; Pāiyal. 264; G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 41,10 v. l.; 117,19; Vikr. 60,18; Prab 39,8; Mallikām. 13,3; Hc. 4,436 ).

1. FISCHEL, BB. 15,122. — 2. Rāvaṇavaho s. v. *bhīṣ*. — 3. On Hāla 386. — 4. ZWS. 2,318.

§309. The oscillation between *ttha* and *ṭtha* is especially shown in the root *sthā* and its derivatives, without one being able, with OSTHOFF<sup>1</sup>, to explain *ṭha* by false analogy. One says: PG. *anuvatṭhāveti*=*anuvasthāpuyati* (7,45; cf 184.189); M. JM. *thāi*=*\*sthāi*, M. *ṇiṭṭhāi*, *saṃṭhāi*, JM. *thāha*, AMg. *abhuṭṭhanti*; JM. *thāyanti*, but A. *ṭhanti*; A. *uṭṭhāi*, JM. *uṭṭhaha*, AMg. JM. *uṭṭhei*, JM.Ś. *uṭṭhehi*, but Ś. also *utṭhehi*, *utṭhedu*, (§ 483); M. *ṭhia*, AMg. JM. *ṭhiya*, Ś. *ṭhida*=*sthita* (G.H.R.; Āyār. 1,6,5,5; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Vikr. 42,18; 52,2), but also *thia*, Ś. *thida* (Hc. 4,16; Vikr. 83,20); Mg. AMg. JM. *ṭhavei*, A. *ṭhavehu*, AMg. *ṭhāvei*, JM. *ṭhāveni*, A. *paṭhāvai*, Ś. *paṭhāvai*, beside Ś. *samavattṭhāveni*, *paṭṭavattṭhāveni* (§551), M. *uṭṭhia*, AMg. JM. *uṭṭhiya* (Hc. 4,16; R.; Aṇuog. 60; Vivāhap. 169; Āyār. 1.5.2.2; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), but also *utthia*, Ś. *utthida* (Hc. 4,16; Vikr. 75,15; v.l. °*ṭṭhi*°); *paṭṭhia*=*prasthita* (Hc. 4,16), but M. *paṭṭhia* (H. R.), Ś. *paṭṭhida* (Śak. 136,16; Vikr. 16,2; 22,17; Mālatim. 102,8; 104,2,3; 124,6; Mudrār. 228,5; 261,3; Prab. 17,9; Priyad. 8,16; AMg. JM. *uvattṭhiya*=*upasthita* (Bhag.; Erz.; Kk.), but also Ś. *uvattṭhida* (Śak. 13,79; Vikr. 6,19; 10,2; 43,3); M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *ṭhāna*=*sthāna* (Hc. 4,16; Pāiyal. 261; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,2,3,6; 2,2,1,1 ff.; Sūyag. 688; Uṭṭar. 37,5; Vivāhap. 1310; Uvās.; Nāyādh.;

Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap. 29; Pav. 313,44; Mṛcch. 70,25; 141,2; Śak. 123,7; 154,8; Vikr. 23,15; 44,7 etc.; Hc. 4,362), but also M. *thāṇa* (Hc.4,16; R.); AMg. *thāṇija* (respectable; Deśin. 4,5; Nirayāv. § 10), beside *thāṇija* (Deśin. 4,5) = *sthāṇiya*; M. AMg. JM. *thii*, Ś. *thidi* = *sthiiti* (H. R.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nirayāv.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.), but also M. *thii*, Ś. *thidi* (R.; Vikr. 28,19; 72,16; at Śak. 107,12), and so many others. At the end of compounds °*stha* always becomes °*ttha*; M. *kamālattha*, *karattha* (H.), *dūrattha* (R.); AMg. *āgārattha* (Āyār. 1,8,1,6), *gāratthiya* (Āyār. 2,1,1,7); JM. *āsanattha*, *jōvvanattha*, *sahavattha*, *hiyayatttha* (Erz.), Ś. *ekattha* (Mṛcch. 73,3; Śak. 26,14), *vaattha* = *vayaḥstha* (Śak. 141,9), *paiddittha* = *prakṛtistha* (Śak. 160,13); M AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *majjhattha* = *madhyastha* (§ 214). Corresponding to Skt. °*ttha*, *aṣvattha* becomes AMg. *amsōttha*, *assōttha*, *āsōttha*, *āsattha* (§ 74); *kapittha* becomes AMg. Mg. *kavittha* (Āyār. 2,1,8,1,6; Mṛcch. 21,22), but mostly AMg. *kaviṭṭha* (Nirayāv. 45; Paṇṇav. 31.482; Jiv. 46; Dasav. 623,8; Uttar. 983 f.). — *sthāṇu*, according to Vr. 3,15; Hc. 2,7; Ki. 2,78; Mk. fol. 21, becomes \**thāṇu* in the meaning “Śiva”, but in the meanings “stump”, “flock” it becomes *khāṇu*. So M. *thāṇu* “Śiva” (Pāyāl. 21; G.); AMg. *khāṇu* “stump”, “flock” (Paṇbāv. 509; Nāyādh. 335; Uttar. 439), but JM. also *thāṇu* “stump of a tree”, “flock” (Pāyāl. 259; Dvār. 504,9), *khāṇu*, beside which *khaṇṇu* also is said (Hc. 2,99; Mk. fol. 21.27) goes back to a side-form \**skhāṇu*. *thāṇu* is related to *khāṇu* as *stubbh* to *ksubbh*, *stambh* to *skambh*, Pkt. *duṭṭha* to *dukkha* (§ 90.120.306.311). — *sthaḡ* has in M. a dental in the beginning: *thaei* (R.), *thaesu*, *thāṣsam*, *thāiṃ* (H.), *thāia* (H. R.), *utthāia*, *samutthāiṃ* (H.), °*thāia*, *samoṭthāia* (R.), in JM. a cerebral : *thāiṃ*, *thāiṃ* (Āv. 30,4). The parallel root \**sthak* forms in Pāli *thakeli*, in M. JM. Ś. Mg. *dhakkai*, °*di* (§ 221). Yet there occurs also JM. *thakkissai* (T. 5,19).

1. Jenaer Literaturzeitung 18.8, p. 486.

§ 310. In Mg. *sta* is retained (Hc. 4,289) and *stha* becomes *sta* (Hc. 4,291; Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra. 2,12): *hasti* = *hastin*; *uvastida* = *upasthita*; *samuvastida* = *samupasthita*; *sustida* = *susthita*. According to Nāmisādhu *sta* becomes *sta*. The Lalitav. has : *tathastehim* = *tatrasthāḥ* (265,20); *uvastidānam* = *upasthitānam*; *kaḍastalānam* = *kaṭasthalānam*, *pāśastide* = *pārśvasthitāḥ*, *niastānādo* = *nijasthānāt* (566,3.9.12.15); *siḍā* = *stītāḥ*, *astānastide* = *asthānasthītāḥ* (567,1.2). In the Mṛcch. STENZLER and GODABOLE, who here, as in many other places, follows him, mostly write *sta* for *stha*, but *ttha* for *stha*. Thus *haṣṭa* = *hastā* (12,14; 14,1; 16,23; 21,12; 22,4; 121,25; 122,20; 126,24), but *hatthā* (32,18; 39,20; 134,1 2.3; 135,1.2; 160,3; 171,3) and *hatthi* = *hastin* (40,9; 168,4); as also at Śak. 117,4; Veniṣ. 34,14 it stands. In the Mṛcch. the MSS. mostly have °*ttha*°, only at 16,25; 21,12 one of the MSS. has °*sta*°, at 21,22 one of the MSS. has also *hacche*, and once *haṣce*, against this one of them has at 14,1 *hastādo*, at 22,4 five of the MSS. have *haste*, at 126,24 two of them have *haste*, so that °*sta*° is better warranted than °*ttha*°. Further pro ex. *thūṇu* = *stūhi* (113,12; 115,9), the MSS. however *stūṇu*; *stūṇa* (or *ṣūṇu*, *ṣūṇu* and so on = *ṣṛṇu*); *maṣṭa* and *maṣṭaka* = *maṣṭa* and *mastaka* (12,17; 20,17; 21,22; 149,25; 151,24) but *mattha* (161,7); the MSS. mostly have °*sta*°, rarely °*ttha*° and only at 161,7 one of them has °*sta*°; A points to °*stha*° at 12,17; 149,25, as STENZLER writes in *isthiā* = *itthiā* = *strikā* (12,3.5; 119,23; 136,13; 140,10; 145,3.4; 146,4; 164,20), against *itthiā* (112,6; 135,1.25). The MSS. again have mostly °*tthi*°, only at 112,6 B, 140,10 E and 145,4 D have °*sthi*°, on the other hand 112,6 H. has *isthiām*, C °*stri*°, 135,13 DE, 140,10 D °*sthi*°, to which also points °*snti*° 136,13 of B, to °*sthi*° at the most A 119,23; 140,10. One reads *istiā*. In Prab. at 62,7, there stands *itthiā* and so also in other

places here and always in Veniṣ., Mudrār, in other words, and often in Mṛcch. °ttha° stands for °sta°. For *stha* stands *ittha* in Mṛcch. pro ex. in *thāvālaa*, °laka=*sthāvaraka* (96,17;116,4,118,10;119,11;121,9;122,9 etc.) and thus the MSS., except at 96,17, where ECDF have *sthā°*; *thoam*=*stokam* (157,6); *avatthide*=*avasthitaḥ* (99,3); *uvattihida*=*upasthita* (118,23; 138,13;175,17), and *ītha*, pro ex. *paīthāvia*=*prasthāpya* (21,12); *śamīthā-vehi*=*śamīsthāpaya* (130,11); *śamīthida* (v.l. °tthi°)=*śamīsthita* (159,15); *āhalaṇaīthāṇehim* (v.l. °tthā°)=*ābharaṇasthānaih* (141,2). So also in the other dramas with a few exceptions, as °mastie=°mastike, *vastie*=°*vastrike* beside °*hattiie*=°*hastike* (Caṇḍak. 68,16;69,1), *astam* (Caṇḍak. 70,14), beside *samutthide* (72,1); *pastide*=*prasthitaḥ*, *nivastide*=*nivastritaḥ* (Mallikām. 114,4.11). The vv. ll. furnish more information. We should, with Hc., everywhere write *st*.

§ 311. *spa* and *spha* become *ppha* ( Vr. 3,36.51; Hc. 2,53.90; Ki. 2,100.49; Mk. fol. 25.19). *spa*=*ppha*: M. Ś. *phāmsa*=*sparśa*, Ś. *pariphāmsa* (§ 74), M. AMg. *pharisa*, AMg. *pharisaga* (§ 135), AMg. JM. JŚ. *phāsa* (§ 62); *phandaṇa*=*spandana* (Hc. 2,53); *paḍṣpḥaddhi*=*praiṣpardhin* (§ 77). The aspiration does not take place in AMg. *puītha*=*sprīta* (Āyār. 1,1,4,6, 7,4;1,6,2,3;1,8,3,6,4,1; Sūyag.65.111.122.144.170.350; Uttar. 48.51.61.106. 126; Vivāhap. 97 f. 116.145; Paṇṇav. 134; Ovav.), *apuītha* (Āyār. 1,8,4,1; Vivāhap. 97 f.), *apuīthaya* (Sūyag. 104), very often immediately beside *pharisa* or *phāsa* and *phusai*=*sprītai* (§ 186). In Āyār. 1,6,5,1 there stands *phuītho*. So also *phusai* and *pusai* (wipes; § 486). In compounds the aspiration does not take place as a rule (§ 301): M. A. *avarōppara*=*aparaspāra* (G.; Hc. 4,409); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *parōppara*=*paraspara* (Hc. 1,62;2,53; G.; Karp. 77,10;101,1; Paṇḥāv. 68; Paṇṇav. 646; Vivāhap. 1099; Āv. 7,11; Erz.; Prab. 9,16; Bālar. 218,11; Mallikām. 124,8;158,19;160,8; 223,12), Ś. also, probably falsely, *parappāra* (Mālatim. 119,6;358,1; Uttarar. 108,1; Mallikām. 184,20). Cf. § 195. — AMg. *dupparisa*=*duḥpārśa* (Paṇḥāv. 508). — *nīppīha*=*nīḥspīha* (Hc. 2,23). From *bṛhaspati* there occurs, beside *bihapphadi* and *bahapphadi* also AMg. *bahassaī*, *bihassaī* (§ 53), and numerous other forms in the grammarians (§ 212). Likewise stands in AMg. beside *vaṇapphāi*=*vanaspāti* (Hc. 2,69; Paṇḥāv. 341; Paṇṇav. 35; Jiv. 213.316; Vivāhap. 93.144), JŚ. *vaṇapphadi* (Kattig. 401.336), also AMg. *vaṇassai* (Hc. 2,69; Mk. fol. 25; Āyār. 1,1,5,4;2,1,7,3,6;2,2,2,13; Sūyag. 792.857; Paṇḥāv. 29; Jiv. 13.316 (beside °*ppha*°). 969f.; Paṇṇav. 44.742; Uttar. 1039.1048; Vivāhap. 30,430.465 f.; Thān. 25.26.52). The forms with *ssa* presuppose that *pati*, as after vowels, at the beginning of the second member of a compound, has become *vai*, so that *ssa*=*sva*. Cf. § 195.407. The similar phonetic transformation occurs in *sihāi*=°*spīhāi* (Hc. 4,34.192; Mk. fol. 25) for °*svihāi*. AMg. has *pihējjā*=*sprīhayet* (Thān. 158). *chihā* is not=°*sprīhā* (Hc. 1,128;2,23; Mk. fol. 25), but belongs like *chihāi* (touches; Hc. 4,182), to a root \**kṣibh*, which is a parallel root to *ksubb* (§ 66). — *spha*=*ppha*: M. AMg. Ś. *phāliha*=*sphālika* (§ 206), M. *phuda*=*sphuṭa* (G. H. R.); *phulinga*=*sphulinga* (G. R.); *apphodaṇa*=*āsphōṭana* (G.), *apphāliha*=*āsphāliha* (G. R.); *papphurai*=*prasphurati* (G. H.). *khōḍa* is not=°*sphōṭaka* ( Vr. 3,16; Hc. 2,6; Ki. 2,76; Mk. fol. 21), and *khēḍa* is not=°*sphēṭaka*, *khēḍa* is not=°*sphēṭika* (Hc. 2,6), but the words presuppose side-forms with an initial *skha*. Cf. § 90.120.306.309. According to Mk. fol. 67 in Ś. *phōḍa* alone is permitted; thus *viḥphōḍa*=*viḥphōṭaka* (Sak. 30,1). — In Mg., according to Hc. 4,289, *spa* and *spha* are retained: *buhaspadi*=*bṛhaspati*; according to Nāmīśadhu on Rudrata, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12 they become *spa*, *spha*: *bihaspadi*. At Mṛcch. 133,24; Śak. 115,11 stands *phulanti*=*sphuranti*, Prab. 58,1, *phalasa*, 58,8 *phāmsa*; ed. Bomb. P. have both times

*phalasa*, M. more correctly *phaliśa*. One reads *sphulanti*, *spaliśa* and so in all similar cases.

§ 312. If the consonant following a sibilant is a nasal the sibilant becomes *h* (§ 262—264) and the order of sounds is reversed. Thus *śna*, *ṣna* and *sna*, when they are not separated by a separation vowel (§ 131 ff.), uniformly become *ṅha*; *śma*, *ṣma*, *sma* become *mha* ( Vr. 3,32.33; C. 3,6; Hc. 2,74.75; Kī. 2,90.94; Mk. fol. 25.26). — *śna*=*ṅha*: *aṅhai*, AMg. *aṅhāi*=*aśnāi* (§ 512); AMg. JŚ. *paṅha*=*praśna* ( Sūyag. 523; Kattig. 399,311 ); *siṅha*=*śiśna* ( Bh. 3,33; Hc. 3,75 ) — *śma* becomes *mha*: *kamhāra*, Ś. *kamhira*=*kāśmūra* (§ 120); *kumhāna*=*kuśmāna* (Hc. 2,74). *raśmi* always becomes *rassi* ( Bh. 3,2; Hc. 1,35; 2,74.78; Pāiyal. 47 ); AMg. Ś. *sahassarassi* = *sahasarassi* ( Vivāhap. 169; Rāyap. 238; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Ratn. 311,8; Prab. 14,17; Priyad. 18,15 ). In the anlaut *ś* is assimilated to *m*: AMg. *maṃsu*=*śmaśru*, *nimmam̐su*=*niśmaśru*, JŚ. *maṃsuga*=*śmaśruka* (§ 74), also *massu* ( Bh. 3,6; Hc. 2,86; Kī 2,53) and *māsu* (Hc.2,86); M. Ś. *masāna*, Mg. *maśāna*=*śmaśāna*, whilst in AMg. JM. *susāna* *m* has been assimilated to *s* (§ 104). — *ṣna*=*ṅha*: M. AMg. JM. Ś. *uṅha*=*uṣṇa* ( G. H. R.; Karp. 45,5; Āyār 1,5,6,4; Uttar. 58; Kappas.; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Śak. 29,5,6;74,9; Vikr. 48,11 ); Ś. *aṅuṅhadā*=*anuṣṇatā* ( Mālav. 30,6 ), *uṅhaa*=*uṣṇaka*, *uṅhattana*=*\*uṣṇatvana* ( Hc. 4,343,1 ), AMg. *siuṅha*=*śiṭosṇa*, in AMg., however, usually *usiṅa* (§ 133 ). — *uṅhisa*=*uṣṇiṣa* ( Hc. 2,75 ); M. AMg. Ś. *kaṅha*, AMg. *kiṅha*, beside M. Ś. *kaśana*, AMg. JM. *kaśiṅa*=*kṛṣṇa*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *kaṅha*=*kṛṣṇa* (§ 52); JM. D. *viṅhu*=*viṣṇu* (§72.119). — *śma*=*mha*: M. *umhā*=*uśman* ( Grr.; G. ), *umhavia*, *umhāla* ( G. ); M. AMg. Ś. Mg. A. *gimha*=*grīśma* (§ 83); M. JM. Ś. *tumhāriśa*=*yuśmādyśa* (§245); M. JM. Ś. A. *tumhe*=*yuśme* (§ 422 ). — *mahiśmatī* becomes in Ś. *mahiśsadi* ( Bālar. 67,14 ). — *bhīśma*, according to Hc. 2,54, becomes *biḥp̐pha*, *ślesman*, according to Hc. 2,55, Mk. fol. 25, becomes *sep̐ha*- beside *silimha* and AMg. JM. A. *simbha*- AMg. *śem̐bha*- (§267). The forms presuppose the line of transformation \**bhīśna*, \**bhīśpa*, *ślesman*, \**ślespan* (§ 251.277). On *kohaṅḍī*=*kūśmāṅḍī*, AMg. *kohaṅḍa*, *kūhaṅḍa*, *kūhaṅḍa*=*kūśmāṅḍa* see §127, on A *gimha*=*grīśma* § 267. — In the pronominal ending of the loc. sing. -*śmin*, which dialectically has been extended also to nouns in -*i* and -*u*, *ś* is assimilated to *m*: M. *uahimmi*, JM. *uḃahimmi*=*udadhau*; AMg. *sahassarassimmi*=*sahasra-raśmau*; AMg. *uimmi*=*ṛtau*; M. *pahummi*=*prabhau* (§ 366<sup>a</sup>.379). In AMg. -*śmin* mostly becomes -*ṃsi*: *kucchiṃsi*=*kukṣau*; *pāṇiṃsi*=*pāṇau*; *leḷiṃsi*=*leṣṭau* (§ 74.379), in A. it becomes -*h̐* from -*ssim̐* (§ 263.313 ): *akkhiḥ̐*=*akṣṇi*; *kalih̐*=*kalau* (§ 379 ). — *kṣna*, *kṣma* too are treated like *śna*, *śma*: M. AMg. *saṅha*=*ślakṣna* (§315); M. AMg. *paṅha*=*paṅśman* ( Vr. 3,32; Hc. 2,74; Kī. 2,94; G.H.R.; Uvās.; Ovav. ); M. AMg. Ś. *paṅhala*=*paṅśmala* (Hc. 2,74; Mk. fol. 25; G.H.R.; Vivāhap. 822; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mālatīm. 217,4; Mallikām. 249,10 [ text *vahmala* ]; Caṅḍak. 87,8 ); Ś. *paṅhalida* (Mahāv. 101,17). Beside *tiṅha*=*tikṣṇa* (Bh. 3,33; C. 3,6 p. 54; Hc. 2,75, 82; Kī. 2,90) the forms found in the text are M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. A. *tikkha* ( C. 2,3; 3,6 p. 48; Hc. 2,82; H.; Karp. 28,7; 38,11; 39,7; 65,2; Sūyag. 280.289; Uttar. 338; Dasav. 625,36; Kappas.; Erz.; Śak. 135,14; Prab. 4,4 [ so correctly the ed. Bomb. M. P. ]; Veniś. 61,14; Mahāv. 101.16; Bālar. 289,13; Mallikām. 82,14; Hāsy. 32,4; Mg. Mrcch. 164,15; A. Hc. 4,395,1 ); AMg. *sutikkha* (Vivāhap. 424 ); Ś. *tikkhattana* (Viddhaś. 99,9); A. *tikkhei* ( Hc. 3,344 ); *tikkhālia* (sharpened; Deśin. 5,13; Pāiyal. 200) only. According to Mk.fol.26 one says *tikkha* in literary sense, and *tiṅha* in a secondary sense, as *tiṅho raīaro* “the sharp sun”. In Karp., however, *tikkha* is used also in a secondary sense — *lakṣmī* always becomes, even as

a proper noun, M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. D. A. *lacchī* ( Bh. 3,30; C. 3,6,36; Hc. 2,17; Ki. 2,82; Mk. fol. 24; Pāiyal. 96; G. H. R.; Karp. 31,2;49,2; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Ṛṣabhap. 12; Kattig. 399,319,320; 401,344; Śak. 81,11; Vikr. 35,6,11;52,5; Mālav. 33,17; Prab. 4,8; Mālatim. 218,2; Karp. 22,5;35,3;110,8; Anarghar. 277,1; Mallikām. 73,6; D. Mṛcch. 99,25; A. Hc. 4,436 ); on the other hand, *lakṣmaṇa* always becomes M. JM. Ś. *lakkhaṇa* ( C. 3,6; Mk. fol. 24; R.; KI. 2; Uttarar. 32,5; 127,5;190.1;204.11; Mahāv. 52,14; Anarghar. 115,12;317,16; Ummattar. 6,2; Pras. 88,6 ).

§ 313. *sna=ṇha*, a' ways also in the anlaut in AMg. JM. JŚ., which otherwise mostly retain *n* ( § 224 ): *ṇhāi=snāti* ( Hc. 4,14 ); JM. *ṇhāmo=snāmah* ( Āv. 17,7 ), *ṇhāittā* ( Āv. 38,2 ), *ṇhaviūṇa* ( Erz. ), *ṇhāvesu*, *ṇhāvinti* ( T. 6,5 ); AMg. *ṇhāṇei*, *ṇhāṇittā* ( Jiv. 610 ), *ṇhāṇēnti* ( Vivāhap. 1265 ), *ṇhāvei* ( Nirayāv. 17 ), *ṇhāvēnti* ( Vivāhap. 822 ), *ṇhāveha* ( Vivāhap. 1261 ); Ś. *ṇhāissam* ( Mṛcch. 27,14 ), *ṇhādum* ( Mallikām. 128,11 ), *ṇhāia* ( Nāgān. 51,6; Priyad. 8,13;12,11 ); M. *ṇhāo*, AMg. JM. *ṇhā'a*, Ś. *ṇhāda=snāta* ( Pāiyal. 238; H.; Sūyag. 730; Vivāhap. 187,790 f.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 17,8; Erz.; Mṛcch. 27,12 ); *ṇhāvānto* [ text <sup>o</sup>vayando ] = *snāpayan* ( Mallikām. 239,3 ); AMg. JM. *ṇhāvija=snāpita* ( Uvās.; Erz. ); AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. A. *ṇhāṇa=snāna* ( Vr. 3,33; Ki. 2,90; Rāyap. 56; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,358; Mṛcch. 90,14; Vikr. 34,6; Mallikām. 190,16; Hc. 4,399 ); AMg. *anṇhāṇa=asnāna* ( Paṇhāv. 452 ), *anṇhāṇaja* ( Thān. 531; Vivāhap. 135 ); JM. *ṇhavaṇa=snāpana* ( T. 6,1,3.6 [ text *ṇha'* ]; Kk. ); Ś. *ṇhavaṇaa=snāpanaka* ( Nāgān. 39,4.13 ); AMg. *ṇhāvijā=snāpikā* ( Vivāhap. 964 ). So also *ṇhāvīa=\*snāpita*; however, Ś. Mg. *ṇāvīda* ( § 210 ). Ś. *paṇhuda=prasnuta* ( Mahāv. 65,4; Uttarar. 73,10 ). In *sneha* and *snigdha* in M. AMg. JM. A. *s* is assimilated to *n* as a rule ( Vr. 3,64; Bh. 3,1; Hc. 2,77,102,109; Ki. 2,58; Mk. fol. 26 ). Thus M. Ś. *ṇeha* ( G. H. R.; Hc. 4,332,1,406,2,422,6,8,426,1; Piṅgala 2,118 ), AMg. JM. *ṇeha* ( C. 2,27; Pāiyal. 120; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Kk. ), in verses *ṇeha* also in Mg. ( Mṛcch. 157,6 ) and D. ( Mṛcch. 105,16 ); M. *niddha*, AMg. JM. *midḍha*, *niddha* ( H. R.; Āyār. 1,5,6,4; 2,1,5,5; Sūyag. 590; Jiv. 224,351; Paṇhāv. 285; Uttar. 1022; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz. ); *ṇehālu=snehavat* ( C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,59 [ *ṇe'* ] ); A. *ninṇeha*, JM. *ninneha=niḥsneha* ( Hc. 4,367,5; Erz. ). Beside these there occur *saṇeha*, A. *sasaṇehi*, *saṇiddha*, M. JM. Ś. *siṇiddha*, the forms which alone can be used in Ś. ( § 140 ). In *susā=smuṣā* ( Hc. 1,261 ) beside AMg. *ṇhusā*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *suphā*, M. *soṇhā* ( § 148 ), P. *sunusā* ( § 139,148 ), *n* has been assimilated. — *sma=mha*: PG. M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *amhe=asme* ( § 419 ); M. JM. Ś. *amhārisa=asmā-dṛṣa* ( § 245 ); M. Ś. A. *vimhaa*, JM. *vimhaya=vismaya* ( G. R.; Erz.; Śak. 38,8; Hc. 4,420,4 ). — *bhasman*, according to Hc. 2,51 becomes also *bhappa*, which points to the transition steps *\*bhasvan*, *\*bhaspan* ( § 251.277.312 ), in addition to AMg. JM. *bhāsa*, Ś. *bhassa* ( § 65 ), JM. *bhasama* ( § 132 ). The pronominal ending *-smīn*, which dialectically has been extended also to nouns in *-a*, becomes either *-ssim*, Mg. *śsim*, as in Ś. *tassim*, Mg. *taśsim=tasmin* ( § 425 ), *eassim*, Ś. *edassim*, Mg. *edaśsim=etasmin* ( § 426 ); PG. *caścāsmīn*, AMg. Ś. *assim=asmin* ( § 429 ), or M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *-mmi*, as *tanmi*, *eammi*, *ejammi* ( § 425.426 ), M. *jōvvaṇammi=yauvane*, AMg. *bambhānmi kappammi=brāhṇe kalpe*, JM. *pāḍaliputtammi=pāḍaliputre* ( § 366<sup>a</sup> ), or AMg. mostly *-mīsi*, as *taṁsi*, *imaṁsi* ( § 425.430 ), *logaṁsi=loke*, *dāragaṁsi=dāraṅke* ( § 366<sup>a</sup> ), as AMg. also *aṁsi=asmi* says ( § 74.498 ). — *-ssim*, through *\*-sim*, in all the dialects in the pronominal declension, and in Mg. A. also in the nominal declension, has become *-him*, as in *tahim*, *jahim*, *kahim=tasmin*, *yasmin*, *kasmin*; Mg. *kulāhim=kule*; *gharahi=ghare* ( § 264.366<sup>a</sup>.425.427.428 ).

Instead of *-mmi* Hc. 1,23 permits also *-m̄mi* : *vaṇammi* and *vaṇam̄mi* = *vane*. This orthography is very frequent in AMg. in the MSS., and has often been retained in many editions, perhaps correctly. — *s* has been assimilated with *m* in AMg. *m̄i* = *\*smi* = *asmi*, AMg. JM. *mo* = *smaḥ*, beside the usual *mhi*, *mha*, *mho* (§ 498), on the other hand *m* has been assimilated to *s* in JM. *sarāmi*, *sarai*, AMg. *sarai*, JM. *sarasu* = *smarāmi*, *smarati*, *smara*, M. *visaria*, *visaria*, JŚ. *visarida* = *vismṛta*, beside JM. *vissariya*, dialectical *vimharai* = *vismarati*, common *sumarai*, Ś. *sumaredi*, *visumarāmi*, Mg. *śumaledi*, *visumaledi* (§478); *seram* = *smeram* ( Hc. 2,78). M. *bharai* ( Vr. 8,18; Hc. 4,74; Ki. 4,49; Mk. fol. 53; G. s. v. *smṛ*; H. R. s. v. *smar* ), JM. *bhariya* = *smṛta* ( Pāiyal. 194; Erz. ), also *bhalai* ( Hc. 4,74 ), M. *sambharaṇa* ( G. ) will stand for *\*mharai*, *\*mbharai* (§267). According to Mk. fol. 54 some taught also *marai*, *vibharai* ( MS. *vimbharai* ).

§ 314. In Mg. according to Hc. 4,289 *ṣṇa*, *sna* become *ṣṇa*, *śma*, *sma* become *sma*; only in *grīṣma*, *śma* becomes *mha*: *viṣṇu* = *viṣṇu*; *usma* = *ūsman*; *vismaa* = *vismaya*; but *gimha* = *grīṣma*. For *sma*, Śilārka too confirms this; while commenting on the readings of the text *akasmāt* (Āyār. 1,7,1,3), *akasmāddanḍa* (Sūyag. 682) and *asmākam* (Sūyag. 983) he notes what these words were spoken by all in the land of Magadha, even down to the wives of herdsmen, as Skt. So here too they should be pronounced. Similarly Abhayadeva on Ṭhāṇ. 372 *akasmāddanḍa*. For AMg. the sole correct forms are the forms, such as *akamhābhaja* ( Samav. 19; Ṭhāṇ. 455 ) ; the forms with *sma* have been adopted from Skt. Nāmīsādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12 teaches *viṣṇu* = *viṣṇu* and indirectly also *ś* for *ṣ*, *s* in other sound groups. For *śna*, *śma* the rules are wanting in Hc.; hence it remains uncertain, whether they become *śṇa*, *śma* or *ṣṇa*, *sma* or *ṇha*, *mha*. The manuscripts of the dramas do not have merely *gimha* ( Mṛcch. 10,4 ), but also *paṇha* = *praśna* ( Mṛcch. 80,18; 81,5 ); *uṇha* = *uṣṇa* ( Mṛcch. 116,17; Venis. 33,12 ); *viṇhu* = *viṣṇu* ( Prab. 63,15 ); *tunḥia* = *tūṣṇika* ( Mṛcch. 164,14 ); always *amhāṇam*, *amhe*, *tumha*, *tumhāṇam*, *tumhe* ( pro ex. Mṛcch. 31,15; 158,23; Prab. 53,15,16; Mṛcch. 139,13; 16,19 ); *amhāṭisa* = *asmāḍṛsa* ( Mṛcch. 164,5 ); *ṇhāmi* = *snāmi*, *ṇhāde* = *snātah* ( Mṛcch. 113,21; 136,11 ) etc. The ending *-sm̄in* in the MSS. always becomes *-śīm̄*, and *-sma* always becomes *-mha*. So has also the Lalitav.: *edaśīm̄* = *etasm̄in* ( 565,6 ), *yāṇīśāma* = *janāyamaḥ* ( 565,9 ), *amhadeśiya*, *amhāṇam*, *tumhāṇam* ( 565,12,14; 566,9 ), *paṇyāse mha* [ sic ] = *prakāśāyama* ( 567,1 ).

§ 315. In so far as a separation vowel does not appear a semi-vowel following a sibilant is assimilated ( § 131-140 ), according to the principal rules ( § 279.287.296.297 ). — *śya* = *ssa*; Mg. *śśa*: JM. Ś. *avaśsaṇ* = *avaśyam* ( Erz. ; Lalitav. 555,5; Śak. 44,6; 128,9; Vikr. 53,12; Mudrār. 264,5; Karp. 103,6; M. *ṇāsai*, AMg. *nassai*, JM. *nāsai*. Ś. *ṇassadi* = *naśyati*; JM. *nassāmo* = *naśyamaḥ* Mg. *viṇaśśadu* (§ 63); Ś. *nāśāla* = *rājaśyāla* ( Mṛcch. 23,19; 8,7; 151,16; 173,1 ); M. *vesā* = *veśyā* ( H. ), Ś. *veśāṇa* ( Mṛcch. 57,15 ) and *veśāṇa* ( Mṛcch. 53,20 ); AMg. *veśsa*, *vaśsa* = *vaiśya* (§ 61 ). — *śra* = *ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: M. AMg. *mīsa*. Ś. *mīssa*, Mg. *mīśsa* = *mīśra* (§64); M. JM. Ś. *viśamāi* = *viśrāmyati*, Ś. *vissamādu* (§ 64.489); Ś. *sussūsidapuruvvo* *sussūsidavvo* = *śusrūṣitapūrovaḥ* *śusrūṣitavyaḥ* ( Mṛcch. 39,23 ); Mg. *śussūside* = *śusrūṣitah* ( Mṛcch. 37,1 ); AMg. JM. Ś. *seṭṭhi* = *śreṭṭhin* ( Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 28,20; 142,12; Śak. 139,5; Mudrār. 41,8; 43,1; 243,2; 248,7; 252,1; 254,4 ). On *aṃsu* = *āśru*, *maṃsu* = *śamśru* see § 74. — *śla* becomes *ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: M. AMg. *saṇha* = *ślakṣṇa*<sup>1</sup> ( Bh. 3,33; Hc. 1,118; 2,75. 79; Mk. fol. 21,26; H. R.; Vivāhap. 424; Uttar. 1040; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas. ); M. *parisaṇha* = *pariślakṣṇa* ( R. ); but also with assimilation of *s* M. *lanḥa* ( Hc. 2,77; Mk. fol. 21; Karp. 88,2; 96,2 ), *lanḥaa* ( Karp. 49,11 ).

In AMg. both the forms sometimes stand beside one another: *saṅha laṅha* (Savav. 211,24; Paṇṇav. 96; Ovav. §166). AMg. *saggha=ślāghya* (Sūyag. 182); Ś. *sāhaṇia=ślāghaniya* (Mālav. 32,5), but also *lāhai=ślāghate* (Hc. 1,187); A Mg. *sēmbha*; AMg. JM. A. *simbha-*, dialectical *sepha=ślesman* (§ 267,312), but also AMg. *lissanti=ślisyanṭe* (Sūyag. 218). — AMg. *lesaṇayā* (Ovav.) is not, with LEUMANN, to be equated as=(*saṃ*)*śleṣaṇatā*, but it is = *reṣaṇatā* (damage). Generally the group is separated either by *a* or *i*. — *śva=ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: M. AMg. JM. *āsa*, AMg. JM. Ś. *assa=śśva* (§ 64); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *pāsa=pārśva* (§ 87), falsely Ś. *passa* (Priyad. 23,16); JŚ. *vinassara=vinaśvara* (Kattig. 401,339); Ś. *vissāvasu=viśvāvasu* (Mallikām. 57,1); Mg. *viśśāvasu* (Mṛcch. 11,9); M. *sasāi, āsasāi=śvasiti, āśvasiti*; M. *ūsasāi*, AMg. *ussasāi=ucchvasiti*; M. *ṛsasāi*, AMg. *missasāi, Ś. ṛsasadi=niḥśvasiti*; Mg. *śśasadi, ūśśadu, ṛśśadu, śamaśśadu* (§496); M. *sāva, JM. sāvaṇya, Ś.Ā. sāvada=śvāpada* (G.R.; Erz.; Śak. 32,7; Mṛcch. 148,22). — *śya=ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: Ś. *abhujissā=abhujisyā* (Mṛcch. 59,25; 60,11; 65,1); AMg. *ārussa=ārūṣya* (Sūyag. 293), beside *ārusiṇyāṇam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); Ś. *pussarāa=pusyarāga* (Mṛcch. 70,25; so we should read)<sup>8</sup>; AMg. JM. *maṅśa, M. AMg. Ś. manussa, Mg. maṅśśa=manuśya* (§ 63); AMg. JM. *śśa, JM. Ś. śissa=śśya* (§63); in future, as A. *karīsu=karīśyāmi* (Hc. 4,396,4). *phuttiśu=sphuṭīśyāmi* (Hc. 4,422,12), JM. *bhavissāi, Ś. bhavissadi, Mg. bhaviśśadi, M. hośśam, A. hosāi* (§ 521). In M. AMg. JM. A. this *śśa*, after a long vowel, and often also after a short vowel, has become *ha* through *sa*, as *kāhimi, kāhāmi, kāham* = \**kāryāmi=kariśyāmi; hohāmi, hohimi* = \**hohyāmi; kīrtāhimi=kīrtayīśyāmi; A. pēkkāhimi* = \**prekṣīśyāmi* (§263,520 ff.). — *śva=ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: AMg. *osakkāi, paccosakkāi=apavaśkati, \*pratyaṇavaśkati; M. parisakkāi=pariśvaśkati* (§302); Ś. *parisaadi=pariśvajate* (Mālatim. 108,3; Mṛcch. 327,10=484,12 ed. GODABOLE), *parissaadha=pariśvajadhvam* (Śak. 90,8; Vikr. 11,2; Uttarar. 204,5), *parissaia=pariśvajya* (Śak. 77,9; Mālatim. 210,7). On AMg. *piusiṇyā, M. piussā, AMg. piussiyā, M. AMg. piucchā=piṭṭvaśā, AMg. māusiṇyā, M. māussā, māucchā=māṭṭṭvaśā*, dialectical *pupphā, pupphā* see §148. — *śya=ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: M. JM. Ś. *rahassa=rahasya* (G.H.; Karp. 66,11; Erz.; Mṛcch. 60,7; Vikr. 15,3,12; 16,1,11,18; 79,9; Karp. 67,1); M. Ś. *vaassa, M. vaamsa, JM. vayasāsa=vayasya* (§74); Ś. *hassa=hāśya* (Mṛcch. 44,1); in the genitive sing. in *-śya*, as M. Ś. *kāmassa=kāmasya* (H. 2,148.326.586; Śak. 120,6; Prab. 38,12; Karp. 93,1). Dialectically there occurs *ha* from *sa* (§264), as Mg. *kāmāha* (Mṛcch. 10,24), A. *kāmāhō* (Hc. 4,446); beside M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Dh. *tassa, Mg. taśśa, A. tassu, tasu, tāsu, M. tāsa*, also Mg. *tāha, A. tāhō=tasya* (§425). Likewise in future as AMg. *dāhāmo* beside *dāsāmo=dāśyāmah* (§530); JM. *pāhāmi, AMg. pāham=pāśyāmi, AMg. pāhāmo=pāśyāmah* (§524). — *sra=ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: M. *ūsā=usrā* (Lalitav. 555,1); JM. *tamissā=tamīśyā* (Kk.); M. *viśambha, Ś. viśambha=viśrambha* (§ 64); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *sahasra, Mg. śahaśśa=sahasra* (§448). — *śva=ssa*, Mg. *śśa*: *bappasāmīhi=bappasvāmībhūh* (6,11), *sakakāle=svakakāle* (7,44) *sahattha=svahasta* (7,51); JM. Ś. *tavassi, Mg. tavaśśi=tapasvin* (Erz.; Kk.; Śak. 22,7; 76,8), JM. Ś. *tavasiṇi, Mg. tavaśśiṇi=tapasvini* (Kk.; Śak. 39,4; 78,11; 123,12; 129,16; Mg. Mṛcch. 152,6); M. JM. *sarassāi, Ś. sarassadi=sarasvatī* (G.; Erz.; Vikr. 35,5); M. *siṇṇa=svinna* (G. H.); Ś. *sādam, Mg. śādam=svāgatam* (§ 203). On M. *maṅśsi=manasvin*, AMg. *oyāsi=ojasvin* and similar other forms see § 74; on *haṃsa=hrasva*, beside *hassa, rahassa* see § 354.

1. Hc. and with him ЯАСОВИ, KZ. 23,598 wrongly derive *saṅha* from *sūkṣma* and Hc. at 2,75 expressly separates *saṅha=sūkṣma* and *saṅha=ślakṣṇa*. Correctly WEBER,

ZDMG. 28,402; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen p. 68; CHILDERS s. v. *saṅho*. — 2. Aup. S. s. v. — 3. FISCHEL, Rudraṭa's Śṛṅgāratilaka p. 102 f.; Mahāvyyutpatti 235,28.

§ 316. In the conjunction tenuis + sibilant, according to the grammarians the aspirate was dialectically pronounced in place of the tenuis in Skt. : *kṣīra* beside *kṣira*; *vathsa* beside *vatsa*; *aphsaras* beside *apsaras*<sup>1</sup>. Pkt. presupposes this pronunciation universally in the case of *tsa* and *psa*, in the case of *kṣa* originally only when it goes back to *śsa*<sup>2</sup>. The aspiration passed to the sibilant, which according to § 211 became *cha*. The phonetic groups thus originating, i. e. *ścha* (*kcha*), *tcha*, *pcha* regularly became *ccha*. In the case of original *kṣa*, on the other hand, the aspiration did not take place, the sounds were transposed as Mg. *ska*, *hka* (§ 324) points, and *śka* for *kṣu* became *kcha* (§ 302). The assumption of ASCOLI<sup>3</sup> that *śa* become *kha* has no support in Pkt. (§ 265), just as little as the theory of JOHANSSON<sup>4</sup> that the different phonetic changes rest on pronunciation, division of syllables and the accent<sup>5</sup>.

1. Literature in JOHANSSON, Shāhbāzgarhi 2, 21 f.; WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 113. — 2. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. § 116. — 3. Kritische Studien p. 236ff. — 4. Shāhbāzgarhi 2, 22. — 5. Cf. FISCHEL, GGA, 1881, p. 1322 f.

§ 317. The grammarians regard the transition from *kṣa* to *kha* as regular (Vr. 3, 29; Hc. 2, 3; Ki. 2, 88; Mk. fol. 24), and they have grouped the words that show *cha* in the *ākṛtiḡaṇa aksyādi* (Vr. 3, 30; Hc. 2, 17; Ki. 2, 82; Pk. p. 60). Mk. fol. 24 groups the words that always have *cha* for *kṣa* in the *gaṇa kṣurādi*, and includes in it the words *kṣura*, *akṣi*, *makṣikā*, *kṣira*, *sadṛkṣa*, *kṣetra*, *kukṣi*, *ikṣu*, *kṣudhā*, and *kṣudh*. The words which have *cha* and *kha*, he gives in the *ākṛtiḡaṇa kṣamādi*. The statement of the grammarian, however, holds good only for M. In other dialects the sound oscillates, so much so that in one and the same dialect we find not seldom the words with *kha* beside those with *cha*, without ourselves being able to blame tradition in every case (§ 321). The Avestā shows best the original relation.

§ 318. If Skt. *kṣa* goes back to *śsa*, so in the Avestā it becomes *s'a*, in Pkt., originally through *\*śsha*, *\*scha* (§ 316) it became *ccha* : *chaa* = Av. *s'ata* in *huś'ata* = *kṣata* from *kṣan* (Hc. 2, 17); in addition to AMg. *chaṇa* (murder) = *kṣaṇa* (Āyār. 1, 2, 6, 5; 1, 3, 1, 4; 1, 5, 3, 5); *chane* = *\*kṣaṇeti* (Āyār. 1, 3, 2, 3; 1, 7, 8, 9), *chaṇāvae*, *chaṇantam* = *\*kṣaṇāpayet*, *\*kṣaṇantam* (Āyār. 1, 3, 2, 3); but M. *khaa* = *kṣata* (G. H. R.), *parikkhaa* (R.); AMg. *khaṇaha* = *\*kṣaṇata* (Āyār. 1, 7, 2, 4); AMg. *akkhaya*, JŚ. *āda* (Sūyag. 307; Pav. 385, 69); Ś. *parikkhada* (Mṛcch. 53, 25; 61, 24; Śak. 27, 9), *aparikkhada* (Vikr. 10, 4), *avarikkhada* (Mṛcch. 53, 18, 24). — M. AMg. JM. *chuhā* = Av. *s'uda* = *kṣudhā* (Grr.; H.; Thān. 328; Vivāhap. 40, 647; Rāyap. 258; Nāyādh. 348; Ovav.; Dvār. 500, 7; Erz.), *chuhāya* (hungry; Pāiyal. 183); but also AMg. JM. Ś. *khuhā* (Thān. 572; Vivāhap. 162, 493, 816; Paṇhāv. 200; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Dasav. 635, 16 [ *khuppivāsāe* ]); Dasav. N. 662, 1, 2; Erz.; Karp. 76, 9 ed. Bomb., whilst KONOW 75, 6 reads *chuhā*); AMg. *khuhiya* = *kṣudhita* (Paṇhāv. 340). — M. *chetta*, AMg. *chitta* = Av. *s'oitra* = *kṣetra*, but also AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *khētta*, AMg. *khitta* (§ 84). M. AMg. JM. JM. Ś. *acchi* = Av. *as'i* = *akṣi* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Āyār. 1, 1, 2, 5; 1, 8, 1, 19; 2, 2, 2, 1, 7; 2, 3, 2, 5; Vivāgas. 11; Vivāhap. 1152; Āv. 8, 20; 30, 4; Śak. 30, 5; 31, 13; Vikr. 43, 15; 48, 15; Ratn. 319, 18; Karp. 11, 2; Nāgān. 11, 9; Jivān. 89, 3); but also AMg. JM. Ś. A. *akkhi* (Sūyag. 383; Erz.; Vikr. 34, 1; Anarghar. 305, 13; Hc. 4, 357, 2). — AMg. *accha* (§ 57), M. AMg. Ś. *riccha* (§ 56) = Av. *areś'a* = *rṣa*; but also M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rikka* (§ 56). — M. *kaccha* = Av. *kaś'a* = *kakṣa* (H.); but also AMg. JM. *kakkha* (G. R.; Nāyādh. 434). — *tacchā* (Hc. 4, 194),



AMg. *tacchiya* (Uttar. 596 [text °*tthi*°]) = Av. *taš'a* = *takṣati*, \**taṣkita*, but also *takkhai* (Hc. 4,194); *takkhāna* = *takṣan* (§ 403).

§ 319. Original *kṣa* becomes *ḥs'a* in the Avestā, *kkha* in Pkt.: AMg. *khattiya*, Ś. *khattia* = *kṣatriya* (Sūyag. 182.373.495.585; Samav. 232; Uttar. 155 f. 506.754; Vivāgas. 152 f.; Vivāhap.135; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mahāv. 28, 14; 29,22; 64.21; Uttarak.167,10; Anarghar.58,8; 70,1; 155 5; 157,10; Hasy. 32,1; Pras. 47, 7; 48,4.5); JM. *khattia* (sic.; KI 3); AMg. *khattiyāni* = *kṣatriyāni* (Kappas.), *khatti* = *kṣatrin* (Sūyag.317); Ś. *nikkhattikada* = *nikkṣatirikta* (Mahāv.27,6), to Av. *ḥs'aθra*. — AMg. JM. *khira* = Av. *ḥs'ira* = *kṣira* (Hc.2,17; Sūyag.817,822; Vivāhap.660.942; Paṇṇav. 522; Uttar.895; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Av. 28,23; 42,2); *khiri* = *kṣiri* (Pāiyal.240); M. *khīroa*, JM. *khīroya* = *kṣiroda* (G.H.; Erz.); AMg. *khīrodaja* (Ovav.); Ś. *khīrasamudda* = *kṣīrasamudra* (Prab. 4,7); but also M. *chīra* (Grr.; Pāiyal. 123; G. H.); AMg. *chīrabirāli* = *kṣīrabidāli* (Vivāhap. 1532; [text °*vi*°]). For Ś. Mk. for 67 expressly prescribes *khīra*. — *khivai* = *kṣipati* to Av. *ḥs'vivu* (Hc.4,143); M. *akkhivai* = *ākṣipati* (R.); *ukkhivai* = *utkṣipati* (H.); *samukkhivai* (G.); JM. *khivasi* (Erz. 83,18), *khivai* (Erz.); AMg. *khivāhi* (Āyār. 2,3,1,16), *pakkhivaha* (Āyār. 2,3,2,3), *pakkhivējjā* (Āyār. 2,3,2,3; Vivāhap. 270), *nikkhiyava* (Paṇhāv. 373); *pakkhippa* (Sūyag. 280.282.288.378); Ś. *khividum* = *kṣeptum* (Vikr. 25,16), *khitta* = *kṣipta* (Mṛcch. 41,6.22), *akkhitta* = *ākṣipta* (Vikr. 75,12 so we should read); *uvakkhiva* = *upakṣipa* (Mṛcch. 72,14), *ukkhiva* = *utkṣipya* (Mṛcch. 3,17), *nikkhividum* = *nikṣeptum* (Mṛcch. 24,22), *nikkhitta* (Mṛcch. 29,13; 145,11; Śak. 78,13; Vikr. 84,8), *nikkhiviva* (Vikr. 75,10), *parikkhivāmo* = *parikṣipyāmahe* (Caṇḍak. 28,11) etc.; but also *ucchitta* = *utkṣipta* (Bh. 3,30; Deśin. 1,124; Pāiyal. 84) and M. *chivai* (touches; Hc. 4,182; G. H. R.); *chitta* (touched; Hc. 4,258; Pāiyal. 85; H.). — AMg. JM. *khudda* = *kṣudra*, *khuddaja*, AMg. *khuddaga* = *kṣudraka* (§ 294) = Av. *ḥs'udra* (temen). — M. *khunṇa* = *kṣunṇa* (Deśin. 2,75; Pāiyal. 222; H.) from Av. *ḥs'usta*; but also *ucchunṇa* = *utkṣunṇa* (Pāiyal. 201). — M. *khubbhai* = *kṣubhyati* (Hc. 1,154; R.); *samkkuhia* (G.), AMg. *khobhaium* = *kṣobhayitum* (Uttar. 921), *khobhitae* (Uvās.), *khubhiya* (Ovav.), *kokkubbhamāna* (§56); Ś. *samkkihida* = *samkṣobhita* (Śak. 32,8); A. *kuhia* (Vikr. 67,11); M. *khoha* = *kṣobha* (R.); JM. *mohakkhoha* (Pav. 380,7), but also PG. °*chobhm* °*kṣobham* (6,32); *vicchuhire* = *vikṣubhyanti* (Hc. 3,142); AMg. *chubhanti*, *ucchubhai*, *nicchubhai*, JM. *chubhai*, *chuhai*, M. *vicchuhai* etc. (§66). — M. *sikkhai* = *śikṣati* (H.); M. A. *sikkhia*, JM. *sikkhiya*, Ś. *sikkhida* = *śikṣita* (G. H.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 37,5; Vikr. 62,11), JM. Ś. *sikkhanta* (Erz.; Mṛcch. 71,21), Ś. *sikkhūadi*, *sikkhidukāma* (Mṛcch. 39,22; 51,24), *sikkhāvemī* (Priyad. 40,4) to Av. *asiḥs'anti*.

§ 320. Sometimes Pkt. and Av. go asunder. *uccha* = *ukṣan* (Bh.3,30; Hc. 2,17; 3,56); *ucchāna* (Hc. 3,65), but Av. *uḥs'ān*. Mk. fol. 24 permits, however, also *ukkha*, beside *uccha*. — PG. M. AMg. JM. Ś. Ā. *dakkhiṇa* = *dakṣiṇa* (§65), Ś. *dakkhiṇā* = *dakṣiṇā* (Mṛcch 5,1; Karp. 103,6), but Av. *das'ina*. Yet AMg. has *daccha* (Uvās.), beside AMg. JM. *dakka* (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Erz.). — M. *macchiā* (Grr.; H.); AMg. JM. *macchiyā* (Vivāgas. 12; Uttar. 245. 1036. 1064; Ovav.; Dvār. 503,6), AMg. *macchigā* (Paṇhāv. 72) = *maḥsi* = *makṣikā*; but also Ś. *nimmakkiha* = *nirmakṣika* (Śak. 36,16; 124,7; Viddhaś. 62,2), M. AMg. JM. Ś. *rakkhasa* = *rākṣasa* (R.; Sūyag. 105.339.468; Uttar. 996,1084; Thān. 90; Ovav.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 68,8; Śak. 43,6; 45,1; Mahāv. 96,12; 97,7.15; 99,2; Bālar. 221,5), AMg. *rakkhasi* = *rākṣasi* (Uttar. 252) to Av. *raś*, *raś'anh*. — M. JM. *vaccha* = *vikṣa* (Grr.; Pāiyal. 54; G.; Karp. 64,2; Erz.; Dasav. N. 645,5 in an enumeration, of words which mean "tre") to Av. *urvāhs* (to grow). Besides *vaccha*, according to Vr. 3,31; Hc. 2,127; Ki. 2,83; Mk.

fol. 24 *vr̥kṣa* can form also *ruk̥kha*, and according to Rāmatakavāgiśa and Mārkaṇḍeya fol. 66 only *ruk̥kha* is used in Ś. (PISCHEL on Hc. 1,153;2,17). AMg. Ś. employ only *ruk̥kha* (Āyār.1,7,2,1;1,8,2,3;2,1,2,3;2,3,2,15;2,3,3,13;2,4,2,11.12; Sūyag. 179.314.325.425.613; Vivāhap. 275.445; Samav. 233; Paṇṇav. 30; Rāyap. 154; Jiv. 548.550 f.; Dasav. N. 645,5; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Mrcch. 40,24;72 8;73,6.7;77,16;87,11.12; Śak. 9,10;10,2;12,2,6; Mālav. 72,3); AMg. Ś. *k̥pparuk̥kha*=*kalpa-vr̥kṣa* (Āyār. 2,15,20; Mallikām. 291,2); M. JM. have *ruk̥kha* (H. R.; Āv. 47,11 ff; Rṣabhap. 29; Erz.), JM. *k̥pparuk̥kha* (Erz.) beside *vac̥cha*. The word *ruk̥kha* has nothing to do with *vr̥kṣa*, but is=*ruk̥ṣa*, for which РОТН (Über gewisse Kürzungen des Wortendes im Veda p. 3) has shown the meaning "tree" in the Veda.

§ 321. Variation between *kk̥ha* and *cca* is found also in the words, other than those already mentioned. The M.AMg. JM. *ucc̥hu* beside AMg. Ś. *ikk̥hu*=*ik̥ṣu*, AMg. JM. *ikk̥hāga*=*aik̥ṣvāka* (§ 117.84). — M. AMg. JM. *kuc̥chi*=*kuks̥i* (G.; Āyār. 2,15,2.4.10.12; Paṇhāv. 281; Vivāhap. 295.1035.1274; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.); *kuc̥chimāi*=*kuks̥imatī* (pr̥gnant; Deśin. 2,41), beside AMg. Ś. *kukk̥hi* (Nāyādh. 308; Paṇhāv. 217; Mālav. 65,16), which Hc. Deśin. 2,34 declares as provincial. — *chura*=*ks̥ura* (Grr.), *churamad̥di*, *churahat̥tha*=*ks̥uramardi*, *ks̥urahasta* (barber; Deśin. 3,31), beside M. AMg. *khura* (Karp. 94,4; Sūyag. 546; Vivāhap. 353.1042; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Kappas.), *khurap̥atta*=*ks̥urap̥attra* (Thān. 321). — AMg. A. *chāra*=*ks̥āra* (saltpetre; potash; Grr.; Uvās.; Hc. 4,365,3), *chārībhūya*=*ks̥ārībhūta* (Vivāhap. 237), *chārīya*=*ks̥ārīta* (Vivāhap. 322 f. 348), beside AMg. JM. *khāra* (Sūyag. 520.281; Ovav.; Kk.). — Cf. § 326. — M. AMg. JM. *pe̥cca*, but Ś. *pe̥kk̥hadi*=*pre̥ks̥ate* (§ 84). — M. AMg. JM. *vac̥cha*=*vak̥ṣas* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Karp. 84,4; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), but Ś. *vak̥k̥hat̥hala*=*vak̥ṣah̥st̥hala* (Mrcch. 68,19; Dhanam̥jayav. 11,9; Hāsy. 40,22), against the dialect *vac̥chat̥hala* (Bālar. 238,9; Mallikām. 156,10 [text °t̥t̥ha°]; 201,13 [text °t̥t̥a°]; Cait. 38,11;44,9). — M. JM. JŚ. *sārīcca*, but AMg. Ś. A. *sārīkk̥ha*=*\*sādr̥ks̥ya* (§ 78.245). The variation shows that on the Indian soil, even in the same dialect, without regard to the different origin of *ks̥a*, both the pronunciations proceeded side by side.<sup>1</sup> One says for example *ak̥ṣi* and *ak̥ṣi*, and their contaminations in Pkt. are *ac̥chi* and *ak̥k̥hi*.

1. Thus correctly ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 238 f.; JOHANSSON, Shāhbāzgarhi 2,20. Cf. PISCHEL, GGA. 1881, p. 1322 f.

§ 322. With the different treatments of *ks̥a* in *ks̥aṇa* and *ks̥amā* is connected the difference in meaning. *ks̥aṇa* becomes, according to Bh. 3,31; Hc. 2,20; Mk. fol. 24, *chaṇa* in the meaning "festival", on the other hand it becomes *chaṇa* in the meaning "moment". Thus M. AMg. JM. *chaṇa* "festival" (Pāiyal. 284; G. H.; Śak. 119,7; Nāyādh. 266; Vivāhap. 822; Kk. 271,24), but M. AMg. JM. Ś. *khāna* "moment" (G. H. R.; Nāyādh. § 135.137; p. 300; Dasav. 613,39; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Śak. 2,14; 126,6; Viddhas. 99,1; Karp. 58,3; 59,6; 105,4). According to Mk. fol. 67 *cha* never enters into Ś. Hence in Śak. 118,13, with three MSS., we should read *uvat̥hidakk̥haṇe*. Kī. 2,83 teaches *khāna* and *chaṇa* with a difference of meaning. — *ks̥amā* becomes, according to Hc. 2,18, *chamā* in the meaning "earth", but *khamā* in the meaning "patience". Vr. 3,31; Kī. 2,83; Mk. fol. 24 place *khamā* and *chamā* beside one another without distinguishing between their meaning; C. 3,4 has only *khamā*. In AMg. *chamā*= "earth" (Dasav. 641,13), in M. AMg. JM. *khamā*= "patience" (H.; Vivāhap. 162; Dvār. 502,19), AMg. *khamāsamaṇa* = *ks̥māsramaṇa* (Kappas.).

§ 323. In AMg. JM. sometimes a long vowel is retained before *kṣa*. Then *kkha* becomes *ha* (§ 188) through *kha* (§ 87). Especially frequent it is the case in the root *īkṣ* and its derivatives : AMg. *ihā=īkṣā*<sup>1</sup> (Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); AMg. *anuppehanti=anuprekṣante* (Ovav. § 31), *anupehāe* (Āyār. 2,1,4,2), *anuppehā=anuprekṣā* (Thān. 211.213; Uttar. 899; Ovav.), *uwehējjā* (Āyār. 2 1,5,5.9,2;2,3,1,16.18;2,3,2,1,3,8), *uwehamāṇa=upekṣamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3;1,4,4,4;2,16,4), *pehe=prekṣeta* (Uttar. 726), *peha=prekṣasva* (Sūyag. 139), *pehamāṇa* (Āyār. 1,8,2,11;1,8,4,7;2,3,1,6); JM *pehamāṇo* (Av.17,10); AMg. *pehāe* (Āyār.1,2,5,5;1,8,1,20;1,8,4,10;2,1,1,3;2,1,4,1,4 ff.; 2,1,9,2;2,4,2,6; Uttar.33), *pehiya* (Uttar.919), *pehiyā* (Sūyag.104), *pehiyam* (Dasav.633,3), *pehā=prekṣā* (Dasav.613,21), *pehu=prekṣin* (Āyār. 1,8,1,20; Uttar.30), *pehiṇi* (Uttar.663), *samuppehamāṇa* (Āyār.1,4,4,4), *samuppehamāṇa* (Sūyag. 506), *samupehiyā* (Dasav. 629,39), *sampehei* (Vivāhap. 152.248.841.916; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.), *sampehāi* (Dasav. (643,10). *sampehāe* (Āyār 1,2,4,4;1,5,3,2;1,6,1,3[sā°]; Sūyag.669), *sāpehiyā* (Āyār 1,7,8,23), *sampehitā* (Vivāhap. 152,248). Futher AMg. *lāha*. beside *lukka=rūkṣa*, *lūhei*, *lūhiya=rūksayati*, *rūksita*<sup>2</sup> (§87.257); AMg. JM. *seha=Pāli sekha=Skt. śaikṣa* (Āyār. 2,2,3,24; Sūyag. 165.511.520; Ovav.; Kaṣpas.; Kk.); AMg. *sehanti=\*śaikṣanti* (Sūyag. 115), *sehāvei=\*śaikṣāpayati*<sup>3</sup> (Vivāhap 797; Ovav.; Nāyādh.). *sehāvīya* (Vivāhap. 1246). — The same phonetic change has taken place in secondarily shortened vowels in AMg. *suhuma*, *suhama=sūksma* (§82.131.140), and in secondarily lengthened vowels in M. AMg. JM.Ś. *dāhiṇa=dakṣiṇa*; AMg. *dāhiṇilla*, *āyāhiṇa*, *pāyāhiṇa*, *pāyāhiṇa* (§65) and AMg. *dehāi*, *dehae=\*dṛkṣati*, *\*dṛkṣate*, A. *drehi* (§ 66.554).

1. So correctly LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s. v.*; falsely equated as=*ihā* by JACOBI, *Kalpas. s. v.* and STEINTHAL, *Specimen s. v.* — 2. So rightly LEUMANN, *Aup. S. s. v.*; falsely equated as=*lūsi* by JACOBI and STEINTHAL l. c. — 3. So rightly LEUMANN, *Aup.S. s.v.*; falsely STEINTHAL l. c.=*sedhayati*.

§ 324. In Mg., according to Vr. 11,8 *kṣa* becomes *ska* : *laskāse=rākṣasah*; *daske=dakṣah* Hc. 4,297 and Nāmīsādhu on Rudrāta, Kāvya-lamkāra 2,12 teach this phonetic change only for *prekṣ* (that is to say *īkṣ* with *pra*) and *ācakṣ* (i. e. *cakṣ* with *ā*): *pēškadi=prekṣate*; *ācakṣadi=ācāste*. In all other words, according to them (Hc 4,296) *kṣa* becomes *hka*<sup>1</sup> in the inlaut; *yahke=yakṣah*; *lahkase=rākṣasah*; *pahka=pakṣa* (Hc.4,302). In the anlaut *kṣa* is treated according to the rules that hold good for the other dialects: *khaṇyalahalā=kṣayajaladharāḥ*. Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita in PETERSON, Third Report p. 344 teaches *ska* : *paṣka=pakṣa*; *laskā=lākṣā*; *paṣkaladu=prakṣālayatu*, for which C. 3,39 p. 52 and Hc. 4,228 have *pakkhāladu* in the same verse with *kṣa* treated as in the anlaut. I alitav. has throughout *ska*: *alaskiyyamāṇa=alaksyamāṇa*(565,7); *laskidam=lakṣitam*(566,4); *bhiskam=bhikṣam* (566,8); *yujjhaṣkamāṇa=yuddhakṣamāṇam*(566,11); *laskam*, *laskām=lakṣam*, *lakṣāṇi* (566,11). Likewise also *pēskiyyamdi*, *pēskiyyasi* [so to be read], *pēskidum=prekṣyante*, *prekṣyase*, *prekṣitum* ( 569,13.15.19; 566,7). Against the dialects offends *pac[c]akkhikadam* — *pratyakṣikram* ( 566,1 ). The MSS of the dramas and the editions based on them treat *kṣa* in Mg. exactly in the same way as in the rest of the dialects, not merely in the anlaut, as *khaṇa=kṣaṇa* (Mrch. 136,15.16;160,11; Prab 50,9), but also throughout in the inlaut. From quite isolated variants of some of the MSS, like that of Mrch. 13,6 *peṣa*, *peṭtha*, 21,15, *peścha*, 132,20. *laścide*, *laśchide*, 132, 21 *peścāmi*, *pe cchāmi*, the rules of the grammarian cannot be established. Nevertheless they are to be framed out. For *jeṇa attāṇo pakkham ujjhia parapakko pamāṇikariadi* (Mudrār. 178,6)<sup>3</sup> Hc. 4,302 read *ye appaṇo pakkham ujjhia palaśśa pakkham pamāṇikaṣṭi*<sup>4</sup> and for *amaccprakkhasam pēkkhidum ido*

*eva āacchadi* (Mudrār. 154,3)<sup>5</sup> he read *amaccalahaḥkaṣam pēskidum idō yveva āacchadi*. Hence, for example in Mṛcch. 120,3 instead of *akkhīhim bhakkhīadi dantehim pēkkhīadi* = *akṣibhyām bhakṣyate dantaiḥ prekṣyate* we should read *ahkīhim bhahkīadi dantehim pēskīadi*. The MSS give no variant.

1. In the edition at p. 14,2 they have printed *kvasya sko nādaul yathā yaske laskase yakso rākṣasa it*. The best MS. (KIELHORN, Report, Bombay 1881, p. 34 Nr. 53), however, reads *ḥko, yaḥko, lahkase* [sic]. — 2. From the words of Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita: *jihvāmūliyaśca kvacichaurasenyādaul vakṣyate|takṣah taḥko|śakāraśca māgadhyaṁ vakṣyate|pakṣah paśko* [sic] *lākṣā lākṣā* [sic] indeed does not necessarily follow, that he supported *taḥka* for *ś*, at times the manuscript gives *o* in the nom. sing. in Mg. too; however, the following words make it apparent that *taḥka* cannot be Mg. Triv. and Sr. agree with Hc. here also. — 3. So TELANG. From the manuscripts it is not possible to ascertain whether *pala* or *palāśa*, and *kaliād*. or *kaleśi* are to be inserted here rightly. — 4. Correctly there would be *wyḥia* (§ 236). — 5. So TELANG. The MS. E correctly has *yveva*, elsewhere quite false *eva* or *jīveva* and *rakkhasam*, as also the edd. Calc.

§ 325. As in Pāli, in AMg. JM. also *kṣulla*, with loss of the aspiration, becomes *culla* (Deśin. 3,22; Pāyāl. 58); JM. *cullatāya* = *kṣullatāta* (uncle; Erz.); AMg. JM. *cullapiu* = *kṣullapitṛ* (uncle; Dasav. 628,5; Erz.); AMg. *cullamāyā* (aunt; Antag. 70; Nāyādh. §84-87.95 96; Nirayāv.); AMg. *cullasāyaya*, °ga = *kṣullaśataka* (Uvās.), *cullahimavanta* = *kṣullahimavat* (Ṭhān. 72.74.176.177); *cullodaa* (the eldest brother; Deśin. 3,17). *cullaka* has been taken also into Skt. of the Jainas (BÜHLER, Pāyāl. s. v. *cullo*).

§ 326. If *kṣa* goes back to early *z'za*, through *z'zha*, *z'jha*, it becomes *jḥha*<sup>1</sup> in Pkt.: *jharai* = *kṣarati* (Hc. 4,173), JM *jharai* (Erz.); *jijharai* = *nihkṣarati* (Hc. 4,20); M. *ōjjhara* = *\*avaksara* (Hc. 1,98; Deśin. 1,160; Pāyāl. 216; H. R.), equated by Hc. as = *nirjara*, which itself arises from Pkt.<sup>2</sup> and becomes M. Ś. *nijjhara* (G. H; Pras. 124,7; Ś. Mallikām. 134,7; Bālar. 241,6; 263,22 [text °jja°]), AMg. JM. *nijjhara* (Pāyāl. 216). Beside one another stand *ōjjhara* and *nijjhara* in AMg. (Paṇṇav. 80.84 ff. 94 [text *ujjhara* and several times *nijjara*]). A. *pañjharai* = *prakṣarati* (Hc. 4,173; Piṅgala 1,102); *pañjharai* (Ki. 2,84); Ś. *pañjharāvedī* (Karp. 105,8). To it probably belongs also *jharaa* (goldsmith; Deśin. 3,54). — AMg. *jhiyāi* for *\*jhāi* = *\*kṣāti* = *kṣāyati*<sup>3</sup> (burns [intransitive]; Sūyag. 273; Nāyādh. 1117; Ṭhān. 478), *jhiyāyanti* (Ṭhān. 478); M. *viijhāi* (Hc. 2,28; H.), *viijhāanta* (H.); M. *viijhāa* (G. H. R.), AMg. JM. *viijhāya* (Nāyādh. 1113; Dasav. 641,29; Āv. 25,3); M. *viijhavaī* (G.), *viijhavei* (H. R.), *viijhavia* (H. R.); AMg. *viijhavōjja*, *viijhaventu* (Āyār. 2,2,1,10), *viijhāvīya* (Uttar. 709). *samiijhāi* (Hc. 2,28) is an analogical formation in connection with *vindhā*<sup>4</sup>. — AMg. *jhāma* = *kṣāma* (scorched; ashes; Āyār. 2,1,10,6; 2,10,22), *jhāmei* (Sūyag. 722; Vivāhap. 1257), *jhāmāvei*, *jhāmanta* (Sūyag. 722); AMg. JM. *jhāmīya* (Deśin. 3,56; Vivāhap. 1251), *jhāmāvei*, *jhāmanta* (Sūyag. 722); AMg. JM. *jhāmīya* (Deśin. 3,56; Vivāhap. 321.1251; Āv. 25,1,26,17); JM. *nijjhāmemo* (Dvār. 505,9), beside M. Ś. *khāma* (meagre; G; Karp. 41,1). — M. AMg. *jhiijai* = *kṣiyate* (Vr. 8,37; Hc. 2,3,4,20; H. R.; Lalitav. 562,21; Uttar. 633); M. *jhiijae*, *jhiijāmo* [so to be read], *jhiijhisi* (H.), *jhiijanti* (G. H.); JM *jhiijāmi* (Rṣabhap. 35 [so to be read with ed. Bomb.]); A. *jhiijāi* (Hc. 4,425,1); M. JM *jhiijanta* (G. H. R.; Kk. III, 68); Ś. *jhiijanti* (Viddhaś. 99,2); M. Ś. A. *jhīṇa* = *kṣīṇa* (Hc. 2,3; Ki. 2,84; Pāyāl. 181; G. H. R.; Mṛcch. 29,5; 69,23; 74,20; A. Vikr. 56,21), beside M. AMg. Ś. *khīṇa* (Hc. 2,3; H.; Aṇuog. 282 ff.; Sūyag. 212; Samav. 88; Kappas.; Anarghar. 293,10, where, however, the ed. Calc. 216,6 has *jhīṇa*), and *chīṇa* (Hc. 2,3). — *jhoḍai* = *kṣotayati* (throws; hurls; Dhātupāṭha 35,23) in *jhoḍia* (hunter; Deśin. 3,60); *nijjhodai* = *\*nihkṣotayati* (tears asunder; splits; Hc. 4,124), perhaps also in *jhoḍai* (a game analogous to the shepherd's dance; Deśin. 3,60). — Apparently *jhampai* (wanders about; Hc. 4,161) also belongs to it, however, it might have developed from *kṣap*

*jhampittā*=*amiṣṭavacanāvākāśam kṛtvā* (having blamed; Samav. 83) and *jhambia*, JM. *jhampiya* (torn; shaken; Deśin. 3,61; Erz. 85,28) and *jhampani* (eye-brow; Deśin. 3,54; Pāiyal. 250)<sup>b</sup>. — *jharua* (midge; Deśin. 3,54), will be derived from the root *ṣar* with the suffix *-ulka* (§ 118. 596), to which belongs *ṣāra* (sharp; pricking; biting) which forms AMg. A. *chāra*, AMg. JM. *khāra* in the meaning “saltpetre”, “potash” (§ 321) — Hc. 4,181 mentions also *avaajjhai* beside *avacchai*=\**avacakṣati* (§ 499).

1. WACKERNAGEL, *Literatur-Blatt für orientalische Philologie* 3,54; Altind. Gr. § 209. — 2. JACOBI in ZACHARIAE, *Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie* p. 59. — 3. Not to be interchanged with AMg. *jhiyāi*=*dhyāti* (§ 31. 280. 479). — 4. WEBER, ZDMG. 28, 376. 428; on H. 109. 333. 407; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Prākṛtica* p. 16 f. *vijjhāi* as *vidhyā* has entered also into Śkt. of the Jains (ZACHARIAE, *Epilomena zu der Ausgabe des Anekārthasamgraha*, Wien, 1893 p. 1 ff — 5. BÜHLER, *Pāiyal.*, s. v. *jhampani*.

§ 327. *tsa* becomes *ccha* ( Vr. 3,40; C. 3,4; Hc. 2,21; Kī. 2,92; Mk. fol. 25 ). *tsa* *śca* (§ 233 ), through *tsa*, *tsha*, *tcha* (§ 316 ): AMg. *kucchanjja* = *kutsānya* ( Paṇhāv. 218 ); *kucchia* = *kutsita* ( Kī. 2,92 ); *ciicchai* = *cikitsati*, Ś. *cikicchidavva*, AMg. *tigicchai*, *vitigicchāmi* (§ 215. 555 ); AMg. *ticchā*, *tigicchā* = *cikitsā*, *vitigicchā* = *vikitsā*, *tigicchaga*=*cikitsaka* (§ 215), Ś. *ciiccha* ( Mālav. 27,12; to be read with the Eergal MSS. and with the Telugu manuscript of BOLLENSON for *cikissaa*, *ciissaa* ed. PANDIT 52,2 ); AMg. JM. Ś. *bibhacca* ( Uvās. § 94; Äv. 8,19; Dvār. 506,21; Kk. 264,26; Mālatim. 215,1 ), Ś. *bihacca* ( Prab. 45,11; so to be read ), Mg. *bhaśca* ( Mṛcch. 40,5; so to be read )= *bibhatsa*; M. JM. Ś. A. *macchara*=*matsara* ( C. 3,4; Hc. 2,21; G. H. R.; Erz.; Śak. 161,12; Mālav. 64,20; Hc. 4,444,5 ); JM. Ś. *vaccha*=*vatsa* ( Bh. 3,40; Erz.; Kk.; Mṛcch. 94,15; 150,12; Vikr. 82,6.8.13; 87,17 ), Mg. *vaśca* ( Hc. 4,302 ); AMg. JM. Ś. *sirivaccha*=*śrivatsa* ( Paṇhāv. 259; Samav. 237; Ovav.; Erz. ); M. JM. Ś. *vacchala*=*vatsala* ( G. H.; Dvār. 501,3; 503,38; 507,30; Erz.; Śak. 158,12 ), Mg. *vaścala* ( Mṛcch. 37,13; so to be read ). — Beside AMg. *charu*=*tsaru* ( Pāiyal. 121; Deśin. 5,24; Paṇhāv. 266; Samav. 131; Ovav.; Nāyādh ), dialectically was used also *tharu* = \**staru* ( Deśin. 5,24 ). In Paṇhāv. 322, the text has *ccharu* and the commentary, *tharu* —.

§ 327<sup>a</sup>. In compounds, in which *t* stands at the end of a syllable and the following syllable originally begins with *śa* or *sa*, the phonetic groups \**tśa*, *tsa* become *śsa*, or with lengthening of the vowel standing before *t* they become *sa*. *t+śa*: AMg. *ūsaveha*=*ucchrāpayata* from \**utśrapayata*, *ūsaviya*=*ucchrāpita*; AMg. JM. *ūsija*=*ucchrīta*, AMg. also *ussija*, *samussija*, *ussaviya*; Ś. *ussāvedi* (§ 64 ); M. *ustūna*=*ucchūna* ( G. ); AMg. *usumka*=*ucchulka* (§ 74 ); M. *ūsasāi*=*ucchvasiti*, AMg. *ūsasanti*; Mg. *ūsasadu*; AMg. also *ussasāi* (§ 64, 496 ); AMg. *ussāsa*=*ucchvāsa* ( Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Ovav. ), M. A. *ūsāsa* ( G. R.; Hc. 4,431,2 ); *ūsasira*=\**ucchvasira* ( Hc. 2, 145 ); M. *ūsasra*, JM. *ūsasiya*, Ś. *ūsasida*=*ucchvasita* ( G. H. R.; Śak. 119,6; Kk. III, 513,1; Śak. 132,13; Vikr. 7,12 ); *sūsāsa*=*socchvāsa* ( Hc. 1,157 ); *ūsisa* ( Pāiyal. 118 ), JM. *ūsisaa* ( Äv. 16,8 )= *ucchirśaka*; the synonymous *ūsaa* ( Deśin. 1,140 ) is = \**ucchaya* from *ud+śaya*; *ūsua*=\**ucchuka* from *ud+śuka* ( Hc. 1,114 ); AMg. *tassankiṇo* = *taochankiṇaḥ* from *tad+śankiṇaḥ* ( Sūyag. 936 ). — *t+sa*: AMg. *ussagga*=*utsarga* ( Bhag.; Kappas. ); AMg. JM. *ussapṇiṇi*=*utsarpṇi* ( Kappas.; Ṛṣabhap. ); AMg. *usseha* = *utsedha* Pāiyal. 168; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav. ); AMg. *tassanni*=*tatsañjñin* ( Āyār. 1,5, 4,2 ), *tassamdhicāri*=*tatsamdhicārin* ( Āyār. 2,2,2,4 ); *ūsarati*=*utsarati* ( Hc. 1, 114 ), *ūsāra*=*utsānta* ( Hc. 2,21 ), JM. *ussāritā* ( Erz. 37,28; v. l. *ūsā*<sup>o</sup> ); AMg. *ūsatta*=*utsakta* ( Kappas. ); *ūsitta*=*utsikta* ( Hc. 1,114; Pāiyal. 187 ), but also *ussikkai*=\**utsiknati* ( lets loose; throws up; Hc. 4,91.144 ). —

According to Hc. 1,114 *tsa* in *utsāha* and *utsanna* becomes *cha* only: M.Ś. A. *ucchāna* (G. R.; Śak. 36,12; Mālav. 8,19 [to be 'o read with v. l.]; Piṅgala 1,96<sup>a</sup>); *uccharna* (Hc. 1,114); Dh. *ucchādida*=*utsādita* (Mṛcch. 38, 18,39,1). In *utsuka* and *utsava*, according to Vr. 3,42; Ki. 2,93; Mk. fol. 25 *cha* never appears: Hc. 2,22 per its it beside *s*. So M. *ucchua* (Hc.; on H. 984), but mostly M. Ś. *ūsua* (Grr.; G. H. R.<sup>1</sup>; Śak. 87,14; Karp. 58,2), Ś. also *ussua*, AMg JM. *ussuya* (Śak. 84,13; Mālav. 35,1;37,20; Ovav.; Erz.); Ś. *pajjussua*=*paryutsuka* (Śak. 19,6;57,11) and *pajjūsua* (Vikr. 21.19); Ś. *samūsua* = *samutsuka* (Śak 142,4; Vikr. 67,12); M. *ūsua*=*utsukita* (H.); AMg. *osuja*=*autsuka* (Ovav.). — M. Ś. *ūsava*=*utsava* (G. H. R.; Śak. 121,12; Cait. 244,18); AMg. *ussava* (Vivāhap. 822) and *ūsava* (Nirāyāv.); M. *gāmūsava*=*grāmotsava* (G.); M. JM. Ś. *mahūsava* = *mahotsava*; Ś. *vasantūsava*=*vasantotsava* (§ 158), beside M. Ś. *ucchava* = (H. 369; Mallikām. 209,18), Ś. *nirucchava* (Śak. 118,13)<sup>2</sup>. — *utsaṅga* always becomes M. AMg. JM. A. *ucchaṅga* (G. H. [read 422]. R.; Ovav.; Erz.; Hc. 4,336; Vikr. 51,2). — I would prefer, with the Indians, to derive M. CP. *ucchallā* (G. H. R.; Hc. 4,326), JM. *ucchallija* (Erz.) beside *ūsalaī* (Hc. 4,202), *ūsalia* (Deśin. 1,141), *ūsaliya* (Pāiyāl 79) from *śal* with *ud* than to derive it, with ZACHARIAE<sup>3</sup> from \**sal* with *ud*. — *utthallāī* (Hc. 4,174; cf. Ki. 4,46), *utthallija* (Pāiyāl. 179) *utthalia* (Deśin. 1,107) is with BÜHLER<sup>4</sup> to be derived from *sthala*+*ud*. Like *t+śa* is treated *t+śa* too in AMg. *chassaya*=*śaśata* (Kappas.).

1. The v. l. to H. 479 points, as that on Vr. 3,42, rather to *ūsua* than to *ussua*.

— 2. Wrongly doubted by LASSEN, Inst. p. 151 and rejected by BÖHTLINGK on Śak. 77,6. — 3. KZ. 33,444 ff. — 4. Pāiyāl s. v. *utthallijam*,

§ 328. *psa* through *phsa*, *phsa*, *pcha* becomes *cha* (§ 316; Vr. 3,40; C. 3,4; Hc. 2,21; Ki. 2,92; Mk. fol. 25)<sup>1</sup>: *chāa*=Pāli *chāta*=*psāta* (hunger; Deśin. 3,33; Pāiyāl. 183). In the meaning "meagre" (Deśin. 3,33; Pāiyāl. 87), *chāa* is = \**ksāta*<sup>2</sup>. — *accharā*, *accharasā* = Old Hindi *apchar*, Sindhi *apcharā*<sup>3</sup>=*apsarā*, *apsarāḥ* (§ 410), from *chara*=*psaras* (form) in M. *samaccharehūm*=*samarūpāḥ* (R. 7,62) and AMg. *uttarakurumāṇusaccharāo*=*uttarakurumāṇusarūpāḥ* (Panhāv. 288)<sup>4</sup>. — *jucchā*=*juguṣā*; M. *juucchā*, AMg. *dugucchā*, Ś. *jucchedi*=*juguṣati* (§ 215.515). — JM. *ghēcchāmo*=*ghṛṣyāmāḥ* (Āv. 23,6) — *licchā*=*līpsati* (Hc. 2,21); *licchā*=*līpsā* (Bh. 3,40; Mk. fol. 25); AMg. *licchu*=*līpsu* (Uttar. 961).

1. Wrongly the transition to *ppa* too has been assumed by WEBER, Bhag. 1,414 and to *ppha* by FISCHER, Ved. Studien 1,79. — 2. BÜHLER, Pāiyāl, s. v. *chāyāḥ*, FISCHER, ZDMG. 52,96. As *chāta* (the word has entered into Skt too (ZACHARIAE, Epilegomena to his edition of the Anekārthasaṅgraha, Wien 1893, p. 15 note 2). — 3. BRAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,309. The form *abharā*, which LASSEN, Inst. p. 267 mentions, and of which the etymology has been given by ASCOLI, Kritische Studien p. 262 and BARTHOLOMAE, ZDMG. 50,722, is a false reading, as shown by FISCHER, ZDMG. 51,589 ff. — 4. FISCHER, ZDMG. 52,93 ff.

§ 329. *hka*, *hkha*, *hpa*, *hpha*, according to Hc. 2,77 more correctly *hka*, *hkha*, *hpa*, *hpha*, are treated like the corresponding phonetic groups with a sibilant (§ 301 ff.), therefore, become *kha* (in compounds), *kkha*, *ppa* (in compounds), *ppha*: Ś. *antakkaraṇa*=*antahkaraṇa* (Vikr. 72,12); Ś. *nikkhatūkada*=*nihksairīkṛta* (Mahāv. 27,6); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Mg. D. A. *dukkha*=*duhka* (G. H. R.; Āyār. 1,1,1,7,2,3,3,5,6,2 etc.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirāyāv.; Nāyādh.; Āv. 9,6;10,20; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.; Pav. 380,12; 381,14. 20; 383,75; 385,67. 69; Mṛcch. 28,11; 78,12; Śak. 51,14; 84,14; 136,13; Vikr. 9,19; 51,12; 53,11; Mg. Mṛcch. 159,12; Prab. 28,17; 29,7; D. Mṛcch. 101,12; A. Hc. 4,357,4; Vikr. 59,6; 60,18); Ś. *niddukha*=*nirduhka* (Śak. 76,8); Ś. *dukkhida*=*duhkhita* (Vikr. 16,6;34,1).

—In AMg. JM. JŚ. is found beside *dukkha* also *duha* (Sūyag. 126.156.259.406; Uttar. 505.574.599.626; Paṇḥāv. 504; Dasav. N. 646.6.14; Nāyādh. 478; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 401.349). Likewise M. *duhia* (Hc. 1,13 [so to be read]; Ki. 2,113 [so to be read]; H. R.), AMg. JM. *duhiya* (Uttar. 599; Viāhap. 116; T. 6,10; Dvār. 501,10; Kk.), JŚ. *duhida* (Pav. 383, 75) = *duhkhita*; M. *duhāvia* (G.); AMg. *duhi* = *duhkhin* (Sūyag. 71; Uttar. 577). The forms with *h* are found almost exclusively in verses, and *duha* often stands directly beside or in parallel with *suha* = *sukha*, which has influenced its form<sup>1</sup>. Converselyly *sugga* (comfort; well-being; Deśin. 8,56) is formed according to *dugga* = *durga* (pain; Deśin. 5,53; Triv. 1,3,105)<sup>2</sup>. — *puṇapu-ṇakkaraṇa* = *puṇahpuṇahkaraṇa* (Deśin. 1,32); *antappāa* = *antahpāta* (Hc. 2,77). Whether in Mg. the phonetic groups have been rightly treated in the MSS. is doubtful. Cf. also § 342.347. *ḥsa*, *ḥṣa*, *ḥsa* become *ssa*, Mg. *śsa*, or with lengthening of the preceding vowel *sa*, Mg. *śa* (§ 64): Ś. *cadussāla catuḥśāla* (Mallikām. 209.19; 215,5; text *caū°*), *cadussālaa* = *catuḥśāla* (Mrcch. 6,6; 16,11; 45,25; 93,16.18; Dhūrtas. 6,5); Ś. *cadussamudda* = *catuhsamudra* (Mrcch. 55,16; 78,3; 147,17); Mg. *niśśalida* = *niḥśṛta* (Lalitav. 566,15); M. *niśaika* = *niḥśaika*, JM. *nissanka* (§64); M. Ś. *niśaha* = *niḥśaha*, beside *nissaha* (§64); JM. *niśesa* = *niḥśeṣa* (KI.1); Ś *dussantā* = *duḥśanta* (Śak. 16,12; 76,10), Mg. *duśśanta* (Śak. 160,10); *dussamcara* and *dūsamcara* = *duḥsamcara* (Ki. 2,113); Ś. *dussiliṭṭha* = *duḥśliṭṭa* (Mahāv. 23,19); M. JM. Ś. A. *dūsaha* beside Ś. *dussaha* = *duḥśaha* (§64); Ś. *suṇasseha* = *śuṇahśeṣha* (Anarghar. 58,5; 59,12); *dussila* — *duḥśila* (Deśin. 6,67). Cf. § 340.

1. Cf. JACOBI, KZ. 25,438 ff.; where, however, there are many errors.—2. FISCHEL, BB. 6,95.

§ 330. The phonetic combinations *hṇa*, *hna*, *hma*, *hla* become *ṇha*, *mha*, *lha* ( Vr. 3,8; Hc. 2,74.75.76; Ki. 2,95.96.99; Mk. fol. 21 ) through transposition of the consonants. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *avarāṇha* = *aparāṇha* (Bh. 3,8; Hc. 2,75; G.H.; Anuog. 74; Bhag.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,354; 403,373; Vṛṣabh. 41,2 ) ; AMg. JŚ. *puvvaṇha* = *pūrvāṇha* (Bh. 3,8; Hc. 2,75; Mk. fol. 21; Thāp. 244; Anuog. 74; Bhag.; Kattig. 402,354 ) ; AMg. *puvvaṇhana* ( Nāyādh. 332.481; Thāp. 244; Kappas. § 212.227; Nirayāv. 53.55; Vivāgas. 124 [ text *pacca°* ] ) ; M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. *majjhaṇha* = *madhyāṇha* (Hc. 2,84; H. 494; Karp. 94,6; 96,2; Thāp. 243; Āv. 46,6; Erz.; Kattig. 402,354; Ratn. 321,32; Dhūrtas. 7,20; Karp. 59,4; Viddhaś. 40,5; Cait. 92,13; Jivān. 46.10.17). On *majjhaṇṇi* = *madhyamāna* see § 148.214. — M. AMg. JM. A. *gēṇhai*, JŚ. *ginḥai*, Ś. Mg. *gēṇhadi* = *grṇhāti* (§ 512). — M. Ś. Mg. A. *ciṇha* = *cinha*, bes. de M. AMg. JM. *cindha* (§ 267). — *janṇhu* = *jahnū* (Bh. 3,33; Hc. 2,75). — *niṇhavai* = *niṇhute*, AMg. *niṇhavējja*, *niṇhave*, *aniṇhavamāna*, M. *niṇhuviṇṇanti*, Ś. *niṇhuviṇṇanti*, *niṇhuviṇṇanti* (§ 473). — AMg. JM. Ś. *vaṇhi* = *vahni* (Bh. 3,33; Hc. 2,75; Ki. 2,99; Vivāhap. 417; Erz.; Mudrār. 253,8). — M. D. *bamha* = *brahman* (Hc. 2,74; H.; Mrcch. 105,21; PG. Ś. Mg. *bamhaṇa* = *brāhmaṇa* (§ 287); Ś *bamhaṇṇa* = *brāhmaṇya* (§282); *bamhacera*, *brahmācarya* (§176); beside dialectical *bambha*, *bambhaṇa*, *bambhacera* (§250.267). — *sumhā* = *suhmāḥ* (Hc. 2,74). — *ahlāda* = *āhlāda* (Bh. 3,8); AMg. *kahlāra* = *kahlāra* (Bh. 3,8; Hc. 2,76; Ki. 2,95; Mk. fol. 21; Paṇnav. 35; Sūyag. 813); *palhāa* = *prahlāda* (Hc. 2,76); AMg. *palhāyaṇija* = *prahlādaniya* (Jiv. 821; Nāyādh. § 23), AMg. *palhāyana* = *prahlādana* (Uttar. 838); M. AMg. Ś. *palhattha* = \**prahlata*, M. *palhatthai*, AMg. *palhatthiya* (§ 285); AMg. JM. *palhava* = *pahlava* (Paṇhāv. 42 [ text *hla°* ]; Dvār. 498,17), AMg. *pahlavi* (Nāyādh. § 117), *palhaviyā* (Vivāhap. 792; Ovav § 55); *lhasai*, *parilhasai* = *lhasati*, *parilhasati* (Hc. 4,197), A. *lhasiū* (Hc. 4,445,3).

§ 331. Through transposition of the sounds, according to Hc. 2,124, *hya* may become *yha*: *guyha*=*guhya*; *sayha*=*sahya*. The grammarians teach the same for the stem of the pronoun of the second person: *tuyha*, *uyha* (§420ff.). This phonetic alteration, which is common in Pāli, has not as yet been authenticated in Pkt. It is apparently to be assumed for Mg.P CP. in correspondence with the phonetic rules otherwise valid for these dialects (§236 252.280.287). The editions write *jjha* in Mg.; yet in Mṛcch. 170,18 =463,8 ed. GODBOLE, the MSS. have *sahya*, *sattha*, *sattha*, *ssattha* for *saijha* of the text, so that *sayha* will have to be written. So in spite of § 252, in all other dialects, *ya* after its transposition has become *ja*, so that *hya* appears as *jha*, and in the inlaut, as *jjha* (Vr.3,28; C. 3,20; Hc. 2,26.124; Kī. 2,87; Mk. fol. 23). Ś. *anugējjhā*=*anugrāhā* (Mṛcch. 24,11); AMg. *abhirujjha*=*abhiruhya* (§ 590), *abhinigjjha*=*abhinigrhya*, *parigijjha*=*parigrhya* (§ 591); *naijjhā*=*nahyate* (Hc. 2,26), M. *samṇaijjhā* (R.); JM. *gujjha*=*guhya* (Hc. 2,26.124; Erz.); *gujjhaa*=*guhya* (Bh. 3,28); *dujjha*=*dohya* (Deśin. 1,7); *vajjha*=*vāhya* (C. 3,20; Kī. 2,87), *vajjhaa*=*vāhyaka* (Bh. 3,28); Ś. *saijha*=*sahya* (Hc. 2,26.124; Śak. 51,15); M. *saijha*=*sahya* (R.). On *hijjo*, Ś. *hio*=*hyas* see § 134.

§ 332. *hra* and *rha* are mostly separated by a partition-vowel (§132-140). *daśārha* becomes AMg. *dasāra* (Hc.2,85; Antag. 3; Thān. 80.133; Nāyādh. 528.537.1235.1262.1277; Nirāyāv. 78 ff.; Samav. 235; Uttar. 665.671). *hrada* becomes AMg. *haraya* (§132), or with transposition of the consonants AMg. A. *draha*, AMg. *daha* (§268.354). — *hva*, as in Pāli, is firstly transposed as *vha*, which becomes *bha*, in the inlaut -*bbha*- (C. 3,1.21.26; Hc. 2,57; Kī. 2,97; Mk. fol. 26). *gabbhara*=*gahvara* (Kī. 2,97). — AMg. JM. *jibbhā*=*jihvā* (C. 3,1.21.26; Hc. 2,57; Mk. fol. 26; Āyār. 1,1,2,5; p. 137,1; Sūyag. 280.639; Uttar. 943.986; Uvās.; Ovav.; Āv. 42,3); AMg. *jibbhindiya* (Vivāhap. 32.531; Thān. 300; Paṇhāv. 529), A. *jibhndiu* (Hc.4,427, 1; so to be read), beside M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś *jihā*, Mg. *yihā* (§ 65). — *vibbhala*=*vihvala* (C. 3,1; Hc. 2,58; Kī. 2,72), AMg. *vēbbhala* (Bh. 3,47; Paṇhāv. 165), beside M. JM. *vihala* (Grr.; G. H. R.; Kk.), JM. *vihaliya*=*vihvalita* (Erz.). On *Bjibbhala*, *bimbhala*, M. *bhēmbhala*, Ś. *bhēmbhaladā* see § 209

§ 333. As in the case of simple consonants (§ 218 ff.), so also in the case of conjunct explosives of the same class we find here and there c-rebrals in place of dentals of Skt. — *tta*=*ṭṭa*: Ś. *maṭṭiā*, AMg. JM. *maṭṭijā*=*mṛṭṭikā* (§49). — AMg. *vaṭṭa*=*vṛṭṭa* (round; §49); AMg. *oniyaṭṭa*=*avanivṛṭṭa* (Kappas.), *vijaṭṭa*=*vivṛṭṭa* (Ovav.), beside AMg. *vatta* (Ovav.), *nivatta* (Ovav.); JM. *jahāvatta*=*yathāvṛṭṭa* (Erz.), and throughout *tt* in the rest of the dialects — From both *pattana* and *paṭṭana*, the words that occur side by side in Skt., AMg. JM. A. have only *pattana* (Vr. 3,23; Hc. 2,29; Mk. fol. 23; Āyār. 1,7,6,4; 2,11,7; Thān. 347; Paṇhāv. 175.246.406.486; Uttar. 891; Vivāhap. 40.295; Uvās.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Hc. 4,407) — *ttha*=*ṭṭha*: AMg. JM. *utṭhi*, A. *utṭhā*-\**utṭhā*, M. *utṭhia*, AMg. JM. *utṭhiya*, beside Ś. *utihehi*, *utthedu*, *utthida*; AMg. *kaviṭṭha* beside AMg. *kaviṭṭha*=*kapiṭṭha* (§309). — *ddha*=*ḍḍha*: AMg. JM. *iddhi* beside usual *riddhi* (§57). — AMg. *vaddhi*, *vuddhi*=*vṛddhi*, M. *parivaddhi*=*parivṛddhi*; M. AMg. JM. Ś Mg. *vuddha*=*vṛddha* (§ 53). — AMg. *saddhā*=*śraddhā* (Hc. 2,41; Sūyag. 603.611.620; Nāyādh.; Bhag; Ovav.; Kappas.), *jāyasa-ddha* (Vivāhap. 11.101.115.191), *uppannasaddha*, *saṃjāyasaddha* (Vivāhap. 11.12); AMg. JM. *saddha*=*śraddha* (Āyār. 2,1,11,5; 2,2,2,8.10; Erz.); AMg. *saddhi*=*śraddhin* (Āyār. 1,3,4,3; 1,5,5,3; Sūyag. 71; Kappas.); AMg. *mahāsaddhi*- (Āyār. 1,2,5,5), *saddhiya*=*śraddhika* (Thān. 152), *saddhā*=*śraddhakin* (Ovav.), beside M. AMg. JM. Ś. *saddhā* (Hc. 1,12; 2,41; Hc.



Āyār.1,1,3,2; Uvās.; Erz.; Śak. 38,5; Prab. 42,2.8;44,11;46,8;48,1.2 etc.), Mg. *śaddhā* (Prab.47,2;63,4), M. *saddhālua* (H.) and always AMg. *saddahāi* ( Vr. 8,33; Hc. 4,9; Ki. 4,46; Mk.fol.54; Vivāhap. 845.1215; Uttar. 805), *saddahāi* (Uttar. 804 ), JŚ. *saddahadi* (Ka'tig. 399,311 ); AMg. *saddahāmi* (Vivāhap. 134; Nāyādh. § 133 ); M. *saddahimo* (G. 990); AMg. *saddahanti* (Vivāhap. 841 f.), *saddahe* (Āyār. 1,7,8,24; Uttar. 170), *saddahasu* (Sūyag. 151), *saddahāhi* (Vivāhap. 134); JM. *asaddahanta* (Āv. 35,4); AMg. *saddahāna* (Hc. 4,238; Sūyag. 322), *asaddahāna* (Sūyag. 504); AMg. JŚ. *saddahamāna* (Hc. 4,9; Sūyag. 596.625; Pav. 388,6 ); AMg. *asaddahamāna* (Vivāhap. 1215 ); M. *saddahia* (Bh. 8,33; R. 1,38 ); JŚ. *saddahāna* (Pav. 388,6). — *nta=ṇta*: AMg. *viṇṭa*, *tālavīṇṭa*, M. *veṇṭa*, M. AMg. Ś. *tālavēṇṭa*, AMg. *tāliyaṇṭa=vrṇṭa*, *tālavrṇṭa* ( § 53 ). — *ntha=ṇṭha*: *gaṇṭhai* = *grathnāti* (Hc. 4,120 ), beside *ganṭhōi* (Mk. fol 54 ); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. D. *gaṇṭhi* = *granṭhi* (Hc. 4,120; G. H.; Karp. 10,2;76,4; Sūyag. 719; Vivāhap. 104; Uttar. 877; Ovav.; Erz.; Pav. 385,69; Śak. 144,12; Prab. 18,1; Bālar. 36,3;130,6;148,16;297,16;299,1;Viddhaś.71,1;83,1; Karp. 23,2;76,10;112,5; Karnaś. 11,1; D. Mrcch. 104,7 ); AMg. *gaṇṭhilla* (Vivāhap. 1308 ); AMg. *gaṇṭhiga* = *granṭhika* (Sūyag. 869); AMg. *gaṇṭhibheya* (Vivāgas. 100; Uttar. 289; Paṇḥāv. 151 [ °da ] ); but *gaṇṭhibheya* (Paṇḥāv. 121 ); *gaṇṭhicchea* = *granṭhiccheda* (Deśin. 2,86;3,9); AMg. *gaṇṭhicchedaya* (Sūyag. 714 ), *gaṇṭhiccheda* (Sūyag. 719 ); Mg. *gaṇṭhiścedaa* (Śak. 115,4.12; so to be read); Ś. *niḡgaṇṭhidagaṇṭhira* (Bālar. 131,14); JŚ. *duggaṇṭhi* (Pav. 385, 68 ); AMg. *niyaṇṭha* = *nirgrantha* (Sūyag. 962.986.989.992; Vivāhap. 149 ff. ), *mahāniyaṇṭha* (Uttar. 635), but AMg. *ganṭhima* (Āyār.2.12,1;2,15,20; Paṇḥāv. 519; Vivāhap. 823; Jiv. 348; Dasav. N. 561,10; Anuog. 29, Nandis 507; Ovav. § 79 XI [ so to be read ] ), seldom *gaṇṭhima* (Nāyādh. 269 ); AMg. JŚ. *ganṭha* = *granṭha* (Āyār.1,7,8,11; Paṇḥāv. 506; Kappas.; Kattig. 399,317. 318; 404,386. 387 ); AMg. *saṃganṭha* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1 ); AMg. JŚ. *niḡganṭha* = *nirgrantha* (Āyār. 2,5,1,1; 2,6,1,1; 2,15,29; p. 132,4 ff.; Sūyag. 938.958.964.992; Vivāhap. 381; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas. etc.; Kattig. 404,386 ); AMg. *niḡganṭhi* (Āyār. 2,5 1,1 ). — *nda=ṇda*: *kaṇḍaliā* = *kandarikā* (Hc. 2,38), of uncertain meaning. Cf. *kaṇḍali vva* as v.l. for *viśalaa vva* = *viśalateva* at H. 410. — AMg. *bhiṇḍimāla* beside usual *bhiṇḍivāla* = *bhindipāla* ( § 248 ). — In the case of consonants of different classes, in cases other than those mentioned in § 289 ff. 308 f., the cerebralization is present in the sound-group *gdha* in *thadḍha* (Pāiyāl. 75), M. *ṭhadḍha* (Hc. 2,39; H. 537) = \**stagh* from \**vstagh*, to which belong Pāli *ṭhahati* (stands), Pkt. *thāha* (ground; bottom), *thaha* (residence), *thaggha* (deep), *atthāha*, *atthaggha* (bottomless, deep; § 88), and *utthaṅghai* (throws up), M. *utthaṅghia* ( § 505), *utthaṅghaṇa*, *utthaṅghi* (G.). — *chūḍha* with its compounds = *ṣubḍha*, is a formation of analogy ( § 66 ).

§ 334. The rules given in the preceding paragraphs hold good for conjuncts of more than two consonants: pro ex. *uppāveī* = *utplāvayati* (Hc. 2,106); M. *uppua* = *utpluta* (H.); *utthala* = *utsthala* (R.); M. *ucchevaṇa* = *utkṣepaṇa* (R.); AMg. *niṭṭhāna* = *niḥstihāna* (Vivāgas.102); AMg. *kaṇyasāvattā* = *kṛtasāpatnyā* (Deśin. 1,25); M. *māhappa* = *māhātmya* (G. R.); M. AMg. Ś. *maccha* = *matsya* (R.); Sūyag. 71.166.274; Uttar. 442.595.944; Vivāgas. 136; Vivāhap. 248.483); Mg. *maśca* ( § 233 ); AMg. *macchattāe* (Vivāgas. 148 ); *macchabanda* (Erz.); M. *ujjoa* = *uddiyata* (G. H. R.); M. Ś. *aggha* = *arghya* (H.; Śak. 18,3;72,3 ); M. *sāmagga* = *sāmagryaka* (R.); M. AMg. *taṃsa* = *tryasra* ( § 74 ); JM. *vattā* = *vartman* (path; Deśin. 7,31; Erz.); M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *paṅṭi* = *paṅkti* ( § 269 ); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *vimḡha* = *vindhya* ( § 269 ); M. *attha* = *astra* (R.) etc. Numerous examples have been quoted in appro-

priate places. *jyotsnā* forms M. AMg. JM. Ś. D. A. *jōṅhā* (Hc. 2,75; G. H. R.; Karp. 1,4; 2,5; 29,1; 88,2; Mallikām. 29,3; Jiv. 787; Kk.; Śak. 55,2; Mālav. 28,10; Bālar. 292,15; Anarghar. 277,3; Mallikām. 124, 7; 243,15; 252,3; Karṇas. 16,8; D. Mrcch. 101,9; A. Hc. 4,376,1), *jōṅhāla* = \**jyotsnāla* (Hc. 2,159), Ś. *jōṅhiā* = *jyautsnikā* (Mallikām. 238,9), or AMg. *dosinā* (§ 215), Ś. *dosinī* = *jyautsnī* (§ 215). M. JM. *sāmattha* (Hc. 2,22; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.); presupposes one \**sāmartha* (§ 281); *sāmarthya* regularly becomes *sāmaccha* (Hc. 2,22). — Pāli *disvā* makes it apparent that in AMg. *dissā* (Sūyag. 728; Vivāhap. 1414), *padissā* = \**pradiṣṭvā* (Vivāhap. 1415) too the long is original and the short is metrical. There-to points also AMg. *dissam āgajam* = *drṣṭvāgatam* (Uttar. 695), where *dissam* stands, according to § 349 for *dissam*, and this again stands for *dissā* according to § 114. The regular form from *drṣṭvā* would be \**diṭṭhā*. On the loss of aspiration in conjunct consonants see § 213.

### III. DROPPING OFF AND ENTRY OF CONSONANTS IN THE ANLAUT.

§ 335. The consonants may drop off when they begin the second member of a compound and stand between vowels. It so takes place also in the case of consonants standing in the beginning of enclitics and sometimes also after proclitics, whilst in the case of compounds the homogeneous words are deemed to be forming them (184). Otherwise dropping off of initial consonants is merely isolated and dialectical: *ūā* = Pāli *ūkā* = *yūkā* (Deśin. 1,139; Triv. 1,3,105) beside *jūā* (Deśin. 1,159), AMg. *jūyā* (Āyār. 2,13,18; Aṅuog. in WEBER, Bhag. 2,265 note), *jūva* (§ 230)<sup>1</sup>; *ōkkanī* = \**yūkanī* (louse; Deśin. 1,159). — AMg. *ahā°* = *yathā°* (Hc. 1,245); pro ex. *ahāsujam* = *yathāśrutam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,1; p. 137,26); *ahāsuttam ahā-kappam ahāmaggam* = *yathāśrutam yathākappam yathāmārgam* (Āyār. p. 137,26 [°*sujam*]); Nāyādh. 369; Vivāhap. 165; Uvās.; Kappas.); *ahārāṇijyāe* = \**yathārāṇikāya* (Āyār. 2,3,3,5; Thāṇ. 355 f.); *ahānupuvīe* = *yathānupūrvyā* (Āyār. 2,15,13; Ovav.); *ahāriham* = *yathārtham* (Āyār. 2,15,16; Sūyag. 695; Uvās.); *ahāsamthadam* = *yathāsamstṛtam* (Āyār. 2,7,2,14); *ahāsuharma* = *yathāśukṣma* (Āyār. 2,15,18; Vivāhap. 213); *ahattahijyam* = \**yāthātathijyam* (Sūyag. 484,506) *āhākaḍam* = \**yāthākṛtam* (Āyār. 1,8,1,17; Sūyag. 405,408); *āhāpariggahijya* = \**yāthāparigrhīta* (Ovav.). — AMg. *āva-* = *yāvat* in *āvakahā°* = \**yāvatkathā°* (Sūyag 120); *āvakahāe* = \**yāvatkathāyai* (Āyār. 1,8,1,1; Thāṇ. 274); *āvakaham* = \**yāvatkathām* (Āyār. 1,8,4,16); *āvakahijya* = \**yāvatkathika*, all in the meaning “continuously”, “for life”. — AMg. *āvanti* = *yāvanti* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; 1,5,1,1 ff.). Dropping off of initial *t* or *y* occurs also in *vyha*, *ujjha*, *ubbha*, *umha* (§ 420 ff.). Cf. *jām* § 427.

1, FISCHER, BB. 3,241.

§ 336. *y*, as in Pāli, is put before *eva* in Mg. P. *yeva*, behind short or shortened vowels *yyeva*. Mg. *idō yyeva*, *mama yyeva* (Hc. 4,302), false *eva* (Lalitav. 567,1); P. *savassa yyeva* = *sarvasyaiva*; *tūrātō yyeva* = *durād eva* (Hc. 4,316,323). As in the case of original *y* (§ 252), here also the MSS. of the dramas do not authenticate the rule, but they write *jeva*, *jjeva*, *jēvva*, *jjēvva*, that is to say, the forms of the words that can be used in Ś. (§ 95). Vr. 12,23 teaches for Ś. *jēvva*, Hc. 4,280 *yyeva*, which is found in only one part of South Indian manuscripts<sup>1</sup>. In A. *jeva* with the dropping off of the syllable *va* (§ 150) and transition of *e* to *i* (§ 85) becomes *ji* (C. 2,27<sup>7</sup>; Hc. 4,420 with Word-Index). The older form *je* is found in M. (H.

524 v. 1. = Hc. 2,217; R. 4,36), AMg. (Uttar. 669) and JM. (Āv. 12,24) and is considered by the grammarians (Hc. 2,217; cf. C. 2,27<sup>a</sup> p. 46; Kī. 4,83) as an expletive. The v.l. *cia* in H. 524 points to the correct reading. *ya* enters in A. before *iva* also, which becomes *jīva*, *jēva* = \**yiva* (§261). A. *jīva* seems to report for the usual derivation of Pāli *viya* from \**yiva* through transposition<sup>2</sup>. But Pāli *viya* cannot be separated from M. Ś. Mg. *via*, AMg. JM. *viya*, and these from AMg. JM. *viva*, *piya* and dialectical *miva*. Hence Pāli *viya*, M. Ś. Mg. *via*, AMg. JM. *viya* are to be derived from *viva*, which is to be equated as = *v*+*iva* according to § 337. *via* is the single prevailing form in Ś. Mg. ( Vr. 12,24; Mrcc. 2,16,19,21, 22,25; 3,17,20; 8,3 etc. Mg. Mrcc. 10,1; 133,12,24; 134,2; 136,14 etc.), more rarely in M. ( Vr. 9,16; Hc. 2,182; H. R.; Kaṭp. 1,4; 16,4; 64,8), yet more rarely *viya* in AMg. JM. ( C. 2,22; Bhag.; Erz.), since these dialects use *va*, *vva*, *iva* (§ 92.143). *viva* is found in AMg. JM. behind vowels (Hc. 2,182; Kī. 4,83; Paṇhāv. 505,6,7,10; Nāyādh. §35.92; p.349. 1450; Uttar. 593.596.634; Vivāgas. 83.239; Vivāhap. 171; Nirayāv.; Kaṭpas.; Erz.; Kk.), as v. l. also in M. ( H. R. ). After. anusvāra *viva* becomes in M. AMg. JM. *piya* ( C. 2,22; Hc. 2,182; Kī. 4,83), where on the analogy of *vi*, *pi*=*api* might have had a hand. The derivation of *piya* from *pi*=*api*+*iva*<sup>3</sup> makes the meaning improbable. So *piya* M. (G. s. v. *iva*; H.; WEBER on H. 1); AMg. (Sūyag. 758; Paṇhāv. 231.340.508; Nāyādh. § 23.122; p. 269.271.289.354.439 740.1045.1433; Vivāgas. 112; Rāyap. 255; Vivāhap. 794.807.823.943; Nirayāv.; Kappas.; Āv. 7,29; Dvār. 497,37; Erz.; Rṣabhap.). Vr. 10,4, hence wrongly, restricts *piya* to P. — *miva* (Vr. 9,16; C. 2,27i; p. 47; Hc. 2,182; Kī. 4,83), which is found after anusvāra in M. (H.; WEBER on H. 1; R.) and is not with BLOCH<sup>4</sup> to be doubted<sup>5</sup>, will have originated either from *viva* or *piya*, through assimilation with the preceding *m*<sup>6</sup>, as we find also *mi* for *vi*, *pi* = *api*<sup>7</sup>. Cf. *hem meva*, *hevaṃ meva* in the inscription of Aśoka in SENART s. v.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 4,280. — 2. CHILDERS s. v. *iva*; E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 64; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 62; WINDISH, BKSGW. p. 232; doubtfully WEBER on H. 1, note 2. — 3. JACOBI, Kalpasūtra p. 100; cf. also GOLDSCHMIDT, Prakṛtica p. 30; WEBER on H. 1; BLOCH Vr. und Hc. p. 34. — 4. Vr. und Hc. p. 34 ff. — 5. correctly against him WINDISH, l.c. p.234 f.; KONOW, GGA, 1894, p. 478. — 6. Other explanations in WEBER H.1 p. 47; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen, p. 69; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s. v.; WINDISCH, l. c. p. 234. In Vr. 9,16 we should probably read *piya* for *mmiva*. — 7. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prakṛtica p. 31; KLATT, ZDMG. 33,459; WEBER, H. s. v. *mi*. Also inscriptionally in JM. ( Kī. 10; beside *vi* and *pi* ).

§ 337. *v* is thrust forward in M. Ś. Mg. *via*, AMg. JM. *viya*, AMg. JM. *viva*=*iva* (§ 336); AMg. *vuccai*, Ś. Mg. *vuccadi*=*ucyate* (§544); AMg. JM. *vutta*=*ukta* ( Sūyag. 74. 844. 921. 974. 986. 993; Uttar. 717; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; T. 4,19;5,2; Āv. 11,22; Erz.; M. AMg. JM. *vubbhai*=*uhyate* (§ 266.541). *vuccai*, *vutta*, *vubbhai* may be derived also from the present stem<sup>1</sup>=\**vacyate*, \**vakta*, \**vabhyate* with transition of *a* to *u* according to § 104, as it is certain for M. *vuttha*=\**vasta*=*uṣita*, from *vvas* ( to live; § 303.564)<sup>2</sup>, and for AMg. *parivusiya* from *Vvas* (to put on; Āyār. 1,6,2,2,3,1;1,7,4,1,5,1). JS. Ś. Mg. have *utta* ( Pav. 382,42; Cait. 41,10; 72,5; 127,17; Kāleyāk. 23,11; Mg. Mrcc. 37,12), and so throughout in compounds, as M. *paccutta*=*pratyukta* ( H. 918 ); AMg. *nirutta*=*nirukta* ( Paṇhāv. 406 ); M. Ś. *puṇarutta* ( G. H.R.; Mrcc. 72,3; Śak. 56,16; Mālav. 86,4; Bālar. 120,6; Vṛṣabh. 15,16; Mallikām. 73,3 ), AMg. *apūnarutta* ( Jiv. 612; Kappas.). — A. *vuṭṭhae*=*uttiṣṭhanti* ( Piṅgala 1,125<sup>a</sup> ); M. JM. *vūḍha*=*ūḍha* ( R.; Erz.), beside M. *ūḍha* ( G. )<sup>3</sup>; JM. *vubbanta*=*uḥpamāna* ( Āv. 25,29 ); *voṅcattha* ( inverted cohabitation; Deśin. 7,58 )=

\**uccastha* from *ucca*, as AMg. *vuccattha* (= *pariyasta*; *bhraṣṭa*; Uttar. 245) points.

1. WINDISCH, BKSGW. 1893, 230, note 1. — 2. Cf E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 37. — 3. Sometimes it cannot be said with certainty whether or not *vūḍha* in R., as otherwise often, is = *vyūḍha*. *vu*, *vo* often is = *vi* + *ud*.

§ 338. Prothesis of *h* is found in *hare* (Hc. 2,202; Ki. 4,83), *hīre* (Vr. 9,15), beside *are*<sup>1</sup>; *hīra* (Hc. 2,186; § 259) beside M. *ira* = *kira* (§ 184); AMg. *huṭṭha* = *oṣṭha* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5); AMg. *havvāe*, dative from \**arvāka* = *arvānc* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Sūyag. 565.575.578.601.616.625 f.). The adverb AMg. *havvam* "quickly", which the commentators explain with *ṣighram* or *arvāk* and with WARREN<sup>2</sup> and LEUMANN<sup>3</sup> they trace back to *arvāk*, also supports this. JACOBI<sup>4</sup> doubtfully equates it as = *bhavyam*, WEBER<sup>5</sup> earlier, likewise doubtfully = *savvam* = *sarvam*, la.er<sup>6</sup> = *havyam* = "at call" (Ṭhāp. 124.125.127.155 ff. 207.208.285 ff. 539.585; Antag. 14.18 f. 30.32; Samav. 89.95.110; Vivāgas. 18 ff. 130; Nāyādh. § 94; p.306.378.565.620.624 f. 737.792.819 etc.; Vivāhap. 96 f. 125 f. 146 f. 154 f. 170.181 f. 334 etc.; Rāyap. 248 ff.; Jiv. 260.356.411; Aṇuog. 394.436.454.455; Paṇṇav. 838; Nirāyāv.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.).

1. FISCHEL, KB. 7,462; P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874, p. 474. — 2. Over de goddiënsteige en wijsgeerige Begrippen der Jaina's p. 52 ff. — 3. Aup. S. s. v.—4. Kalpas. s. v. — 5. Bhag. 1,416, note 1. — 6. Verzeichniss 2. 2, 423, note 3.

#### IV. FINAL CONSONANTS.

§ 339. Finally only a simple or nasalized vowel can stand in Pkt. Hence final consonants, excepting the nasals, are dropped: *maṇā* = *manāk* (Hc. 2,669); M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *tāva* = *tāvat* (§ 185); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *paścā* = *paścāt* (§ 301); AMg. *abhū* = *abhūt*; *akāsī* = *akārṣit* (§ 516); AMg. *akarvīnsu* = *akārṣuh* (§ 516). Cf. § 395. The vowels standing in the auslaut were sometimes nasalized (§ 75.114.181), and short vowels were also lengthened (§ 75.181).

§ 340. The final consonant of the first member of a compound is assimilated with the initial consonant of the following member, as a rule (§ 335), so much so that the stems ending in consonants go over to the *a*-declension (§ 355 ff.). Sometimes, predominantly in verses, the member before the consonant is treated as absolutely in the auslaut. So M. *uamahihara* = *udak* + *mahādhara* (G. 631); *uasindhu* = *udak* + *sindhu* (395); M. *eaḡuṇā* = *etadḡuṇaḡ* (Hc. 1,11); *jaarakkhaṇa* = *jagadrakṣaṇa* (G. 50), and several times in *jagat* in G. R.; AMg. *taḡitadiḡa* = *taḡittadiḡa* (Ovav. § 16, p. 31, 13); M. *taḡibhāva* = *taḡidbhāva* (G. 316); M. *viasia* = *vīyat* + *ṣṛita* in rhyme with *viasia* = *vikasita* (R. 6,48); M. *vijjuvilasia* = *vidyudvilasita* (4,40), and more often in *vidyut* in G. R.; M. *sarisamkula* = *saritsamkula* in rhyme with *sarisam kulam* = *sadr̥sam kulam* (R. 2,46); M. *sat̥risa* = *sat̥purusa* (G. 992), beside frequent *sappurisa*; *sabhikkhu* = *sadbhikṣu* (Hc. 1,11). Particularly frequent is the dropping off of *s* of *dus*, in dependence upon the compounds with *su*, that often stand directly by its side: M. AMg. JM. *dulaha* = *durlabha* (Ki. 2.114; Mk. fol. 32; G. 1133; H. 844; Karp 92,4; Dasav. 618,12 in parallel with *sulaha* 14; Kk. 271,33). M. *dulahattana* = *durlabhata* (G. 503); AMg. *duc̥iṇṇa* = *duc̥iṇṇa* (Ovav. § 56 p. 62,14), according to *suciṇṇa* = *suciṇṇa* standing before it; AMg. *dumuha* = *durmukha* (Paṇḥāv. 244), beside *sumuha*: AMg. *durūva* = *dūrūpa* (Sūyag. 585.603.628.669.738, Vivāhap. 117.480; Ṭhāp. 20), mostly beside *surūva* = *surūpa*; AMg. *duvanna* = *duruvarṇa* (Sūyag. 628.669.738; Vivāhap. 480[<sup>ṛ</sup>ṇṇa]), beside *suvaṇṇa*; M. *dusaha*

=*duhsaha* (Hc. 1,115; G. 158,511; H. 486); *duhava*=*durbhaga* (Hc. 1,115; cf. §231); M. *dohagga*=*daurbhāgya* (H.).

§ 341. Inversely the final consonant is sometimes retained, especially before vowels, in addition to in compounds, particularly before enclitics. AMg. *chac ca*=*ṣaṭ ca*, *chac ceva*=*ṣaḍ eva*, *chap pi*=*ṣaḍ api* (§ 441); AMg. *asiṇād i vā avahārād i vā*=*aśanād iti vā apahārād iti vā* (Āyār. 2,1,5, 1); AMg. *sucirād avi*=*sucirād api* (Uttar. 235); AMg. *tamhād avi ikkha*=*tasmād apīkṣasva* (Sūyag. 117); AMg. *jad atthi*=*yad asti* (Thān. 33); AMg. *apusaraṇād uvattihānā*=*anusmaraṇād upasthānāt* (Dasav. N. 656,1); Mg. *yad iścaśe*=*yad icchase*; *mahad antalaṃ*=*mahad antaram* (Mṛcch. 123,5; 136,18). In compounds: AMg. *tadāvaraṇijja*=*tadāvaraṇiya* (Uvās. § 74); AMg. *tadajjhavasijjā*, *tadappijjakaraṇā*, *tadaṭṭhovaṭṭitā*=*tadadyavasitāh*, *tadarpitakaraṇāh*, *tadarthopayuktāh* (Ovav. § 38, p. 50,31 ff.); AMg. *tadubhaya* (Ovav. § 117,122); JM. *taduvikkhākāriṇo*=*tadupekṣākāriṇaḥ* (Kk. 261,27), beside the cases like M. *eṅvatthā*=*etadavasthā* (R. 11,132), AMg. *eyānurūva*=*etadanurūpa* (Kappas. § 91,107). In AMg. *tārūvatthāe tāvannattāe tāphāsattāe*=*tadrūpatvāya tadvarnatvāya tatsparśatvāya* (Paṇnav. 523 ff. 540), *tāgan-dhattāe tāravatthāe*=*tadgandhatvāya tadrāsattvāya* (Paṇnav. 540), and in the frequent AMg. JM. *eyārūva*=*etadrūpa* (Āyār. 2,15,23. 24; Sūyag. 992; Vivāgas. 116; Vivāhap. 151. 170. 171; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), *a* is to be explained either according to § 65 or § 70. AMg. *saḍaṅgavī*=*ṣaḍaṅgavid* (Ovav.; Kappas.). *r*, originating from *s* in *duś* and *niś*, is always retained before vowels (Hc. 1,14; Ki. 2,124): *duravagāha* (Hc. 1,14); AMg. *durāikkama*=*duratikrama* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4); M. *durārōha* (H.); JM. *durārucāra*, *duranta*, *durappa*=*durātman* (Erz.); AMg. *durahijyāsa*=*duradhivāsa* (Uvās.); Ś. *durāgada*=*durāgata* (Vikr. 32,11); M. JM. *durā*=*durita* (G.; Ki. 1,22); *duruttara* (Hc. 1,14); M. Ś. *nirantara*, JM. *nirantara* (Hc. 1,14; G. H.; Erz. Mṛcch. 68,19; 73,8; Prab. 4,4); M. *niravēkkha*=*nirapekṣa* (R.); M. *nirālamba* (H.); M. *nirikkhaṇa*=*nirīkṣaṇa* (H.); A. *niruwama*, JM. *niruwama*=*nirupama* (Hc. 4,401,3; Erz.); *nirūsua*=*nirutsuka* (G.). The rule holds good also for *prādus*: AMg. *pāduresae*=*prāduresayet* (Āyār. 1,7,8,17), *pādura-kāsi*=*prādurakārṣī* (Sūyag. 123), beside AMg. *pāubbhūya*=*prādurbhūta* (Vivāgas. 4,38; Vivāhap. 190; Kappas.), *pāubbhaviṭṭhā* (Vivāhap. 1201) and *pāukujjā*=*prādusukuryāt* (Sūyag. 474), *pāukarissāmi*=*prāduskarissāmi* (Uttar. 1), against *karissāmi pāum* (Sūyag. 484), *karēnti pāum* [text *pāu*], *karemi pāum* (Sūyag. 912,914). Cf. § 181. So also M. *bāhir uṇhāim*=*bāhir uṇṇāṇi* (H. 186). On original *r* see § 342 ff., on *m* § 348 ff.

§ 342. In all the dialects *aḥ*, arising from the original *ar*, mostly becomes *o*: M. AMg. *anto*=*antaḥ* from *antar* (G.H.R.; Āyār. 1,2,5,5; 2,1,2,7; 3,10; 2,7,2,1; Sūyag. 753; Uvās.); AMg. *aho*=*ahaḥ* from *ahar* (§ 386); AMg. *pāo*=*prātaḥ* from *prātur* (Kappas.). *puṇaḥ* from *punar* becomes M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Mg. Dh. Ā. *puṇo* in the meaning "again", "afresh" (G.H.R.; Āyār. 1,1,5,3; 1,2,1,1 2,2; 1,4,1,3,2,2; 1,6,4,2; Sūyag. 45.151.178.277.433. 468.497; Uttar. 202; Āv. 28,14; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 383,24; 384,49; 386,10; 388,8; Kattig. 403,375; Mṛcch. 29,11; 58,8,13); Mg. Mṛcch. 176,5,9; Prab. 58,8; Dh. Mṛcch. 39,17; Ā. Mṛcch. 103,3), especially in the compounds M. JM. JŚ. Ś. Mg. D. *puṇo vi* (Ki. 2,126; G.H.; Āv. 8,34.52; 12,35; Erz. 27,6; 33,37; Kattig. 402,367; Mṛcch. 20,24; 21,7; 41,6; 45,16; 81,9; 94,19; Śak. 22,2; 68,2; Vikr. 11,2; 13,18; 28,1; 82,17; Mahāv. 65,2; Candak. 93 14; Mg. Mṛcch. 80,5; 115,9; 117,3; 132,22; 148,14; 162,9; D. Mṛcch; 103,17), for which AMg. prefers *puṇar avi* (Ki. 2,126; Āyār. 1,8,2,6; 2,1,7,3; Sūyag. 100,643.842; Vivāhap. 1038.1496; Jiv. 287.288.296; Paṇnav. 848;

Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.), that is known also to JM. (Āv. 11,24; Dvār. 497,26;498,14; Erz.); according to Kī. 2,126 one says also *puṇa vi*. For *puṇo* M. has after vowels and anusvāra also *uṇo*, with dropping off of *p* according to § 184 (G. H. R.). In the meaning "but", "now" *puṇah* becomes in AMg. JM. JŚ. *puṇa* (Āyār. 1,4,2,5; 2,1,1,3. 4. 14; 2,2,3,10; Sūyag. 46,292; Vivāhap. 139; Dasav. 642,2; Dasav. N. 648,33;652,11; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 8,50;12,2; Erz.; Kk.; Kattig. 404,387. 389). There is found in M. 100 sometimes *puṇa* after anusvāra (G. H.), but mostly *uṇa*, as in Ś.Mg. (§ 184). For Mg. *kiṃ puṇa* (Mṛcch. 169,4) we should read with GODABOLE (458,9), *kiṃ uṇa*. In M. are found in the meaning "but", "now" also *puṇo*, *uṇo*. In A. *puṇah*, in both the meanings, becomes *puṇu* (Hc. 4,226 and Word-Index; Pīngala 1,33.34.37.42 ff. 77. 84.90.95.100; Vikr. 71,10). After dropping off of the final *r* the words sometimes go over to the *a*-stem and are inflected. So AMg. *antaṃ* (Āyār. 2,10,6), *anteṇa* in the combination *anto anteṇa* (Āyār. 2,5,1,14; 2,6,1,11), *antāo* (Āyār. 2,10,6); AMg. *pāyam*=*prātar* (Sūyag. 337.341); *na uṇā*=*na \*puṇāt* (Hc. 1,65); AMg. *puṇāim* (Panhāv. 389; Uvās. §119. 174), *puṇāi* (Hc. 1,65; Panhāv. 414), *na uṇāi* (Hc. 1,65), which are to be considered as in the acc. plur. Cf. § 345. From *anto* AMg. forms also *antohīnto*, that is to say, an ablative="from within" (Āyār. 2,7,2,1; Thāp. 408; Kāyap. 254 f.). Cf. § 343.365.

§ 343. Original *r*, as the secondary one (§ 341), is mostly retained before the vocalic intial of the second member in a compound: *antarappa*=*antarāman* (Hc. 1,14); M. *antaria*, AMg. JM. *antariya*, Ś. *antarida*=*antarita* (G. H. R.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Śak. 67,2;73,10; Vikr. 31,1;41,17;43,7); M. Ś. *puṇaruita*=*puṇarukta*, AMg. *apuṇaruita* (§ 337); AMg. *apuṇarāvatti*=*apuṇarāvartin* (Uttar. 859; Kappas.), *apuṇarāvattaga* (Ovav.). So also AMg. JM. *puṇar avi* (§ 342), and cases, like AMg. *puṇar ei*, *puṇar eṅti*=*puṇareti*, *puṇar yanti* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3.2,1). Before a consonantal initial of the second member, as a rule, comes in the form of the absolute final: M. *antomuha*=*antarmukha* (G. 94); *antovīsambha*=*antarvisrambha* (Hc. 1,60); M. *antohutta* (Deśin. 1,21; H. 373), *antosindūria* (H. 300); AMg. *antojala* (Nāyādh. 764), *antōjjhusira*=*antaḥsušira* (Nāyādh. 397; cf. § 211), *antoduṭṭha*=*antarduṣṭa* (Thāp. 314), *antomāsa* (Thāp. 364); AMg. JM. *antomuhutta* (Vivāhap. 180.273; Samav. 215; Jiv. 49.322; Uttar. 977 f. 997.1003.1047 ff.; Kappas.; Rṣabhap. 43); AMg. *antomuhuttiya* (Vivāhap. 30), *antomuhuttiṇa* (Samav. 215), *antosālā*=*antaḥśālā* (Uvās.), *antosalla*=*antaḥśalya* (Sūyag. 695; Thāp. 314; Samav. 51; Vivāhap. 159; Ovav.); JM. *antonikkhanta*=*anīarniṣkrānta* (Rṣabhap. 45); AMg. *pāosināṇa*=*prātaḥsnāna* (Sūyag. 337). The same form is found sometimes also before vowels: M. *antovarim*=*antarupari* (Hc. 1,14), for which in G.1056 (the place meant by Hc.) stands *antovarim*, which with P (cf. J) is to be read as *anto avarim ca pariṭṭhiera*; AMg. *antoanteura* (§ 344). In M. *antovāsa*=*antaravakāsa* we should add *anta* (§ 342), which is found also before consonants, as AMg. *antabhamara*=*antarbhramara* (Kappas.), *antarāyalehā*=*\*antarrājallekhā* (Kappas.); *puṇapuṇakkarāṇa*=*puṇaḥpuṇakkarāṇa* (Deśin. 1,32); AMg. *puṇapāsaṇāyāe*=*\*puṇaḥpāṣyanatāyāi* (Vivāhap. 1128). Before consonants there takes place also assimilation: Ś. *antakkarāṇa*=*antaḥkarāṇa* (Vikr. 72,12); *antaggaa*=*antargata* (Hc. 2,60); *antappāa*=*antaḥpāta* (Hc. 2,77); JM. Ś. *puṇaṇava*=*puṇarava* (Dvār. 504, 5; Karp. 83,3); JŚ. *apuṇabbhava*=*apuṇarbhava* (Pav. 386,5); *puṇapuṇakkarāṇa* (Deśin. 1,32). The ablative *puṇā*=*\*puṇāt* (§ 342) is to be assumed in M. *apuṇāgamāṇā* (G. 1183); AMg. *apuṇāgama* (Dasav. 640,22); likewise *antā* should be viewed in *antāvei*=*antarvedī* (Hc. 1,14). The lengthening in *ā* can be explained also according to § 70.

§ 344. In *antaḥpura* and its derivatives *aḥ* becomes *e* in lieu of *o* in all the dialects, as in Pāli: M. AMg. JM. *Ś. anteura* (Hc. 1,60; G. R.; Sūyag. 771; Panhāv. 262; Nāyādh. § 19.102; p. 1079 ff. 1273.1290.1327. 1460.1465; Vivāgas. 156.159.172 ff.; Vivāhap. 792.1278; Nirayāv.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Āv. 15,13; Erz.; Śak. 38,5;57,11;70,7;137,8;138,1; Mālav. 33,1; 38,3;74,7;84,16;85,6; Bālar. 243,12; Viddhaś. 83,7; Karp. 35,3;45,10;99, 4; Pras. 45,4.13; Jivān. 42,16; Kāmsav. 55,11; Kārṇas. 18,22;37,16 etc.); M. *anteuraa* (at H. 980); AMg. JM. *anteuriyā*, *Ś. anteuriā=antaḥpurikā* (Nāyādh. 1229; Erz.; Kk.; Viddhaś. 11,1). Against it there appears *antio* in AMg. *antoanteura* (Nāyādh. 723.1301; Vivāhap. 791; Ovav.), *antoante-puriya* (Ovav.). At Vivāgas. 145 *antapuriyaṁsi* is edited. *e* appears for *aḥ* also in *anteāri=antaścārin* (Hc. 1,60).

§ 345. In all the dialects, except in the nom. sing. of the *a*-stems in AMg. Mg. and in certain adverbs in AMg., where it becomes *e*, *aḥ* arising from *as* becomes *o*. AMg. JM. *aggao*, *Ś. Mg. aggado=agrataḥ* (§69); AMg. *piṭṭhāo=prṣṭhāt*, AMg. JM. *piṭṭhao*, *Ś. D. piṭṭhādo=prṣṭhataḥ* (§69); in the nom. sing. PG. *paṭibhāgo=paṭibhāgaḥ* (§ 363); M. *rāo=rāgaḥ* (H. 12); JM. *putto=putraḥ* (Erz. 1,2); JŚ. *dhammo=dharmaḥ* (Pav. 380,7); *Ś. nioo=niyogaḥ* (Mṛcch. 3,7); Dh. *puliso=puruṣaḥ* (Mṛcch. 34,12); *Ā. D. govāladārao=govāladāraḥ* (Mṛcch. 99,16;102,15); P. *tāmotaro=dāmodaraḥ* (Hc. 4, 307); CP. *mekho=meghaḥ* (Hc. 4,325); *A. kāmō=kāmaḥ* (Piṅgala 2,4); but AMg. *purise*, Mg. *puliṣe=puruṣaḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,1,6; Mṛcch. 113,21). Likewise *maṇo=maṇaḥ*, *saro=saraḥ*, *jaso=yaśaḥ* (§ 356). In AMg. there is found *o* also, instead of *-e*, for *-aḥ* of the nominative in verses (§ 17), and before *iva* in prose: *khuro iva=kṣura iva*, *vālyujākavalo iva=vālukākabala iva=vālukākabala iva*, *mahāsamuddo iva=mahāsamudra iva* (Nāyādh. § 144); *kummo iva=kūrma iva*, *kuñjaro iva=kuñjara iva*, *vasabho iva=vṛṣabha iva*, *sīho iva=sīmha iva*, *mandaro iva*, *sāgaro iva*, *cando iva*, *sūro iva* (Sūyag. 758=Kappas. § 118). Beside Kappas. *saṅkho iva* at the place cited, Sūyag. has *saṅkha* [sic] *iva*; Kappas. has *jīve* [sic] *iva*, Sūyag. *jīva* [sic] *iva*; both of them have *vihaga* [sic] *iva*, and the adjectives always end in *-e* beside them. All this makes it probable that these are cases of Sanskritism and that *-e* has to be written throughout and that perhaps *va* is to be written for *iva*, that in AMg. is found in the text just feebly and is uncertain (§ 143). The same phonetic change occurs in all other cases, in which Skt. *-aḥ* goes back to *as*, as in the ablative singular in *-tas*: M. *koḍarāo*, JM. *koṭṭarāo = \*koṭarātaḥ = \*koṭarāt* (H. 563; Erz. 1,10); AMg. *āgārāo=āgārāt* (Uvās. §12); JŚ. *carittādo=caritrāt* (Pav. 380,6); *Ś. mūlādo=mūlāt* (Śak. 14,6); Mg. *haḍakkādo=hydakāt* (Mṛcch. 115,23); in the first pers. plur. indicative in *-maḥ=mas*: M. *lajjāmo*; AMg. *vaḍḍhāmo*; JM. *tālemo*; *Ś. pavisāmo* (§ 455); AMg. *bhavissāmo*; JM. *pēcchissāmo*; AMg. *Ś. jānissāmo* (§ 521.525.534) etc. In AMg. one always says *bahave=bahavaḥ* and *bahūn* (§380 ff.), in M. AMg. *ṇe=naḥ* (§419). In adverbs the sound sometimes varies in AMg. in the texts. *adhaḥ* becomes M. JM. *aho* (G.; Erz. 50,30 [so with A. to be read]; Rṣabhap. 30), AMg., however, mostly *ahe* (Āyār. 1,5,6,2;1,6,4,2;1,8,4,14;2,1,1,2.3,2,10,6;2,15,8; Sūyag. 52.215.222. 271.273.304.397.428.520.590; Uttar. 1031.1033; Vivāhap. 105 f. 260.410. 753; Uvās.: Ovav.; Kappas.), *ahedisāo=adhodisaḥ* (Āyār.1,1,1,2); *ahabhāga* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4), *ahabhāgī=adhobhāgin* (Sūyag. 829), *ahacara* (Āyār. 1,7,8,9), *ahegāmiṇi* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13), *ahavāya=adhovāta* (Sūyag. 829), *ahesiram=adhahsiraḥ* (Sūyag. 288), but *ahosiram* (Sūyag. 268; Ovav.; Nāyādh.), *aheloga* beside *adhologa* (Thāp.61 f.) and *ahe ahologe* (Thāp.189), also independently standing, probably falsely, *aho* (Sūyag.476; Uttar.513); *pure=puraḥ* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5,9,2), *purekamma=\*puraskarman* (Hc. 1,57; Āyār. 2,1,

6,4,5; Paṅhāv. 492); *purēkaḍa*, *purēkkhaḍa* and *purakkḍa*=*puraskṛta* (§49. 306), *ḥorekacca*=\**paurahkṛtya* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *ḥorevacca*=\**paurovṛtya* Paṅṅav. 98.100 103; Vivāgas. 28.57; Samav.134; Ovav.; Kappas.), everywhere beside *āhevacca*=*ādhipatya* (§ 77); *rahe*=*rahaḥ* (Uttar. 331.333), but *rahoḥkamma-* (Ovav.); Ś. *suvo*=*svah*, but AMg. *suve*, *sue* (§ 139), beside AMg. *suṅarāe*=*suovātre* (Āyār. 2, 5, 1, 10). As in *suṅarāe* so in AMg. *adham*=*adhaḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,5,2,3), *aham* (Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 1,4,2,3,4; 1,7,1,5) and *ḥuram*=*ḥuraḥ* (Nāyādh.) there has occurred transition to the *a*-stem. Cf. § 342. It still remains uncertain whether in compounds as well we should throughout read or not read *ahē*°, *rahe*°. On AMg. JM. *hēṭṭhā* and derivations see § 107.

§ 346. In A. *o* from *ah* mostly becomes *u* (Hc. 4,331; Ki. 5,22); *janu*=*janaḥ* (Hc. 4,336); *lou*=*lokaḥ* (Hc. 4,366.420,4), *sihu*=*simhaḥ* (Hc. 4, 418,3); *bhamaru*=*bhramarah*, *makkadu*=*markaṭaḥ*, *vāṅaru*=*vānaraḥ* (Piṅgala 1,67); *ṅisaru*=\**ṅisicarah*, *dhārādharu*=*dhārādharah* beside *sāmalo*=*śyāmalah* (Vikr. 55,1,2); *tavu*=*tapah*, *siru*=*śiraḥ* (Hc. 4,441,2.445,3); *aṅguliḥ jajjariāu aṅgulyo jarjaritāḥ* (Hc. 4,333); *vilāsiṅu*=*vilāsiniḥ* (Hc. 4,348); *sallāu*=*sallakīḥ* (Hc. 4,387,1). The same phonetic change is common in Dh.: *luddhu jūḍialu papaliṅu*=*ruddho dyūtakarāḥ ḥpapalāyitaḥ* (Mṛcch. 30,1); *vīppādīvu ḥpādu*=*vīpraīḥpāḥ ḥpādaḥ* (Mṛcch. 30,11); *esu vihavu*=*eṣā vibhavaḥ* (Mṛcch. 34,17) beside nominatives in *o* (§25 345). Further in the abl.sing. in P.*tūrāiu*, *tumātu*, *mamātu*, beside *tūrāt*, *tumāt*, *mamāt*=*dūrāt*, *ivat*, *mat* (Hc. 4,321); M. *nahaalāu*=*nabhastalāt*, *raṅṅāu*=*anyaāt* (§365); JŚ *udāyādu* (Pav.383,27), according to which Hc. permits this form also in Ś. Mg. (§365). In the first pers. plur. indicative: AMg. *icchāmu*, *accemu*, *dāhāmu*, *vucchāmu*, A. *lahimu* (§ 455). Cf. § 85.

§ 347. At the end of the first member of a compound *o* may enter for Skt. *as*, *ah* before consonants, as in the auslaut. Commonly there appears sometimes, however, assimilation in M.AMg.JM. in the stem in *-a* (§407): M. *jasavamma*=*yaśovarman* (G.), JM. *jasavaaddhaṅa*=*yaśovardhana* (Ki.4), beside *jasoā*=*yaśodā* (G.H.); AMg.JM. *namōkkāra*, beside *namōjāra*, *navajāra* M. *ṅamakāra* (§ 306); *nahaara*=*nabhaścara* (§ 301); M. *nahaala*=*nabhastala* (G. H. R.); *nahaṅāṭṭha*=*nabhaḥḥṛṣṭha* (G.), *tamaraaṅiara*=*tamorajonikara* (R. 3,34); AMg. *tavalova*=*tapolopa* (Ovav.), beside AMg. JM. *tavokamma*=*tapahkarman* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), Ś. *tavovaṅa*=*tapovana* (Śak. 16,13;18,10;19,7;90,14; Vikr.84,20); JM.Ś. *tavaccaraṅa*=*tapasčaraṅa*(§301); M. A. *avarōḥpara*=*oparaspara*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *ḥarōḥpara*=*paraspara* (§195. 311); M. AMg. JM. *maṅahara*=*manohara* (Hc. 1,156; G. H.; Rāyap. 114; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), beside AMg. JM. A. *maṅohara* (Hc. 1,156; Kappas.; Erz.; Vikr. 66.15); M. *maṅaharaṅa* (Karp. 51,6;55,4); AMg. *maṅapaoga*=*manahḥṛayoga*, *maṅakaraṅa* (Ṭhān. 114) beside *maṅajoga* (Ṭhān.113); *uraada*=*urastaṭa* (Ki 2,110); AMg. *urāparisappa*=*urāḥparisarpa* (Ṭhān.121); AMg. *mihokahā*=*mīthahkathā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,9); AMg. *maṅosilā* (Hc. 1,26; Ki. 2,153; Āyār. 2,1,6,6; Sūyag. 834; Jiv. 519; Rāyap. 123; Paṅṅav. 25; Uttar. 1041), beside *maṅasilā* (Hc. 1,26,4,286; Ki. 2,153), *maṅāsilā* (Hc. 1,26,4,3; cf. § 64) and *maṅamsilā* (Hc. 1,26; cf. § 74); M. *siravihatta*=*śirovibhaktā* (G. 51), beside *siračchea*=*śiraščeda* (G. 322), *sirakamala*=*śiraḥkamala* (G. 342), *siralagga*=*śirolagna* (H. 529); but Ś. *sirodhara* (Śak. 144, 12), Mg. *siloluha*=*śiroruha* (Mṛcch 17,2). The stem *accharā* (§ 97.410) is from *apsaras*(§97 410). On AMg. *ahē*°, *pure*° see §345. If the second member of a compound begins with a vowel the *a*-stem tends to enter into the first member. The vowels in such cases follow the rules of the vocalic sandhi (§ 156 ff.): M. *mahiraantaria*=*mahīrajantarita* (R. 13,52), *mahiraṭṭhāṅa*=*mahīrajaṭṭhāṅa*, *mahīraṅghā*=*mahīrajaṅghāta* (R. 13,37.49), *asuroraṭṭhi*=*asurorosthi*=*asura*+*uras*+*asthi* (G. 7), *nahaṅgaṅa*=*nabhoṅgaṅa* (G. 139.231.



235 etc.), *nahāhoa*=*nabhaābhoga* (G.416), *nahuddeso*=*nabhaūddeśa* (G.558), *tamānubandha*=*tamonubandha* (G. 506), *tamugghāa*=*tamaūdgāta* (G. 1179) etc.

§ 348. Final *n* and *m* become anusvāra ( Vr. 4,12; C. 2,11; Hc. 1,23; Mk. fol. 34 ); Ś. *tassim*, Mg. *taśsim*=*tasmin*; *eassim*, Ś. *edassim*, =*etasmin*; Ś. *jassim*, Mg. *yaśsim* = *yasmin*; Ś. *kassim*, Mg. *kaśsim* = *kasmin*; AMg. Ś. *assim*=*asmin*; Ś. *imassim*, Mg. *imaśsim*=\**imasmin* (§ 425 ff.); AMg P. *bhagavañ*, Ś. Mg. *bhaavañ*=*bhagavañ*; Ś. Mg. *bhavañ*=*bhavāñ*; AMg. *āyavañ*=*ātmavāñ*, *nānavañ* = *jñānavāñ*, *bambhavañ*=*brahmaavāñ*; AMg. *ciṭṭhañ* = *tiṣṭhañ*, *paṇañ* = *paṇañ*, *kuvañ*=*kurvañ*, *haṇañ*=*ghnañ* (§ 396); AMg. *rāyañ*, Ś. *rāañ*, P. *rāyañ*, Mg. *lāañ*=*rājan* (§ 399); A. *vāeñ*=*vātena*, *koheñ*=*krodhena*, *daiveñ*=*daivena*, after dropping off of the final *a* (§ 146). — *ahañ*=*aham*; *tumañ*=*tvam*; M. Ś. *aam*, AMg. JM. *ajam* = *ayam*; Ś. *iam*=*iyam* (§ 417 ff.); AMg. JM. JS. *iyāñim*, *idāñim*, Ś. Mg. *dāñim*=*idāñim* (§144); Ś. *sādañ*, Mg. *sādañ*=*svāgatam* (§203); M. *jalañ*, *jalahiñ*, *vahum*=*jalam*, *jaladhim*, *vadhūm* (H. 161; G. 147; Hc. 3,124); Ś. *aṅgānañ*=*aṅgānām*, *devīnañ*=*devīnām*, *vadhūnañ*=*va dhūnām* (Śak.32,8;43,11; 89,6); Mg. *devadānañ* *bamhañānañ* *ca*=*devatānāñ brāhmañānām ca* (Mṛcch. 121,10); M. AMg. JM. *kāum*, Ś. Mg. *kādum*=*kartum* (§ 574). Cf. also §75.83.181. A vowel with bindu (§179, note 3) is equivalent to a long vowel (§ 74.75.83.86.114). If, therefore, in verses, the metre requires a short syllable, the old *m* remains unaltered before the following vowel (Vr. 4,13; Hc. 1,24; Mk. fol. 34)<sup>1</sup>: M. *surahim iha gandham āsisirabālamaūluggamañā jambūna maarandañ āravindañ ca*=*surabhim iha gandham āsisirabālamukulodgamānām jambūnām makarandañ āravindañ ca* (§ G. 516); M. *tam aṅgam e ṅhim*=*tad aṅgam idāñim* (H.67); AMg. *aniccamañ āvāsam uveñti jantūno* = *anīyam āvāsam upayanti jantavañ* (Āyār. 2,16,1); AMg. *cittamañtam acittamañ vā* (Suṃyag. 1); JM. *kārañam acalam imañ bhavañam*(K.I.22); *appiam eam bhavañam* (KI. 23); *vissariyañ tuham egamañ akkharāñ*=*vismṛtañ tvayaikamañ akṣaram* (Āv. 7.33); JM. *tavassīñim ejañ*=*tapasvinim eṭam* (Kk. 262,19); JS. *adisajamañ ādasamutthañ visaṃyādidañ aṇovamañ aṇantañ*=*atiśayamañ ātmasamutthañ viṣayāṭitañ anupamañ anantañ* (Pav. 380,13); Mg. *maanañ anaṅgam*=*madanañ anaṅgam*, *sañkalam iśalañ vā*=*sañkaram iśvarañ vā* (Mṛcch. 10,13;17,4)<sup>2</sup>.

1. WEBER, H<sup>1</sup>. p. 47. 2. The MSS. and, with them, the Indian editions write, often falsely, the nasal instead of the vowel with bindu. So also in the inscriptions (KI. 10.11.12; PG. 7,45-49). False is also *vāso* (KI. 2), *rohinsakūa* (KI. 20,21). Cf. § 10.

§ 349. In AMg. JM. JS. *m* remains, instead of being transformed into anusvāra, when the word ending in *m* is to be strongly emphasized, especially before *eva*, before which in this case a small vowel is often lengthened, and against §83, a long one is retained (§ 68): AMg. *evamañ ejañ bhante tahamañ ejañ bhante avitahamañ ejañ bhante icchijamañ ejañ bhante padicchi-jamañ ejañ bhante icchijapaḍicchiyamañ ejañ bhante* (Uvās. § 12; Cf. Vivāhap. 946; Ovav. § 54; Kappas. §13.83, and above § 114); AMg. *evamañ akkhāyamañ* = *evamañ ākhyātam* (Āyār. 1,1,1,1); AMg. *evamañ egesim no nāyamañ bhavañ*=*evamañ ekesāmañ no jñātañ bhavati* (Āyār. 1,1,1,2); AMg. *jamañ ejañ bhagavañyā pavēijamañ tam eva abhisamañccā*=*yad etad bhagavatā praveditañ tad evābhīsamētya* (Āyār. 1,7,5,1); AMg. *ajamañ teṇe ajamañ uvacarañ ayamañ hantā ajamañ eṭthañ akāsi*=*ayamañ steno yamañ upacarako yamañ hantāyamañ itthamañ akārsit* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4); AMg. *ahamañ avi*=*ahamañ api* (Āyār. 2,5,2,4); JM. *amhānamañ eva kule samutpannā paramabandhavañ*=*asmākañ eva kule samutpannāḥ paramabāndavāḥ* (Dvār. 500,1); JM. *evamañ imañ kajjamañ*=*evamañ idañ kāryamañ* (Erz. 5,35); JM. *evamañ avi bhāṇe*=*evamañ api bhāṇite* (Āv. 16,24); JS. *paitegamañ eva paitegamañ*=*pratyekamañ eva praty-*

*kam* ( Pav. 379,3 ); *sajam evādā=svayam evātmā* ( Pav.381,15 ). Sometimes even secondary anusvāra (§181) is transformed into *m* under this condition: AMg. *iham egesim āhijam=ihaikēṣām āhitam* ( Sūyag. 18 ); *sōccam idam=śrutvedam* ( Āyār. 2,16,1; cf. §587 ), *dissam āgajam=dr̥ṣṭōāgatam* ( Uttar. 695; cf. §334 ), under the pressure of metre; AMg. *iham āgac=ihāgatah* ( Ovav. §38 ), *iham āgacchējjā=ihāgacchet* ( Ovav. §21 ), where, as the context shows, the accent lies on *iha*. The MSS., even in cases other than those cited above, very often write *m* instead of *m̄*, which is considered as correct by JACOBI<sup>1</sup>, and has been included in the text by all the publishers without any consequence and rule. Even the MSS., other than those of the Jainas, in Pkt, very often write *m* for *m̄*, as stands very often in earlier European and many recent Indian editions. Thus pro ex. the ed. Bomb. ( Karp. 6,4 ) writes *dhuvāgīdam ālaviadi*, KONOW 3,3, however, correctly has *dhuvāgīdam ālaviadi*; ed. Bomb. 20,8 has *cārutṭanam avalambedi*, but KONOW 17,7 *caṅgataṅam avalambedi*; ed. Bomb. 25,2 *āsanam āsanam*, but KONOW 23,9 *āsanam āsanam* etc. As here, so in AMg. JM. too, we should review the writing *m* for *m̄*, i.e. the MSS. are to be corrected. However, it only remains doubtful whether *m* is right or not, as particularly in strictly homogeneous, words as admitted by JACOBI. The M<sup>1</sup>S. are not clear on the point. Sanskritism has its play also in *uparilikhitam ajātāye = uparilikhitam \*adyatōya* ( PG.7,45 ) and in *sayam ānatam=svayam ājñaptam* ( PG.7,49 ), whilst *evamādikehi=evamādīkaiḥ* ( PG. 6,34 ) may be interpreted as a compound. On *m* for *m̄* HOFER's<sup>2</sup> opinion is more correct than that of LASSEN<sup>3</sup>.

1. ZDMG. 35,677; Erz. §24, xxx. Among the examples quoted by JACOBI, good many are from verses, hence incapable of verification, as *mukuttam avi* ( Āyār. 1, 2,1,3 ); *īnam eva* ( Āyār. 1,2,3,4 ); *attānam eva* ( Āyār. 1,3,3,4 ), where *eva* should be deleted, as also after *saccam*, so that the verse reads: *saccam samabhijñāhi mehāvī mramāṅ tarāi*; *sattiharam evam* ( Āyār. 1,6,4,1 ) etc. A thoroughly doubtless Sanskritism is *tenam iti* ( Āyār. 2,2,2,4 ). The same holds goods for *m* as for *t* (§203).— 2. De Prakrita dialecto §66. — 3. Inst. §53.

§ 350. An ansvāra, that originated from original *n*, *m*, disappears often before vowels and consonants. M. AMg. JM. JS. *tammi*, *jammi*, *kammi*, AMg. *taṁsi*, *jaṁsi*, *kaṁsi=tasmin*, *jasmin*, *kasmin* ( §425 ff.); M. *jōvvanammi = \*yauvanasmin=yauvane*; AMg. *logaṁsi=loke*; JM. *tihujānammi=tribhuvane*; JS. *nānammi=jñāne* (§366<sup>a</sup>): in the first person singular optative: M. *kuppējjā=kupyeyam*, in AMg. with lengthening of the final *hanējjā=hanyām*; even S. *kuppē*, from *\*kupyem=kupyeyam*, has the dropping off, (§460); in the absolute in *\*tōṇam*: AMg. *ciṭṭhittāna* (§583), *kāūṇa* (§584); M. AMg. JM. *gantūna* (§586); JS. *kāūṇa* (§21.584); likewise for AMg. *-ccāna*, *-yāna* beside *-ccānaṁ*, *-yānaṁ* (§587.592). In the genitive plural the forms without anusvāra are dominant in M. (§370). They are found also in AMg. (§370), especially before enclitics, as *duhāna ya suhāna ya=duhkhānām ca sukhānām ca* ( Uttar. 626 ); *subhaddappamuhāna ya devīnaṁ=subhadrāpramuhkhānām ca devīnām* ( Ovav. §40.47.56 ) against *subhaddappamuhānaṁ devīnaṁ = (Ovav. §43); dasaṅha vi vaṭṭamānānaṁ=daśānām aṇi vartamānānām* ( Uvās. §275 ). Further in JM., as *\*purisāna aṭṭhārasapaṅgaibbhantāraṇa=°puruṣāṇām aṣṭādaśaprakṛtyabhyantarāṇām* ( Āv. 12,44,45 ); *doṅha °viruddhāna naravarindāna = dvayor °viruddhayor naravarendrayoḥ* ( Āv. 26,7 ); *savaṅṇa=śravāṇayoḥ* ( Erz. 2,13 ); *puttāna=putrāṇām* ( Erz. 29,8 ), and in JS., as *saṅgāsattāna tadha* [text *taha*] *asaṅgānaṁ=saṅgāsaktānām tathāsaṅgānām* ( Kattig. 398,304 ), *radaṅṇa* [text *ra jaṅ*], *savaṅṇaṇa riddhīna=rātnānām*, *sarvadotānām, rddhīnām* ( Kattig. 400,325 ); *disāna savāṇa suppasiddhānaṁ=disān sarvāsām suprasiddhānām* ( Kattig. 401.342 ). In the last example and similar ones, where the forms with and without anusvāra stand beside one another (§370), as in

other analogous cases (§ 180), the forms will have to be written with ardhacandra in place of denasalization. To me it appears necessary, especially in places where in the texts at present there stands a denasalized form in the nominative and accusative singular on account of metre. Thus M. *nisasia varāā=nihsvasitam varākya* (H. 141) which is to be read as *nisasiā varāā*, since the ardhacandra does not make position; AMg. *tajā sam ca jahā; serāyam=tvacam svām ca jahāti svairokam* (Sūyag.118); *pāṇehi nam pāvā vijojananti=prāṇair nūnam pāpam vijojananti* (Sūyag. 278); *appegē vai jūñjanti=\*apyeke \*vācim [=vācam] yuñjanti*(Sūyag.169); *vāsam vayam vittī pakappayātam=varṣam vayam vṛttim prakalpayāmah* (Sūyag. 948); *taṁ isī tālayanti=taṁ ṛṣim tādayanti* (Uttar.360); *taṁ jaṇā tālayanti* (Uttar. 365); *aṇṇam vā pupphā saccittam=anyad vā puṣpam sacitram* (Dasav. 622.39); *tilapiṭṭhā pūpipinnagām=tilapiṭṭam pūtipinyākam* (Dasav. 623.7); -Mg. *gaṇṇā gaścante=gogaṇam gacchan* (Mṛcch. 113,11); *khaṇā yūlake=kṣaṇam jūtakah* (Mṛcch. 136,15); *khaṇā uddhacūde=kṣaṇam ūrdhvacūdah* (Mṛcch. 136,16); A. *māim jāṇā mialoanī=mayā jñātām mrgalocanīm; navatalī=navataditam; puhavī, piā=prithivīm, priyam* (Vikr. 55,1.2.18). Likewise in all cases, where at present *m* is printed, but the metre requires a short syllable, as AMg. *abhirujja kāyā viharimsu ōrusiyāṇā tattha himsimsu=abhiruhya kāyam vyahārsur ōruṣya tatrāhim-siṣuḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); AMg. *samvaccharā sāhiyam māsam=samvatsaram sādhiyam māsam* (Āyār. 1.8,1,3); AMg. *na vijjā bandhanā jassa kimci vi=na vidiye bandhanam ṣasya kiñcid api* (Āyār. 2,16,12). The same rules hold good also for the nasal vowel marked with bindu. So are found in M. AMg JM. JŚ. A. in the instrumental plural the *m* in *-him, -hī, -hi* beside one another (§ 180.368), and in AMg. M. the denasalized form is used before enclitics. So AMg. *kāmehi* [text *°him*] *ya samthavehi ya=kāmais ca samstavais ca* (Sūyag.105); AMg. *hatthehim pāehi ya=hatthābhīyam pādābhīyam ca* (Sūyag. 292); AMg. *bahūhim dambhaehi ya dambhīyāhi ya dāraehi ya dāriyāhi ya kumārehi ya kumāriyāhi ya saddhim*(Nāyādh. 431.1407); AMg. *pariyaṇaṇayaramahiliyāhim saddhim=parijanānagaramahilikābhīh sadhrim* (Nāyādh. 449), but *pariyaṇamahilāhi ya saddhim* (Nāyādh. 426); AMg. *bahūhim āghavaṇāhi ya paṇṇavaṇāhi ya viṇṇavaṇāhi ya saṇṇavaṇāhi ya=bahūbhīr ākhyāpanābhīh ca prajñāpanābhīh ca vijñāpanābhīh ca samjñāpanābhīh ca* (Nāyādh. 539; cf. Nāyādh § 143; Uvās. § 222).

§ 351. A final *-am*=Pkt. *-am* becomes *u* in A. So in the accusative singular of the masculine and the nominative, accusative singular of the neuter of *a*-stems, in the genitive singular of the pronouns of the first and second persons, in the first person singular of the future of Parasmaipada, in the absolutive in original *tvīnam* and in isolated adverbs: *vaasu=vāyasam* (Hc. 4,352); *bharu=bharam* (Hc. 4,340,2); *hatthu=hastam* (Hc. 4,422,9); *vaṇavāsu=vaṇavāsam* (Erz. 3,22); *aṅgu=aṅgam* (Hc. 4,332,2); *dhaṇu=dhanam* (Kk.272,35); *phalu=phalam* (Hc.4,341,2); *mahu, majju=mahyam* (Hc. s. v. *mā; mahu* pro ex. also Vikr. 58,9;59,13.14). *tujju=\*tuhyam* (Hc. s. v. *tu*); *pāvīsu, karīsu, pāsīsu*=Pkt. *pāvissam karissam pavisissam=prāpsyāmi, karīsyāmi, pravēsyāmi* (Hc.4,396,4); *gampiṇu, gamēppīṇu=\*gantvīnam, gamitvīnam; karēppīṇu=\*karitvīnam; brōppīṇu=\*brūtīnam* (§ 588); *niccu=nityam* (Erz. 3,23); *nisāṅku=nihsāṅkam* (Hc. 4,396,1) *paramatthu=paramārtham* (Hc. 4,422,9); *samāṇu=samānam* (Hc. 4,418,3). So also *viṇu* (Hc. 426 and s.v.; Vikr.71,7) from *\*viṇam=vinā*(§114). Also in Dh. *-am* becomes *u*: *padimāsuṇṇu deulu=pratimāśūnyam devakulam; ganthu=gāṇtham; dasasavaṇṇu kallavattu=dasasavaṇṇam kālyavartam* (Mṛcch. 30,11;31,16;34,17); but very often beside it stands the accusative in *-am*: *samavisamam=samaviṣamam; kulam; deulam; jūdam; sapvaṇ suvaṇṇam; dasasavaṇṇam kallavattam* etc. (Mṛcch.

30,8.9.12.18;32,8;34,12). Also in A. of Piṅgala and Kālidāsa the form in *-am* and *-ā* is dominant.

§ 352. Final *-kam* of Skt. becomes *-um*, *-ū* in A. So in the nom. acc. sing. neuter of the *a*-stems, in the nomin. sing. of the pronouns of the first and second persons, in the first pers. sing. of the indic. pres. and in certain adverbs: *hiadaū=hrdayakam* (Hc.4,350.2 and s v); *rūadaū=rūpakam*; *kuḍambaū=kuṭumbakam* (Hc.4,419.1.422,14); *haū=\*ahakam* (Hc.4,375 and s. v.); *tuhū=tvakam* (§ 206); *jāṇaū=\*jānakam=jānāmi*; *jivaū=jivāmi*; *cajaū=tyajāmi* (§ 454); *maṇāū=JM. maṇāgam*(§ 114)=Skt.\**manākam=manāk* Hc. 4,418.426); *sahuṁ sahu=sāhām* (§ 206). Further in the infinitively used nouns in original *-kam*, as *akkhaṇaū=ākhyānakam* (§ 579) and in *ehaū=\*esakam* in the meaning of *etad* ( Hc. 4,362 ).

### V. SANDHI CONSONANTS.

§353. The consorants, that were originally authorized to stand finally in Skt. as sandhi-consonants for the purpose of avoiding hiatus, are employed dialectically in Pkt. too, as in Pālī, whereby the cases mentioned in §341. 343.348.349 spring forth. Especially frequently *m* is so employed: AMg. *anna-m-anna°*, *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇa°=anyonya°* (Āyār. 2,14,1; Uttar. 402; Vivāhap. 105 106 ), *anna-m-anno* ( Āyār. 2,14,1 ), *anna-m-annam* ( Āyār. 2,7.1,11; Sūyag. 630; Paṇhāv. 231; Vivāhap. 180; Uttar. 402; Kappas. § 46 ), *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇenam* ( Vivāhap. 123; Kappas. § 72; Nirayāv. § 11 ), *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇāe* ( Vivāhap. 931 ), *anna-m-annassa* ( Āyār. 2,5,2,2.3.5;2,8,6,2; Vivāhap. 187.508.928; Uvās § 79; Thān. 287; Nirayāv. § 18; Ovav. §38.89 ), *anna-m-annehim* ( Sūyag. 633.635; Nirayāv. § 27 ), *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇānam* ( Vivāgas. 74 ); JŚ. *aṇṇa-m-aṇṇehim* ( Pav. 384,47 ). Whilst in Vedic *any-ānya*, M. *aṇṇaṇṇa*, JM. *annanna* (§ 130) the stem stands in the first member, in Skt. *anyonya*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *aṇṇo ṇṇa* (§ 84) the nominative is benumbed, it is the case in AMg. JŚ. with the accus., so that *m* is here originally authorized. The same holds good for M. AMg. A. *ēkka-m-ēkka*, AMg. *ega-m-ega=ekaika*, M. *ēkka-m-ēkka°* ( R. 5,85.87;13,87 ); M. *ēkka-m-ēkkaṁ* (Hc. 3,1; R.5,48;8,32); AMg. *ega-m-egam*(Sūyag.948.950; Nāyādh. § 125); A. *ēkka-m-ēkkaṁ* (Hc. 4,422,6); *ēkka-m-ēkkaṇa* (Hc. 3,1); AMg. *ega-m-egāe* (Vivāhap. 224; Nāyādh. § 125); M. AMg. *ēkka-m-ēkkassu*(H.416.517; Śak. 101,14; Uttar. 401); AMg. *ega-m-egassa* ( Thān. 456; Vivāhap. 215.222 ); M. *ēkka-m-ēkke* (R.3,56); AMg. *ega-m-egamsi* (Vivāgas.50; Vivāhap.1043ff. 1191); AMg. *ega-m-ege* (Vivāhap. 214); M. *ēkka-m-ēkkā* ( R 7,59; 10,41 ).— Sandhi-consonant is *m* in: *aṅga-m-aṅgammī=aṅge* ( Hc. 3,1 ); AMg. *virāiyāṅga-m-aṅge=virājitāṅgāṅgāh*, *ujjorjāṅga-m-aṅge=uddyotitāṅgāṅgāh* (Ovav. § 11.16), *haṭṭhatuṭṭhacitta-m-aṅandiya=hr̥ṣṭatuṣṭacittānandita* ( Nāyādh. § 23; Ovav. §17; Kappas. §5.15; Bhag. 2,260), beside *°citte āṇandiyē* (Kappas. 50 ). Often before *ādi*: AMg. *hāya-m-āi gona-m-āi gaja-m-āi siha-m-āno=hayādayo gavādayo gajādayaḥ siṁhādayaḥ* (Uttar. 1075); AMg. *sugandhateḷla-m-āiehim=sugandhatailādikāih*(Kappas. § 60); AMg. *candāṇa-m-ādiehim*(Uvās. §29); AMg. *°rayaṇa-m-āienam=°rainādikena*(Kappas. § 90; cf. § 112; Ovav. § 23); AMg. *āhāra-m-āini* (Dasav. 626,6); JM. *paṇḍulasuṇa-m-āihim* (Āv. 40,18); JM. *kāma dheru-m-āina*, *logapāla-m-āinam*(Kk 270,29;275,37); JŚ. *rūva-m-āini=rūpāini* (Pav. 384,48). Other examples are: AMg. *ārjya-m-aṅariyānam* (Samav.98; Ovav. § 56); AMg. *sārassaja m-āiccā=sārasvatādityau*(Thān.516); AMg. *esa-m-aṭṭhe=esoṛrihaḥ*(Vivāhap.193; Nāyādh. § 29; Ovav. § 90; Kappas. § 13), *esa-m-āghāo=esa āghātaḥ*(Dasav. 625,39), *esa-m-aggi=esoṛgnih* (Uttar. 282), *eja-m-aṭṭhassa* (Nirayāv. § 8), *āyāre-m-aṭṭhā=ācārārthāt* (Dasav.636,9),

*lābha-m-aṭṭhio* = *lā*) *hārthikah* ( Dasav. 641,42 ); AMg. *savvajīna-m-anunṇā* = *sarvajinānujñāta* (Panhāv. 469.539); AMg. *vattthagandha-m-alamkāraṃ* (Sūyag. 183; Ṭhān. 450; Dasav. 613,17 ); AMg. *tīyāiṭṭhanna-m-aṇāgayāṭṭim* = *aṭṭitoṭṭannānāgatāni* (Sūyag. 470; cf. Vivāhap. 155; Dasav. 627,27); AMg. *dīha-m-addha* = *dirghādhan* ( Ṭhān. 41.129.370 570; Sūyag. 787. 789; Vivāhap. 38.39.848.1128.1225 f. 1290; Panhāv. 302.326; Ovav. § 83; Nāyādh. 464. 1137); AMg. *atthāha-m-atāra-m-aporisīyaṃsi udayaṃsi* = \**astāghātārāpauruṣīya udaye* (Nāyādh. 1113 ); AMg. *āukkhemassa-m-appaṇo* = *āyūhṅksemasyātmanah* (Āyār. 1,7,8,6); JM. *aṭṭhārasa-m-aggalesu* = *aṭṭhādaśārgalesu* (Kī. 19), *ūru-antare* (Āv.15,18); AMg. *purao-m-aggao ya* = *purato* 'grataś ca' (Vivāhap.830). *y* and *r* are employed more rarely as saṃdhi-consonants. In AMg. *egāheṇa vā duyāheṇa vā tīyāheṇa vā caūyāheṇa vā* (Āyār. 2,3,1,11; 2,5,2,3,4) — cf. *egāham vā duyāham vā tīyāham vā* ( Jiv. 261.286.295). — *caūyāheṇa* = *caturāheṇa* might have been influenced by *duyāheṇa* = *dvyahena* and *tīyāheṇa* = *tryahena*, as the lengthening of the vowel is explained through analogy after *egāheṇa*, *egāham*. AMg. *kiṃ aṇeṇa bho-j-aṇeṇa* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3); AMg. *su-j-akkhāya* = *svākhyāta* (Sūyag. 590.594 ), beside *suakkhāya* (Sūyag. 603. 620 ); AMg. *vejavi-j-āyarakkhe* = *vedavid ātmarakṣitaḥ* (Uttar. 453); *bahu-j-aṭṭhiya* = *bahuvasthika* (Āyār. 2,1,10,5; cf., however, § 6, where excepting *y*); AMg. *mahu-j-āsava* = *madhuāsava* (Ovav. § 24 ); JM. *rāy'ā-j-u=rājā+u* (Āv. 8,1 ); JM. *du-j-aṅgula* = *dvyāṅgula* ( Erz. 59,13 ). *r* is established etymologically in AMg. *vāhi-r-ivosahemim* = *vyādhir ivosaudhaiḥ* (Uttar. 918), *sīhi-r-iva* ( Dasav. 633, 34 ), *vāyu-r-iva* (Sūyag. 758; Kappas. § 118), where *r* is the old ending of the nominative, therefore, *vahir ivo*<sup>8</sup>, *sīhir iva* ( so LEUMANN ), *vāyur iva* ( so JACOBI may be written. *r* is the saṃdhi-consonant after analogy in cases like AMg. *aṇu-r-āgayam* = *anvāgatam* (Vivāhap. 154)<sup>8</sup>; AMg. *du-r-aṅgula* = *dvyāṅgula* (Uttar. 767; commentary *duāṅgula*; cf. above JM. *duyāṅgula* ); AMg. JM. *dhi-r-aithu* = *dhiḡ astu* ( Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,3.105; Nāyādh. 1152.1170 ff.; Uttar. 672.677; Dasav. 613,31; Dvār. 507,21 ). AMg. *su-r-aṇucara* = *svanucara* (Ṭhān. 350) is built according to *durāṇucara*, already cited above<sup>4</sup>, and reversely *duāikkham* ( Ṭhān. 349 ) would have been formed according to *suāikkham*, if the reading is correct.

1. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 61 ff.; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 63; WINDISCH, BKSGW. 1893, 228, ff.—2. The texts oscillate also in the following examples from AMg. between *ma*, and *ṇa*. — 3. Abhayadeva says : *rephasyāgamikatoḍḍ anvāgatam anurūpam āgamanam he skandaka taveti dṛṣyam*. — 4. Aḥba adeva : *rephaḥ prakṛtatōḍḍ*. Cf. BEZZENBERGER, BB. 4,340, note 2.

## VI. TRANSPOSITION OF SYLLABLES.

§ 354. In certain cases, sometimes two syllables standing side by side are transposed and that without existence of any phonological ground : *airāhā* = *acirābhā* and *aiḥārā* ( lightening; Deśin. 1,34 ). — *alacapura* = *acalapura* ( Hc. 2,118 ). — *āṇāla* = *ālāna* ( Vr. 4,29; Hc. 2,117; Kī. 2,117 ), *āṇālakhambha*, *āṇālakhambha* = *ālānastambha* ( Hc. 2,97 ). — *kaṇeru* = *kareṇu* ( Vr. 4,28; Hc. 2,116; Kī. 2,119; Mk. fol. 38 ). The grammarians restrict the transposition to the feminine, which corresponds with Pāli<sup>1</sup>. In AMg. *kareṇu* is used in the feminine ( Nāyādh. 327.328.337.338; Uttar. 337.954 ), and in Ś. in the masculine ( Pāiyāl. 9; Mālatim. 203,4 ). So also JM. *kareṇuyā* = *kareṇukā* (Pāiyāl. 9; Erz.). According to Mk. fol. 68 transposition never takes place in Ś. — M. *ṇāḍāla*, M. AMg. JM. *ṇāḍāla* = *lalāta*, beside *ṇalāḍa*, M. AMg. *ṇilāḍa*, Ś. *lalāḍa* ( § 260 ). — JM. *A. draha* = *hrada* ( Hc. 2,80; Deśin. 8,14; Āv. 42,27; Hc. 4,423,1 ), AMg. *daha* ( Hc. 2,80.120; Āyār. 2,1,2,3; 2,3,3,2; Aṇuog. 386; Paṇṇav. 80; Nāyādh. 508 ff.; Vivāhap. 119.361.659; Ṭhān. 94 ), frequently also in compounds, as

*kesariddaha*, *tigicchaddaha* ( Ṭhāṇ 75,76), *paṃmaddaha*, *puṇḍarījaddaha* ( Ṭhāṇ. 75 ff.; Jiv. 582 f. ); M. AMg. *mahaddaha* ( H. 186; Ṭhāṇ. 75,382 ); AMg. A. *mahādaha* ( Ṭhāṇ. 176; Hc. 4,444,3 ), beside AMg. *haraya* with a separation vowel (§ 132). — M. AMg. JM. Ś. A. *ḍihara* for \**ḍiraha* (§ 132)<sup>2</sup> = *ḍirgha* ( Hc. 2,171; G. H. R.; Karp. 43,11; Nandis. 377; Erz.; Uttarar. 125,6; Bālar. 235,15; Mallikām. 81,9;123,15;161,8;198,17;223,9; Hc. 4,414,4 ). — AMg. *pāhaṇāo*=*upānahau*, *aṇovāhaṇaga*, *ḍya*, AMg. *chattovāhaṇa*, beside Ś. *wāṇaha* (§141). — JM. Ś. A. *marahaṭṭha*=*mahārāṣṭra* ( Hc. 1,69; 2,119; Kk.44; Bālar. 72,19; Piṅg. 1,91.116<sup>a</sup>.140<sup>a</sup> ), M. *marahaṭṭhī* ( Viddhaś. 25,2 ), beside *maradhī* (§ 67 ). — AMg. *rahassa* for \**harassa*=*hrasva* ( Ṭhāṇ. 20.40.445.452 ), beside *hassa* ( Āyār. 1,5,6,4;2,4,2,10; Vivāhap. 38.39 ), *hassikarēnti* ( Vivāhap. 126 ). The MSS. and texts more often have *hrassa* ( Ṭhāṇ.119; Nandis.377; WEBER, Bhag.1,415 ). According to Bh.4,15 one says *hamsa* as well (§ 74 ). — AMg. JM. A. *vāṇārasī*=*vārāṇasī* ( Hc. 2,116; Antag. 63; Nāyādh. 508.787.791.1516.1528 [ text *vārāṇasī* ]; Nirāyāv. 43 ff.; Pannav. 60; Ṭhāṇ 544; Uttar. 742; Vivāgas. 136.148 f.; Vivāhap. 284 ff.; Erz.; Piṅgala 1.73 [*vaṇarasi*; GOLDSCHMIDT *varaṇasi*]; Hc. 4,442,1 ). In Ś. stands *vārāṇasī* ( Bālar. 307,13; Mallikām. 156,24; 161,17; 224,10 ), likewise in Mg. ( Prab. 32,9 ), for which the ed. Bomb. 78,11 rightly reads *vālāṇasī*, which is to be corrected as *vālānaśī*. — *haliāra* beside *hariāla*=*haritāla* ( Hc. 2,121 ). — *halua* beside *lahua*=*laghuka* ( Hc. 2,122 ). — *hulāi* beside *luhāi* ( wipes off; Hc. 4,105 ). For *luhāi* Vr. 8,67; Kī. 4,53 have *lubhāi*. Through this it becomes probable that *hulāi* may be equated as=\**bhulāi*, and that it is identical with *hulāi* ( throws; Hc. 4,143 ), to which might be connected *bhullāi* ( falls down; Hc.4,177 ), the passive, and JM. Ś. *bhulla* ( forgotten; forgetfully; bewildered; Āv. 46,5; Karp. 113,1 ) the past passive participle<sup>3</sup>. — It is phonetically impossible to equate M. *iharā* ( Pāiṅyāl. 241; G. ), with the grammarians ( Hc. 2,212; Mk. fol. 38 ) as=\**itarathā*, and to explain it through transposition from \**iarahā* with Mk. and WEBER<sup>4</sup>. Since in M. the MSS. mostly have *iarā* ( H. 711; R. 11,26 ), *iharā*, as stated in § 212, will have originated from \**itharatā*. According to Mk. fol. 68 Ś. has only *idaradhā*.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 2,116. — 2. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. s. v. — 3. FISCHER on Hc. 4,177. — 4. On Hāla 711.

### III. MORPHOLOGY.

#### A. THE NOUN.

§ 355. Following the rule, that in Pkt. the consonants in the final position fall off (§ 339), the consonantal declension is almost entirely lost. Its numerous remnants are found only in the stems in *t*, *n*, *ś*, *s*, otherwise almost isolated in verses. So M. *vivaā*=*vīpadā* ( Suktas. 33,7 ); AMg. *dhammavio*=*dharmavidah* ( nom. plur.; Sūyag. 43 ); AMg. *vāyā* = *vācā* ( Dasav. 630,32; Uttar. 28 ); AMg. *vejavidio*=*vedavidah* ( nom. plur. Uttar. 425 ). *āo* ( water ) = *āpah* ( Triv. in BB. 3,239 ) too is to be considered as a remnant of the consonantal declension. The neuter *āpas*, which is quoted by Ujvaladatta on Uṇādisūtra 2,58 and is found in the texts, should be traced back to the nom. plural<sup>2</sup>. In AMg. *āo* has become one masculine *āu* ( Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 1,61 ), likewise *teo*=*tejah* has become *teu*, however, in the formular combination *āu teū vāū*=*āpas tejo vāyuḥ* the vowel has been arranged according to *u* of *vāū*=*vāyu*. Likewise *kāyasā* is said for *kāyena*, beside *maṇasā vāyasā*, and *balasā* for *balena* beside *sahasā* (§ 364 ) and others in details (§ 358, 364, 367, 375, 379, 386 ). So *āu teū vāū*

( Sūyag. 606; Samav. 228 [text *teo*]; Dasav.614,40 [text °*u*] Āyār. 2,2,2,13 [ text *āo teo vāu* ]); also *vāu teū āū* ( Vivāgas. 50 ); *āu teū vā vāu* ( Sūyag. 19 ); *āu teū ja tahā vāu ja* ( Sūyag. 37 ); *āū agaṇi ja vāū* ( Sūyag. 325 ); *puḍhavi āu gaṇi vāū* ( Sūyag. 378 ); *āutevāuvaṇassaśarira* ( Sūyag. 803 ); *āulevāuvaṇassaśarirāṇavihāṇam* ( Sūyag. 806 ); *āusarira teusarira vāusarira* ( Sūyag. 792 ); *āutevāvaṇassaī°* ( Vivāhap.430 ); *tevāuvaṇassaī* ( Āyār. 2,1,7,3 ); *āukāya teukāya vāukāya* ( Āyār. 1,8,1,11; Samav. 17 ); *āukāya* ( Vivāhap. 1439 ); *āukāiya teukāiya vāukāiya* ( Vivāhap. 1438 f. [text mostly °*u*] ); *Āṇuog. 260*; *Dasav. 614,38*), *āukkāiya* ( Jiv. 41 ); *āulēsse* ( Vivāhap. 10 ); *āubahula* ( Jiv. 226 ); *āujivā tahāgaṇi vāujivā* ( Sūyag. 425; cf. Uttar. 1045. 1047 ); *teuphāsa=tejahspara* ( Āyār. 1,7,7,1; 1,8,3,1 ); *teujiva* ( Uttar. 1053 ); *teū vāu ja* ( Uttar. 1052 ). The two words are used as wholly independent *u*-stems as well: nom. sing. *āū* ( Sūyag. 332; Paṇṇav. 369<sup>3</sup> ); nom. plur. *āū* ( Thān. 82 ); gen. plur. *āūṇam* ( Uttar.1047 ), *teūṇam* ( Uttar.1055 ). In a non-technical sense *tejas* is treated in AMg.as the remnant of a neuter noun in-*as*.—From the nom. plur. *sarao=śaradaḥ* of *śarad* (autumn), in M. AMg. JM. Ś. A., a masc. sing. *saraa*, AMg. JM. *saraya*=Pāli *sarada*<sup>4</sup> has been inferred ( Vr.4,10. 18; Hc. 1,18,31; Ki. 2,133; Mk.fol. 34; G.H.R.; Thān.238.527; Nāyādh. 916; Kk. 264,6; Bālar. 127,14; Hc. 4,357,2 ); likewise *diso* from *disaḥ* ( Ki. 2,131; in case the word is not to be read as *disā* ). In other respects the treatment of the consonantal stem is a twofold one. In a small number of cases the word, after loss of the final consonant, is made end in the vowel preceding it and crosses over the vocalic declension corresponding to the gender, and in majority of words the stem is augmented by insertion of *-a* in the masculine and neuter, and of *-ā* or *-ī* in the feminine. See § 395 ff.

1. STENZLER, BB. 6,84. — 2. So with WEBER, Bhag. 1,397, note 2 and E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 67, more correctly than BB. 3,240. — 3. Malayagiri on Paṇṇav. 369 remarks: *āū iti puṅlīngatā prākṛtalakṣaṇavaśāt saṃskṛte tu sritvām eva*. — 4. So with CHILDERS, Dictionary s. v. more correctly than BB. 3,240.

§ 356. The gender of Skt. has not always been preserved in Pkt. The oscillation has been partly produced through the rule of the final syllable. Thus in M. JM. the neuter in *-as*, in pursuance of the nomin. in *-o* ( § 345 ), is used in the masculine ( Vr. 4,18; Hc. 1,32; Ki. 2,133; Mk. fol. 35 ): *M. tuṅgō ccia hoi maṇo=tuṅgam eva bhavati manaḥ* ( Hc. 284 ); *esa saro=etat sarah* ( G. 513 ); *khudjo mahēndassa jaso=\*kṣudītam mahāndrasya yaśaḥ* ( R. 1,4 ); *aṇṇo aṇṇassa maṇo=anyad anyasya manaḥ* ( R. 3,44 ); *māruḷad-dhatthāmo mahirao=māruḷalabdhassthāma mahirajaḥ* ( R. 4,25 ); *tamālakasaṇo tamo=tamālakṣṇam tamaḥ* ( R. 10,25 ); *tāriso a uro=tādṛśam coraḥ* ( Subhadrāh. 8,3 ); *JM. būrasāiccodayāhio teo=dvādasāidīyodayāhitam tejah* ( Erz. 26,33 ); *taso kao=tapaḥ kṛtam* ( Erz. 26,35 ). *nabhas* and *śiras*, according to the grammarians ( Vr. 4,19; Hc. 1,32; Ki. 2,134; Mk.fol. 35 ), only as neuter, are used according to the *a*-declension: *M. ṇaṇam* ( G. 451.495.1036; R. 4, 54; 5,2.6.35.43.74 etc. ); *M. siram* ( R. 4,56; 11,36.56.132 etc. ). In AMg. too the neuter nouns in *-as*, not rarely, are used as masculine, and then form the nomin. sing. in *-e* ( § 345 ): *māuṇye=mātrojaḥ* ( Thān. 159 ); *tame=tamaḥ* ( Thān. 248 ); *tase=tapaḥ* ( Samav. 26 ); *maṇe=manaḥ* ( Vivāhap. 1135 f. ); *pējje=preyaḥ* ( Ovav. § 56 ); *vacche=vakṣaḥ* ( Uvās. § 94 ); *ee sojā=etāni srotāṇsi* ( Āyār. 1,5,6,2 ). AMg. *ajam=ayas* ( Sūyag. 286 ); AMg. *sejam=śreyas* ( Hc. 1,32; § 409 ); *vajam=vayas* ( Hc. 1,32 ), beside AMg. *vao* ( Āyār. 1,2,1,3 in the verse ); *sumanam=sumanaḥ* ( Hc. 1,32 ). Ś. Mg. so form

almost exclusively (§ 407). In A. *maṇu* (Hc. 4,350.422,9) and *siru* (Hc. 4,445.3), phonetically rather=*manah*, *śirah* (§ 346), may be equated as =*nanam*, \**śiram* (§ 351). The voc. *ceu*=*cetaḥ* (Piṅgala 1,4<sup>b</sup>; text *ceja*; v. l. *ceḍa*; cf. BOLLENSEN, Vikr. p. 528) speaks in support of *-aḥ*.

§ 357. Like the neuter nouns in *-as*, many neuter nouns in *-a* have dialectically become masculine in Pkt. This change has probably been produced from the nomin. accus. plur., which beside the endings *-āni*, *-āim*, as in the Veda, have also the ending *-ā*, which is like that of the masculine (§367). So one says AMg. *tao thāṇāni* (Ṭhān. 143), *tao thāṇāim* (Ṭhān. 158) and *tao thāṇā* (Ṭhān. 163.165) = *trīṇi sthānāni*. The nomin. sing. *thāṇe* may be inferred from the last form : AMg. *esa thāṇe aṇārie* = *etat sthānam anāryam* (Sūyag.736). Examples in AMg. are numerous beyond measure: *esa udagarayane* = *etat udakarānam* (Nāyādh.1011); *uṭhāṇe kamme bale virie* = *uṭhānam karma balam viryam* (Vivāhap. 171; Nāyādh. 374; Uvās. § 73); *duvihe dāmsaṇe pannaṭte* = *duvidham darśanam prajñaptam* (Ṭhān. 44); *marane* = *maranam* (Samav. 51.52); *mattae* = *mātrakam*, beside the plural *mattagāim* (Kappas. S. § 56), and many others<sup>1</sup>. In Āyār. at 1,2,1,3 stand in the verse beside one another : *vao accai jōvvanam ca jivie* = *vayo 'iyeti yauvanam ca jivitam*. In AMg. sometimes the pronouns too are moved into the neuter in the masculine: AMg. *ejāvanti savvāvanti logaṇsi kammamārambhā* = *etāvantaḥ sarve karmasamārambhāḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5.7); *āvanti ke jāvanī logaṇsi samaṇā ja māhaṇā ja* = *yāvantaḥ ke ca yāvanto loke śramaṇās ca brāhmaṇās ca* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; cf. 1,5,2,1.4); *yāim tumāim jāim te janagā* = *yas tvam yau te janakau* (Āyār. 2,4,1.8); *yāim* [§ 335.353] *bhikkhū* = *ye bhikkṣavaḥ* (Āyār. 2,7,1,1); *jāvanti vijjāpurisā savve te dukkhasambhavā* = *yāvanto 'vidyā puruṣāḥ sarve te dukkhasambhavāḥ* (Uṭtar. 215); *je garahi jā sanijyāṇappaogā ṇa tāṇi sevanti sudhīradhammā* = *ye garhitāḥ sanidānaprayogā na tān sevante sudhīradharmāḥ* (Sūyag 504). So is explained *ṇo in' aṭṭhe, ṇo inam aṭṭhe* (§ 173) too; cf. also *se*, Mg. *ṣe* = *tad* § 423. In JM. the predicate is generally of the neuter when it refers to persons of different genders : *tao sāgaracando kamalāmelā ja*.....*gahiyāṇuvvayāṇi sāvagāṇi samvuttāṇi* = *tataḥ sāgaracandraḥ kamalāpidā ca*.....*grhītānuvratāu śrāvākāu samvṛittau* (Āv. 31,22), and previously (31,21) it is said about the same: *pacchā imāṇi bhoge bhūñjamāṇāṇi viharanti* = *paścād imau bhogān bhūñjānau viharataḥ*; *tāni* is used (Āv.38,1) with reference to *māyāpūṇam* = *mātāpitroh*; *tāṇi ammāpiyaro pucchijāṇi* = *tau ambāpitarau pṛṣṭau* (Erz. 37,29); *tāhe rāyā sā ja jāyathitimmī ārūdhāim* = *tadā rājā sā ca jāyastiny ārūdhau* (Erz. 34,29); [*māyamañjarīyā kumaro ca*] *niyāyabhavane gayāṇi sānandahi jāyāim* = [*madanamañjarikā kumārāś ca*] *nijakabhavane gatau sānandahṛdayau* (Erz. 84,6). More exmples in JACOBI, Erz. p. LVI, § 80. Transition of the neuter *a*-stems to the masculine is frequent in Mg. too, in other dialects almost only sporadic. So Mg. *ēse ṣe daśaṇāmake mā kale* = *etat tad daśanāmakaṁ mayā kṛtam* (Mṛcch. 11,1); *āmalāṇantike veḷe* = *āmaraṇāntikam vaitram* (Mṛcch. 21,14); *duāḷae* = *dvārakam* (Mṛcch. 79,17); *paṇahane* = *paṇahaṇam* (Mṛcch. 96,22;97,19.20;99,2;100,20 etc.); *ēse cīvāle* = *etac cīvaram* (Mṛcch. 112,10); *śohide* = *sauhrdam* (Śak. 118,6); *bhoṇe śāncide* = *bhojanaṁ saṁcītam* (Venīś. 33,3); *uṣṇe luhile* = *uṣṇam rudhīram* (Venīś. 33,12); *bhātte* = *bhaktam*, *ēse ṣe suvaṇṇake* = *etat tat suvaṇṇakam* (Mṛcch. 163, 19;165,7). In Ś. D. we find the following used in the masculine: *paṇahane* (Mṛcch. 97,7; D.100,15) beside the more frequent *paṇahaṇam*; in Ś. *paḥādo* (Mṛcch. 93,7) beside *paḥādām* = *prabhātam* (Mṛcch. 93.5.6); more often Ś. *hiao* = *hṛdayam*, particularly, when the heart is spoken of (Vikr. 22,21 [so with A. to be read]; 23,10; cf. 46,17.19; Ratn. 298,11.12; Mālatīm. 348,6 [so with v. l. to be read; Viddhaś. 97,10; Priyad. 20,2; Nāgān. 20,



13.15)<sup>2</sup>. The dialect is not determined in *catto=cattram* (spindel; Deśin. 3,1). Cf. also § 360.

1. HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 55. — 2. FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 5.

§ 358. According to the grammarians (Vr. 4.18; Hc. 1,32; Ki. 2,133; Mk. fol. 35) the neuter in *-an* becomes masculine in *-a*: *kammo=karma*; *jammo=janma*; *ṇammo=ṇarma*; *mammo=marma*; *vammo=varma*. Thus we have found PG *sammo=śarma*(7,46); AMg. *kamme=karma*(Sūyag. 838.841 f. 844.848.854; Nāyādh. 374; Uvās. § 51.73.166); Mg. *camme=carma* (Mṛcch. 79,9). In all the dialects, however, they, more frequently become neuter of *a*-stems<sup>1</sup>, what is commanded by Mk. for *preman* and by Hc. for *dāman*. So M. *kammaṃ* (R. 14.46); M. Ś. *ṇāmaṃ* (H. 452.905; Vikr. 30,9); M. *dāmaṃ* (H. 172); M. *peṇmaṃ* (R. 11,88; Ratn. 299,18); M. *romaṃ* (R. 9,87); *cammaṃ sammaṃ* (Hc. 1,32). The masculine in *-iman* may become feminine, to which the nomin. in *-ā* gave rise to: *esā garimā, mahimā, nillajjimā, dhuttimā* (Hc. 1,35; cf. Mk. fol. 35). So M. A. *candimā=\*candriman* (§103); AMg. *mahimāsu* (Thān. 288). In the same way AMg. *addhā=adhvā* from *adhvan* (Ovav.); M. *umhā=ūsmā* from *uśman* (Bh. 3,32; Hc. 2,74; G. R.); JM. *vaṭṭā=varimā* from *vartman* (Deśin. 7,31; Erz. 6,30 34.35; cf. § 334); *seṃbhā=śeṣmā* from *śeṣman* (Mk. fol. 25; cf. § 267) have become feminine. AMg. *sakahāo=sakthīni* (Samav. 102; Jiv. 621) is derived from the stem *sakthan* with a separation-vowel according to § 132, therefore, from *\*sakathan*, nomin. sing. *\*sakahā*. The Jains divide the year according to the old custom into the three seasons *grīṣma, varṣāḥ* and *hemanta*<sup>2</sup>. As in other cases (§ 355.364.367.375.379.386), the gender and the number of *grīṣma* and *hemanta* have, in AMg., been regulated, when the season is to be indicated as such, according to the feminine plural *varṣāḥ*, as a sequence to the formular combination. One says: *gimhāhi=\*grīṣmābhīḥ* (Sūyag. 166); *gimhāsu = \*grīṣmāsu* (Vivāhap. 465): *hemantagimhāsu . . vāsāsu* (Kappas. S. § 55); *gimhāṇaṃ* (Āyār. 2,15,2.6.25; Nāyādh. 880; Kappas. § 2.96.120.150.159 etc.); *hemantāṇaṃ* (Āyār. 2,15,22; Kappas. § 113.157.212.227). The neutral forms, which might have been contributed to, here as well (cf. § 357), by the similarity of the ending *-ā*, are formed dialectically, not seldom, in the nomin. accus. plur. from the masculine in *-a*. So M. AMg. Ś. *guṇāim=guṇān* (Hc. 1,34; Mk. fol. 35; G. 866; Sūyag. 157; Vivāhap. 508; Mṛcch. 37,14); M. *kaṇṇāim=kaṇṇau* (H. 805); M. *pavāi, gaāim, turāi, rakkhasāi=plavagān, gajān, turagān, rākṣasān* (R. 15,17)<sup>3</sup>; AMg. *paṣiṇāṇi=praśnān* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17), *paṣiṇāim* (Nāyādh. 301.577; Vivāhap. 151 973.978; Nandis. 471; Uvās. § 58 121.176), as already in Skt. *praśna* is neuter (Maitryupaniṣad 1,2); AMg. *māsāim=māsān* (Kappas. § 114); AMg. *pāṇāim* (Āyār. 1,6 5,4; 1,7,2,1 ff.; 2,1,1,11; p. 132,6,22), *pāṇāni* (Āyār. 2,2,3,2; p. 132,28) beside usual *pāṇe* (e. g. Āyār. 1,1,6 3; 1,3,1,3; 1,6,1,4)=*prāṇān*; AMg. *phāsāim* (Āyār. 1,4 3,2; 1,8,2,10,3,1; Sūyag. 297) beside *phāse* (Āyār. 1,6,2,3,3,2,5,1; 1,7,8,18) = *sparsān*. AMg. *rukkhāim* (Hc. 1,34), AMg. *rukkhāṇi=rukṣān* (trees; Āyār. 2 3,2,15; cf. § 320); *devāim* (Hc. 1,34), *devāṇi* (C. 1,4)=*devāḥ*; JŚ. *ṇibandhāṇi=ṇibandhān* (Pav. 387,12); Mg. *dantāim=dantān* (Śak. 154,6), *goṇāim=gāḥ* (Mṛcch. 122,15; 132,16) beside the usual mascul. (§ 393). Hc. 1,34 mentions in the singular too *khaggam* beside *khaggo=khadgah*; *maṇḍalaggam* beside *maṇḍalago=maṇḍalāgrah*; *kararuham* beside *kararuho=khararuhah*, as reversely Mk. fol. 35 has *vaano* beside *vaṇaṃ=vadanam*; *ṇaano* beside *ṇaṇaṃ=nayanam*. Neutral plural forms of the masculine are found from *i*- and *u*-stems too: AMg. *sālīṇi vā vīhīṇi vā = sālīn vā vīhīn vā* (Āyār. 2,10,10; Sūyag. 682), in independence upon the following neuter: AMg. *uūim=ṛtūn*

( Kappas. § 114 ); *bindūim* ( Hc 1,34; Mk. fol. 35 ); AMg. *hetūim*=*hetūm* beside *paṣiṇāim* ( Vivāhap. 151 ). Neuter forms from the feminine are seldomer. So AMg. *tayāṇi* ( Āyār. 2,13,22; Nāyādh. 1137; Vivāhap. 908 ) from the singular *tayā* ( Paṇnav. 32; Vivāhap. 1308. 1529 ); cf. *tayā-pāṇae* ( Vivāhap. 1255 ) and *tayāśuhāe* ( Kappas. § 60 )=\**tvacā=tvak*; AMg. *pāujāim*=*pādūkāh*(Nāyādh. 1484); Ś. *ricāim* from \**ricā=ṛk* ( Ratn. 302,11 ); AMg. *paṁtiyāṇi* ( Āyār. 2,3,3,2; 2,11,5 ) beside *paṁtiyāo* ( Vivāhap. 361; Ānuog. 386 )=\**paṅktikāh*; AMg. *bhamuhāim* ( Āyār. 2,13,17 ) beside *bhamuhāu* ( Jiv. 563 )=\**bhruvuke* ( § 124. 206 ); even AMg. *iṭṭhīni vā purisāṇi vā*=*striyo vā puruṣā vā* ( Āyār. 2,11,18 ), probably to be comprehended in the meaning "something womanish", "something manly". *akṣi* may be used as feminine ( Vr. 4,20; Hc. 1,33. 35; Kī. 2,132; Mk. fol. 35 ), according to Hc. 1,33 also as masc. Hc. 1,35 teaches that the masculine nouns *añjali*, *kukṣi*, *granthi*, *nidhi*, *raśmi*, *vali*, *vidhi*, which have been included by him in the *gaṇa añ'alyādi*, may become feminine. So is explained AMg. *ayam aṭṭhī*, *ayam dahī* =*idam asthī*, *idam dadhī* ( Sūyag. 594 ), the dative *aṭṭhīe* ( § 361 ), and so the nomin. *sappi*=*sarpih* ( Sūyag 291 ) and the nomin *havī*=*havih* ( Dasav. N. 648,9 ) too must be comoreheaded, in which the *s*-stem, after dropping off of *s*, have gone over to the *i*-declension. Cf. § 411, note. Beside *paṇho*=*praśnah* Pkt has *paṇhā* too ( Vr. 4,20; Hc. 1,35; Kī. 2,132; Mk. fol. 35; Sr. fol. 14 ), which occurs in AMg. *paṇhāvāgarāṇāim* ( Nandis. 471; Samav ), the name of the 10. aṅga. In the v. l. to C. 3,6 *paṇham* too occurs; the plural AMg. *paṣiṇāim*, *paṣiṇāni* have been mentioned above. In the sense of *arsāmsi* AMg. has *amsiyāo*=\**arśikāh* ( Vivāhap. 1306 ). Beside *paṭṭha*, *piṭṭha*, *puṭṭha*=*prṣṭha* frequent are *paṭṭhī*, *piṭṭhī*, *puṭṭhī* ( § 53 ). The feminine *āsāmsā* becomes M.Ś. *āsamgho* ( § 267 ); *prāvṛṣ* becomes in M. AMg. JM. Ś. a masculine *pāusa*=Pāli *pāvusa* ( Vr. 4,18; Hc. 1,31; Kī. 2,131; Mk. fol. 35; G. H.; Nāyādh. 81.638 f. 644.192; Vivāhap. 798; Erz.; Vikr. 33,14 ); *taraṇi*, according to Hc. 1,31,2 used only as masculine<sup>4</sup>. On *ḍiso*=*dik*, *sarao*=*sarad* see § 355, on the numerals 2—4 see § 436. 438. 439.

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 151, note 2.—2. JACOB on Kalpas. § 2 p. 99.—3. It is not very certain whether these forms constitute a proof rather of the spurious nature of R. 15,16. 17, as presumed by S. GOLDSCHMIDT R. p. 318, note 9.—4 Cf. in general already FISCHEL, De gr. Pr. p. 5 f.

§ 359. In A. the gender is more flexible than in the rest of the dialects, if not almost wholly irregular, as meant by Hc. 4,445. In verses, very often the gender is determined by the metre and the rhyme: *jo pāhāsi so lehi*=*yat prārthayase tal labhasva* ( Piṅgala 1,5<sup>a</sup>; cf. Vikr. p. 530 f. ); *matṭāim*=*mātrāh* ( P. 1,51. 60. 83.127 ); *rehāim*=*rekhāh* ( P. 1,52 ); *vikkamaṁ*=*vikramaḥ* ( P. 1,56 ); *bhuape*=*bhuvanāni* ( accus. ; P. 1,62<sup>b</sup> ); *gāhassa*=*gāthāyāh* ( P. 1,128 ); *sagaṇāi*=*sagaṇān* ( P. 1,152 ); *kumbhāi*=*kumbhān* ( Hc. 4,345 ); *anṭradī*=*antram* ( Hc. 4,445,3 ); *dālāi* ( Hc. 4,445,4 ), plural of *dāla* ( branch; Pāyāl. 136; Deśin. 4,9, where *dāli* ); however, AMg. too has *dāla* in *egamāsi rukkhādālayamāsi ṭhicā* ( Nāyādh. 492 ), and *dāla ga* ( Āyār. 2,7,2,5 ); *khalāim*=*khalān* in rhyme with *raaṇāim* ( Hc. 4,334 ); *viguttāim*=\**vigupitāh*=*vigopitāh* ( Hc. 4,421,1 ); *niścintāi harīṇāi*=*niścintā harīṇāh* ( Hc. 4,422,20 ); *amhāim* beside *amhe*=*asme* ( Hc. 4,376 ).

§ 360. The dual, with the exception of the numerals *do*=*doau* and *duve*, *be*=*dve*, is completely lost. In its place the plural has entered both into the noun and the verb ( Vr. 6,63; C. 2,12; Hc. 3,130; Kī. 3,5; Āv. 6,12 ), which is combined even with the numeral for 2 ( § 436.437 ). M. *balakeśa-vāṇam*=*balakeśavayoh* ( G. 26 ), *hatthā tharatharanti*=*hastau tharatharāyete* ( H. 165 ), *kaṇṇesu*=*kaṇṇayoh* ( R. 5,65 ), *achāim*=*akṣiṇi* ( G. 44 ); AMg. *janagā*=*janakau* ( Āyār. 1, 6, 1, 6 ), *pāhaṇāo*=*upānahau* ( Thāp. 359 ), *bhumagāo* *acchīni*, *kaṇṇā*, *uṭṭhā*, *aggahatthā*, *hatthesu*, *ṭhaṇayā*, *janūim*, *janṅhāo*,

*pāyā*, *pāesu* = *bhruvau*, *akṣiṇī*, *karnau*, *oṣṭhau*, *agrahastau*, *hastayoḥ*, *stanakau*, *jānuni*, *jaṅghe*, *pāḍau*, *pādajyoḥ* ( Uvās § 94 ); *JM. hatihā*, *pāyā* = *hastau*, *pāḍau* ( Āv. 6,14 ), *taṅhāchuhāo* = *tyṣṇāksudhau* ( Dvār. 500,7 ), *do vi puttā jamalagā* = *dvāv api putrau yamalakau* ( Erz. 1,8 ) *cittasambhūehim* = *citrasmbhūtābhyām* ( Erz. 1, 26 ); *Ś. māhavamārandā ācchanti* = *mādhavamakarandāv āgacchataḥ* ( Mālatim. 293,4 ), *rāmarāvāṇaṇam* = *rāmārvāṇayoḥ* ( Bālar. 260, 21 ), *sīdārāmehim* = *sītārāmābhyām* ( Pras. 64,5 ), *sīrsarasasādīṇam* = *sīrsarasvatīyoḥ* ( Viddhaś. 108,5 ); *Mg. lāmakaṇhāṇam* = *rāmākṣṇayoḥ* ( Kāmsav. 48, 20 ), *amke vi . . . luhilām pīvamha* = *āvām api rudhiraṁ pībāva* ( Veṇis. 35, 21 ), *kalē mha* = *karavāva* ( Caṇḍak. 68, 15; 71,10 ); *D. candaṇāvāraehim* = *candanakāvīrakābhyām* ( Mṛcch. 105,8 ), *sumbhāṇisumbhe* = *sumbhāṇisumbhau* ( Mṛcch. 105,22 ); *A. rāvaṇarāmāhā*, *paṭṭaṇagāmāhā* = *rāvaṇarāmāyoḥ*, *paṭṭānagrāmāyoḥ* ( Hc. 4,407 ). In cases like *Ś. dve rukkhasecānake* = *dve rukhsasecānake* ( Śak. 24,1 ) there is no dual, but the accus. plur. ( § 367<sup>a</sup> ) with a change of gender according to § 357<sup>1</sup>.

1. HOFER, De Prakrita dialecto. p. 196 f.; LASSEN, Inst. p. 309; BOLLENSEN on Vikr. 347; WEBER, IS. 14,280 f.

§ 361. According to Vr. 6,64; C. 2,13; Kī. 3,14; Sr. fol. 7; in a quotation in Āv.6,12 in Pkt. the genitive occurs in the place of the dative. Hc. 3,132 teaches that Dative may stand when it expresses a purpose. The texts are in accord with him. A dative of the singular is found almost only in PG. M. AMg. JM., mostly in the case of the *a*-stems, as the dative of goal and purpose. PG. *ajātāe* = *\*adyatāya* ( 7,45 ); *vāsasatasahasāya* = *varśasatasahasrāya* ( 7,48 ); *M. nīvāraṇāa* = *nīvāraṇāya*, *āśāa* = *āyāsāya*, *marāṇāa* = *marāṇāya*, *harārāhaṇāa* = *harārādhanāya*, *hāsāa* = *hāsāya*, *gārvāa* = *gārvāya*, *mohāa* = *mohāya*, *apūnāgamaṇāa* = *apūnarāgamanāya* ( G. 15. 90. 324. 325. 340. 869. 946. 1183 ); *M. vaṇāa* = *vanāya* ( Bālar. 156,14 ), *tāvaparikkhaṇāa* = *tāvaparikkṣaṇāya* ( Karp 52,3 ). H. and R. do not have the dative. AMg. *ahīyāya* = *ahīyāya* ( Āyār. 1,3,1,1 ); *gabhāya* = *garbhāya* ( Sūyag. 108 ); *aiwāyāya* = *atīpātāya* ( Sūyag. 356 ); *tāṇāya* = *trāṇāya* ( Sūyag. 377 ); *kūḍāya* = *kūḍāya* ( Uttar. 201 ), all in verses. Generally the dative ends in AMg. JM. in *-āe* ( § 364 ) and it is so extraordinarily frequent in AMg.: *parivandanāmanāṇapūjaṇāe* *jāmarāṇamojaṇāe* = *parivandanamānanapūjanāya* *jātimarāṇamocanāya* ( Āyār. 1,1,1,7 ); beside *tāṇāya* in verse, there stands in prose *tāṇāe* ( Āyār. 1,2,1,2,3,4 ), and likewise in verse ( Uttar. 217 ); *mūlattāe* *kandattāe* *kandhattāe* *tajattāe* *sālattāe* *pavālattāe* *pattattāe* *pupphattāe* *phalattāe* *bijattāe* *viṭṭanti* = *mūlatvāya* *kandatvāya* *skandhatvāya* *vaktvāya* *sālatvāya* *pravālatvāya* *puṣpatvāya* *phalatvāya* *bijatvāya* *vivartante* ( Sūyag. 806 ); *eyām ne pēccabhave ihabhava ja hijāe suhāe khamāe nissejāsāe āṇugāmiyattāe bhavissai* = *etan naḥ pretyabhava ihabhava ca hijāya sukhāya kṣamāyai niḥsreyasāyānugāmikavāya bhaviṣyati* ( Ovav. 38, p. 49; Vivāhap. 162 ) etc.; AMg. JM. *vahāe* = *vadhāya* ( Āyār. 1,3,2,2; Vivāhap. 1254; Āv. 14,16; so to be read ); *vahaṭṭhāyāe* = *vadhārthākāya* ( Erz. 1,21 ); *hiyaṭṭhāe* = *hitārthāya* ( Āv. 25,26 ); *mam' atthāe* = *mamārthāya* ( Erz. 63,12 ). The dative is correct in Ś. Mg. in verses only, since these dialects otherwise have lost the dative even of the *a*-stems: Mg. *cārudattaviṇāśāa* = *cārudattavināśāya* ( Mṛcch. 133,4 ). Hc. 4,302 read with the Devanāgarī, Draviḍian and Kashmirian recensions the dative also in Śak. 115,7; *sāmipāsādāa* = *svāmiprasādāya*, where the Bengal recension has *sāmīppāsādaitam*. In Ś. Mg. all the good texts in prose always have the paraprasing with *attham* = *artham* and *nimittam* = *nimitam*<sup>1</sup>. The dative stands in Ś. in prose falsely: *nivvudilāhāa* = *nivvortilābhāya* ( Mālav. 33,14 ); *āsīsāa* (!) = *āsīṣe* ( Mālav. 70,13 ); *suhāa* = *sukhāya* ( Karp. 9,5; 35,6; 115,1 ); *asusamrakha-*

*nā*=*asusaṃrakṣaṇāya* (Vṛṣabh. 51,11); *vibudhaviḥā*=*vibudhaviḥāyā* (Vikr. 6,20); *tilodaadānā*=*tilodakadānā* (Mṛcch. 327,4) *ceḍiāccaṇā* [text °āya = *ceḍikārcanāya* (Mukund. 17,12). Other examples from bad texts have been collected by BÖHTLINGK<sup>2</sup> and BOLLENSSEN<sup>3</sup>. In Rājasekhara the scribe is not responsible for this (§ 22). Datives of even stems other than *a-* are found. So AMg. *apṭege accāe hananti apṭege ajināe vahanti apṭege maṃsāe vahanti apṭege soṇijāe vahanti evaṃ hidayāe pītāe vasāe picchāe pucchāe vālāe sīṅgāe visāṅgāe dantiāe dādhāe nahāe ṇhāruṇīe aṭṭhīe aṭṭhiminjāe aṭṭhāe ṇaṭṭhāe* (Āyār. 1,1,6,5; Sūyag. 676), where *accāe* from *accā* (body; bulk; commentary = *śarīram*), *vasāe* = *vasāyai*, *dādhāe* = *daṃśtrāyai*, *aṭṭhiminjāe* = *asthimajjāyai* are dative from the feminine in *-ā*, *ṇhāruṇīe* is from a feminine \**snāyuntī* (§ 255), and *aṭṭhīe* is from the neuter *asthi*, used as a feminine (§ 358), the rest are from the masculine and neuter: *se na haṃsāe na kiddāe nu raṇīe na vibhūsāe* = *sa na hāsyāya na krīḍāyai na ratyai na vibhūsāyai* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3); JM. *kittividdhīe* = *kirtivṛddhaye* (KI. 20). So also falsely in Ś. *kajjasiddhīe* = *kāryasiddhaye* (Mālav. 56,13; Jivān. 21,7); *jadhāsamīhidāsiddhīe* = *yathāsamīhitasiddhaye* (Viddhaś. 44,7). From consonantal stems sometimes in S. is found the dative *bhavade* in the "solemn greeting formula"<sup>4</sup> *soṭṭhi bhavade* = *svastī bhavate* (Mṛcch. 6,23; 77,17; Vikr. 81,15). But here we have a case of Sanskritization. It is to be written as *bhavado*, as CAPPELER, Rata 319,17 has done; cf. *soṭṭhi savvāṇam* (Vikr. 83,8) and the v. l. to Vikr. 81,15. The Infinitives in *-ttae*, *-ittae* (§ 578) too are old dative.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 299; FISCHER, BB. I, 111 ff.; on Hc. 3,132. Falsely HOEFER, De Prakrita dialecto p. 126 f.; BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. p. 168 and Mālav. p. 233; WEBER, IS. 14, 290 ff.; BB. I, 343 f.—2. On Śak. 40, 18, p. 203.—3. On Mālav. p. 233.—4. WEBER, BB. I, 343.

§ 362. In the following paragraphs a paradigm has been provided for the purpose of better lucidity, of all the forms, that are found in the grammarians; but the cases, that have hitherto not been found in the texts, have been put inside angular brackets. For P. CP. the material is mostly wanting, as our all knowledge exclusively rests upon the grammarians. Cf. further KIELHORN, EI., 3, 313, note 10. PG. VG are especially built up. Unusual constructions, like AMg.°*samdhivālasaddhim samparivude* (Ovav. § 48, p. 55,11; Kappas. § 61), which, along with *saddhim*, is found more often in AMg. (Nāyādh. 574. 724. 1068. 1074. 1273. 1290. 1327; Ovav. § 55) do not come into consideration for the purpose of morphology. The forms, which are common to all or most of the dialects have not been specifically indicated, and less important dialects, like Ā. D. Dh., are not mentioned in the paradigm.

1) STEMS IN *-a*.

## a) MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

§ 363. Mascul. *putta* = *putra*.

## Singular.

- N. *putto*; AMg. Mg. *putte*; AMg. in verses also *putto*; A. mostly *puttu*.  
 Acc. *puttam*; A. *puttu*.  
 I. M. AMg. JM. *putteṇa*, *putteṇam*; JŚ. Ś. Mg. P. CP. *putteṇa*; A. *putteṇa*, *puttiṇa*, *putteṃ*, *puttē*.  
 Dat. M. *puttāa*; AMg. *puttāya* in verses, otherwise AMg. JM. *puttāe*; Mg. *puttāa* in verses.  
 Abl. M. *puttāo*, *puttāu*, *puttā*, *puttāhi*, *puttāhimto*, [*puttatto*]; AMg. JM. *puttāo*, *puttāu*, *puttā*; JŚ. *puttādo*, *puttādu*, *puttā*; Ś. Mg. *puttādo*; P. CP. *puttāto*, *puttātu*; A. *puttāhō*, *puttāhu*.

- G. *puttassa*; Mg. *puttaśśa*, *puttāha*; A. *puttassu*, [*puttasu*], *puttahō*, °*ho*, *puttaha*.  
 L. M. JM. JŚ. *puttammi*, *putte*; AMg. *puttaṃsi*, *puttammi*, *puttammi*, *putte*; Ś. P. CP. *putte*; Mg. *putte*, *puttāhim*; A. *putte*, *puttē*, *putti*, *puttāhī*.  
 V. *putta*; M. also *puttā*; AMg. *putta*, *puttā*, *putto*; Mg. *putta*, *putte*.

## Plural.

- N. *puttā*; AMg. also *puttāo*; A. also *putta*.  
 Acc. *putte*; M. AMg. A. also *puttā*; A. also *putta*.  
 I. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *puttehi*, °*him*, °*hī*; Ś. Mg. *puttehim*; A. *puttahim*, °*hū*, °*hi*, *puttehim*, °*hī*, °*hi*.  
 Abl. [*puttāsumto*, *puttesumto*, *puttāhimto*, *puttāhi*, *puttehi*, *puttāo*, *puttāu*, *puttatto*]; AMg. *puttehimto*, *puttehim*; JM. *puttehim*; A. *puttahū*.  
 G. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *puttāna*, °*nam*, °*nā*; Ś. Mg. *puttānam*; Mg. also [*puttāhā*]; A. *puttāhā*, *puttahā*, *puttānam*.  
 L. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *puttesu*, °*sum*, °*sū*; Ś. Mg. *puttesum*, (*puttesu*); A. *puttahū* (*puttehū*, *puttihi*).  
 V. *puttā*; Mg. also *puttāho*; A. *puttahō*, °*ho*.

The neuter nouns are declined in the same manner, as *phala*, only nom. acc. sing. *phalaṃ*, A. *phalu*;

- Nom. acc. voc. plur. M. AMg. JM. *phalāim*, °*i*, °*i*; AMg. JM. also *phalāṇi*, *phalā*; JŚ *phalāṇi*; Ś. Mg. *phalāim*; A. as M., however, also *phalāi*.

In PG. there are found the following forms, to which are added the few sure ones from VG. with the courtesy of EI. 1, p. 2, note 2.

## Singular.

- N. *mahārājādhirājo* 5,1; *bhāraddāyo* 5,2; *patibhāgo* 6,12; and so still nom. in -o; 6,14. 19-26. 29. 40; 7,44. 47.  
 Acc. *parihāraṃ* 5,7; *vāṅaka[m]* *puvavadattaṃ* 6,12. 28. 30—34. 36. 37 [ may be also neuter ].  
 I. *madena* 6,40; *likhiteṇa* 7,51.  
 D. *ajātāye* 7,45; *vāsasatasahassāya* 7,48.  
 Abl. *kāmcīpurā* 5,1.  
 G. *kulagōttassa* 6,9; *sāsaṇassa* 6,10; and so also G. in -sa, -ssa; 6,12—26. 38. 50; VG. 101,1. 2. 7 [ *devakulassa* ]. 8.  
 L. *visaye* 5,3; *cillarekakoḍumke* 6,12; and so also: 7,42.44.  
 Neuter: Acc. *niyataṇaṃ* 6,38; *vāraṇa[m]* 7,41; *uparilikhitam* 7,44; *ānataṃ* 7,49.

## Plural

- N. *patibhāgā* 6,13-18. 20-22; *addhikā*, *kolikā* 6,39; *gāmeyikā* *āyuttā* VG. 101,10.  
 Acc. °*desādihikatādike*, *bhājake* 5,4; *vallave govallave amacce ārakhādihikate gumike tūthike* 5,5; and so also 5,6; 6,9; 7,43. 46.  
 I. *evamādikehi* 6,34; *parihārehi* 6,35; VG. 101,11; apparently °*him* is meant.  
 G. *pallavānaṃ* VG. 101,2; *pallavāna* 5,2; *maṇusāna* 5,7; *vattavāna* °*bamhaṇānaṃ* 6,8; *bhātukāna* 6,18; *bamhaṇānaṃ* 6,27. 30. 38; *paṃukhānaṃ* 6,27. 38 (where °*na*). Perhaps everywhere °*nam* is meant.

§ 364. On the declension of *a*-stems see Vr. 5,1-13; 11,10. 12. 13; C. 1,3. 5. 7. 8. 13-16; 2,10; Hc. 3,2-15; 4,263. 287. 299. 300. 321; 330-339. 342. 344-347; Ki. 3,1-16; 5,17. 21-25. 28—34. 78; Mk. fol. 41. 42. 68. 69. 75; Sr. fol. 5-9. In A. the bare stem is often used as the nom. acc. gen. sing. and plur., and in others too as *a*-stems (Hc. 4,344. 345; Ki. 5,21). Since the final vowel is lengthened and shortened according to metre and

rhyme (§ 100), so the form of the nom. plur. often appears in the singular and vice-versa. So *phāṇihārā*, *visā*, *kandā*, *candā*, *kantā*=*phaṇihārah*, *viṣah*, *kandah*, *candrah*, *kāntah* (Piṅgala 1,81<sup>a</sup>); *sīlā*=*sīlalah*, *dadḍhā*=*dagdhah* in relation with *gharu*=*grhah* (Hc.4,343); *gaa*=*gajāh*, *gajān*, *gajānām* (Hc. 4,335. 418.3. 345); *supurisa*=*supuruṣāh* (Hc. 4,367). In other dialects too, in verses, the stem is occasionally used in lieu of a case. So AMg. *buddhaputta*=*buddhaputra* for *buddhaputto* (Uttar. 13); *pāṇajātī*=*prāṇajātayah* for *pāṇajāto* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); *pāvaya*=*pāvaka* for *pāvao* (Dasav. 634,5); Mg. *pañcayyana*=*pañcajanāh*, *gāma*=*grāmah*; *caṇḍāla*=*caṇḍalah*; *ṇala*=*narah*; *śīla*=*śīrah* (Mṛcch. 112,6-9). Instead of *śīla* Mk. fol. 75 reads *śīli* and he teaches thence, that in Mg. the nom. ends in *-e* and *-i*. Likewise Vr. 11,9, who too recognizes the stems as nominative. *śīli* stands for *śīle* according to § 85; likewise *śakki* for *śakke*=*śakyah* (Mṛcch. 43,6-9). On the ending *-o*, *-e*=*-ah* see § 345, on *-u*=*-ah* § 346, on A. *-u*=*-am* § 351. According to Bhāgīrathīvardhamāna, in Cāṇḍālī, the nom. sing. may end in *-o* too, beside in *-e*, *-i*: *ēso puliṣo* (Mk. fol. 82).—In Nāgarāpabhraṁśa he teaches nom. sing. in *-o* too, beside that in *-u* (Mk fol. 79). In the instrumental singular, in AMg. several forms in *-sā* are found due to assimilation with the former I. of the *s*-stems. Thus particularly *kāyasā* from *kāya* in the combination *maṇasā vajasā kāyasā*=*manasā vacasā kāyena* (Āyār. p. 132,1; 133,5; Sūyag. 358. 428. 546; Vivāhap. 603 ff.; Thāp. 118. 119. 187; Uttar. 248; Uvās., § 13-15; Dasav. 625,30), *kāyasā vajasā* (Uttar. 204); rarer is *maṇasā vajasā kāeṇa* (Sūyag. 257) and *maṇasā kāyavakkenam* (Sūyag. 380; Uttar. 222. 752). Further *sahasā balasā*=*sahasā balena* (Āyār. 2,3,2,3; Tī.ān. 368); *paṅgasā*=*prayogeṇa*, parallel with *visasā* from *visra* (Vivāhap. 64.65). According to such cases are formed in verses: *niyamasā*=*niyamena* (Ovav. § 177); *jogasā*=*yogena* (Dasav. 631,1; Sūriyapannatti in the Verzeichniss 5,2,2,575,4); *bhajasā*=*bhayena* (Dasav. 629,37), except that a *s*-stem stands beside it Cf. § 355. 358 367. 375. 379. 386. On M. AMg. JM. *putteṇam* see § 182, on A. *putteṇa* § 128, *puttem* § 146. The dative in *-āe* in PG. AMg. JM (§ 361) cannot be traced back to Skt. *-āya*, which remains in PG. and becomes *āya* in AMg. and *-āa* in M. (§ 361). AMg. *sāgahāgāe* (Sūyag. 247. 249) phonetically corresponds to one \**śākahākāyāi*, that is to say to the dative of a feminine. In AMg. this dative is especially frequent from the abstract neuter in *-tā*=*-tva*, as *itthittāe purisattāe napumsagattāe* (Sūyag. 817); *devattāe*=*devatvāya* (Āyār. 2,15,16; Samav. 8. 10. 16; Uvās.; Ovav.); *rukkhattāe*=*ruksatvāya* (Sūyag. 792. 803); *gonattāe*=*gotvāya* (Vivāgas. 51); *hamsattāe*=*hamsatvāya* (Vivāgas. 241); *neriyattāe*, *dāriyattāe*, *mayūratīāe*=*nairiyakatvāya*, *dārikātīāe*, *mayūratīāe* (Vivāgas.244); *aṭṭhicaṃmacchirattāe*=*asthicarmaśīratvāya* (Aṇutt. 12) etc.; cf. § 361. Beside these stand the datives of abstract feminine in *-tā*, like *paḍibūhanaṇyāe*=*prātibūhanatāyāi*, *poṣaṇyāe*=*poṣaṇatāyāi* (Sūyag. 676); *karaṇyāe*=*karaṇatāyāi* (Vivāhap. 817. 1254; Uvās. § 113); *savaṇyāe*=*śravaṇatāyāi* (Nāyādh § 77. 137; Ovav. § 18.38). *puṇāpāsanaṇyāe*=\**puṇāpāsantāyāi* (Vivāhap. 1228; Nāyādh. § 137) etc. That the datives from fem. nouns, otherwise, frequently stand between the datives of the masc. and neut. nouns is shown by § 361. An influence therefore, through the feminine may be possible, and the AMg. *devattāe* may have its *tt* of the neuter *devatva* and the ending of the feminine *devatā* wrongly used with it. But the datives in *-āe*, even otherwise, from mascul. and neut. are so numerous that this explanation is impossible. It must be admitted that dialectically *-āi* too could be used as the ending of the mascul. and neut. *vahāi*=*vadhāya* (Hc. 3,132) should either be traced back to AMg. JM. *vahāe* (§ 361) according to § 85 in

case the verb would be found verses, or it is to be derived from the Avestā *yasnāi*, Greek ἵππωι=ἵππω-.

§ 365. Hc. 3,8 and Mk. fol. 41 show that for the abl. sing. in M. the forms in *-ādo*, *-ādu*, like *vacchādo*, *vacchādu*, which Kī 3,8 too has, are not to be deduced with Bhāmaha from Vr. 5,6. The author of R. who at R. 8,87 writes *rāmādo*, openly follows Bhāmaha, as in *udu=rdu* (§ 204). The usual form of the abl. sing. in M. AMg. JM. is in *-āo*=\**ātaḥ* (§ 69, 345). Beside it is found metri causa *-āu* too: M. *sisāu=śīrṣāt* (G. 37); *ṛahaalāu=nabhastalāt* (H. 75); *raṅṅāu=aranyāt* (H. 287); AMg. *pāvāu=pāpāt* (Sūyag. 415) beside *pāvāo* (Sūyag. 110. 117); *dukkhāu=dukkhāt* (Uttar. 218). The abl. in *-du*, taught by Hc. 4,276 for Ś., belongs to JŚ. (§ 21), where *udayādu=udayāt* (Pav. 383,27), beside *anūdayādo* (Kattig. 399,309) and forms like *carittādo=caritrāt* (Pav. 380,6), *nānādo=jñānāt* (Pav. 382,5), *visayādo=viṣayāt* (Pav. 382,6), *vasādo=vaśāt* (Kattig. 399, 311) are found. In Ś. Mg. the abl. always ends in *-do* (Kī. 5,79; Mk. fol. 68; § 69. 345). On forms with short *a*, as AMg. *śhāṇao* see § 99. Not seldom in M. AMg. JM. is also the abl. in *-ā*=Skt. *-āt*. So M.: *vasā=vaśāt*, *bhāā=bhayāt*, *guṇā=guṇāt*, *veā=vegāt*, *bhavanā=bhavanāt*, *dehattaṇā=\*dehutanāt*, *bhāruvahaṇārā=bhārovaḥanādarāt* (G. 24. 42. 84. 125. 242. 390.716.848.854.924.); *gharā=grhāt*, *balā=balāt* (H. 497.498); *āirā=acirāt* (R. 3,15); *ṇacirā* (Bālar. 179,2); *miśā=miśāt*, *nivesā=niveśāt* (Karp. 12,8; 75,2); AMg. *marañā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3 2.1); *dukkhā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2; Uttar. 220); *kohā*, *māṇā*, *lobhā=krodhāt*, *mānāt*, *lobhāt* (Āyār. 2,4,1,1); *balā* (Sūyag. 287. 293; Uttar. 593); *arambhā* (Sūyag. 104); *nāyaputtā* (Sūyag. 318); *bhayāā=bhayāt*, *lābhā*, *mohā*, *paṁāyā=pramādāt* (Uttar. 207. 251. 434. 627); *kohā*, *hāsā*, *lobhā*, *bhayā* (Uttar. 751; cf. Dasav. 615,28), mostly in verses; JM. *niyamā* (Kk. 259,6,18); AMg. JM. *aṭṭhā* (Dasav. 620,20; Erz.); JŚ. *niyamā* (Ka. tig. 400,328; 401,341). I have noted only *balā* in Ś. (Mṛcch. 68,22), only *kālaṇā* in Mg (Mṛcch. 152,7; cf. 145,17) from the critical texts. The MSS., however, have *kālaṇāe* for *kālaṇā*, the ed. Cal. Śak. 1792 p.324, 11 and GODBOLE, 413,1 correctly *kālaṇado*, as STENZLER too elsewhere reads (133,1; 140,14; 158,21; 165,7) Mk. fol. 69 permits *-ā* too in Ś, in addition, and quotes *kāraṇā* as an example. Frequent in M. is the abl. sing. in *-hi*: *mūlāhi*, *kusumāhi*, *gaṇāhi*, *varāhi*, *biāhi=bijāt* (G. 13 69.193.426.722; cf. yet 1094. 1131. 1164); *dūrāhi*, *hiāhi=hrdayāt*, *aṅgaṇāhi*, *nikkammāhi vi chēttāhi=niskarmano'pi ksetrāt* (H. 50. 95. 120. 169; cf. yet 179. 429. 594. 665. 877. 934. 998); *ravāhi*, *dhirāhi=dhairyāt*, *dantujjōāhi=dantoddyotāt*, *paccakkhāhi=pratyaksāt*, *ghaḍiāhi=ghaṭitāt*, *anuhūāhi=anubhūtāt* (R. 3,2; 4,27; cf. still 4,45. 56; 6,14. 77; 7,57; 8,18; 11, 88; 12, 8. 11; 14, 20. 29; 15,50); *hiāhi* (Karp. 79, 12; v. l. *hiāu*); *daṇḍāhi=daṇḍāt* (Bālar. 178, 20; text against the metre °*hiṁ*). In AMg. is found *piṭṭhāhi=prṣṭhāt* (Nāyādh. 958f), beside *piṭṭhāo* (938.964). Seldom is the abl. in *-hiṁto*: *kandalāhiṁto=kandalāt* (G. 5); *chēppāhiṁto=śepāt* *hiāhiṁto=hrdayāt*, *rāiharāhiṁto=rāigrhāt* (H. 240. 451. 553); *mūlāhiṁto=mūlāt* (Karp. 38, 3); *rūāhiṁto=rūpāt* (Mudrār. 37,4). Rājasekhara employs the abl. in *-hi* and *-hiṁto* falsely in Ś. too: *candaseharāhi=candraśekharāt* (Bālar. 289,1; text °*hiṁ*); *pāmarāhiṁto=pāmarāt*, *candāhiṁto=candrāt*, *jalāhiṁto=jalāt*, *tumhārisāhiṁto=yuṣmādrṣāt* (Karp. 20,6; 53,6; 72,2; 93,9); *pādāhiṁto=pādāt*, *gamāgamāhiṁto=gamāgamāt*, *thaṇaharāhiṁto=stanabharāt* (Viddhaś. 79,2; 82,4; 117,4). On the corresponding forms of pronouns see § 415 ff. The ending *-hi* is present in adverbs M. AMg. JM. in *alāhi=alam<sup>1</sup>* (Vr. 9,11; Hc. 2, 189; Kī. 4, 83 [text *aṇāhi*]; H. 127; Vivāhap. 813.965. 1229 1254; T. 5,6 [text °*hiṁ*]), *-hiṁto* in AMg. *antohiṁto=antarāt* (§ 342) and *bāhiṁhiṁto=bāhiṣṭāt* (Thāṇ. 408). *uttarāhi* and *ḍakṣiṇāhi* (WHITNEY § 1100 c), the forms in *-hi* serve,

as noted by E. MÜLLER<sup>2</sup>, as adverbs. Hence one may in *-hi*, neither with LASSEN<sup>3</sup>, search for on old ending *-bhi*, nor with WEBER<sup>4</sup>, a plural ending, above all *-him* is never found beside it. The ending *-hinto* is, with LASSEN<sup>6</sup>, to be considered as having originated from *-bhis*, or more correctly from *-bhyas*, the ending of the abl. plur. + *tas*, the ending of the abl. sing.; and therefore, *-hinto*, (Sr. fol 7) not *hinto* is to be written. The *a* of the stem has the lengthening according to § 69. The abl. *vacchatto* (Hc. 3,8; Sr. fol.7), *rukkhatto* corresponding to the form [ *puttatto* ] are double formations = *vrkṣāt + tas*, *rukṣāt + tas*. — For A. the forms found in the text are *vacchahē*, *vacchahu* = *vrkṣāt* (Hc. 4,336); *jalahu* = *jalāt* (Hc.4,415). Kī.5,30 has beside *rucchahē* also *rucchādu* [text °*dū*] = *vrkṣāt*. With LASSEN<sup>7</sup> it is to be read as *vacchahē*, *vacchādu*. The origin of the forms in *-hē*, *-hu* is obscure.

1. So rightly WEBER, H<sup>1</sup>. p. 49, note 1. — 2. Beiträge p. 22. — 3. Inst. p. 303. — 4. H<sup>1</sup>.p.49. — 5. At Bālar. 178,20 °*him*, as mentioned, is against the metre, 289,1 has also a false reading. — 6. Inst. p. 310. — 7. Inst. p. 451.

§ 366. Corresponding to the rules of the grammarians ( Vr. 11,12; Hc. 4,299) we find in Mg. in the gen. sing. the ending, beside *-śśa* = *-sya*, also *-ha* from *-sa* with lengthening of *a* of the stem (§ 63.264). In the examples with *-aha* quoted by Hc. from Śak. and Venis, the printed editions and manuscripts have *-aśśa* or variant readings<sup>1</sup>. The genitive forms in *-aha* are : *kāmāha* = *kāmasya* ( Mṛch. 10,24 ); *cālundattāha* = *cārudattasya* ( Mṛch. 13,25; 100,20; 154,10; 164,2 4 ); beside *cālundattaśśa* ( Mṛch. 79,15; 100,22 ); *ṇīyādāmāṇāha*, *aṇīyādāmāṇāha* = *niryātamāṇasya*, *a*°; *ēkkāha* = *ekasya*; *avalāha* = *aparasya*; *ayyamitteāha* = *āryamaitreyasya*; *śālakāha* = *śyālakasya*, *śālilāha* = *śarīrasya*; *cālittāha* = *cāritrasya* etc. ( Mṛch. 21,13.14; 24,3; 32,4 5; 45,1; 112.10; 124,21 ). To it corresponds the genitive in *-ha* in A., as *kaṇaaha* = *kanakasya*; *caṇḍālaha* = *caṇḍālasya*; *kavvaha* = *kāvvasya*; *phaṇindaha* = *phaṇindrasya*; *kaṇṭhaha* = *kaṇṭhasya*; *paaha* = *padasya* ( Piṅgala 1,62.70 88b.104.109.117 ). The common form of the genitive singular in A. is that in *-ho*, mostly in *-hō* (Hc. 4,338; Kī. 5,31); *dullahahō* = *durlabhasya*; *sāmiāhō* = *svāmikasya*, *ḥṛdantahō* = *ḥṛtāntasya*; *kantahō* = *kāntasya*; *sārahō* = *sāgarasya*; *tahō virāhahō nāsantaahō* = *tasya virāhasya naśyataḥ* ( Hc. 4,338. 340. 370. 379. 395,7. 419,6. 432 ). One *kantahō* phonetically corresponds to one \**kāntasyah*, that is to say a mixture of *a*- and consonantal declensions as in the nom. plur. in *āo* (§ 367). Beside the genitive in *-ssu* from *-ssa* = *-sya* (§ 106), as *parassu* = *parasya*; *suaṇassu* = *sujanasya*; *khandhassu* = *skandhasya*; *tuttassu* = *taṭṭvasya*; *kantassu* = *kāntasya* ( Hc. 4,338.440. 445,3), according to Hc. 4,338; Kī. 5 31 even the genitive in *-su* is used, as *rukkhassu* (Kī. 3,31; in LASSEN, Inst. p. 451 *vacchassu*) in A. I can, probably accidentally, attest the form only in the pronouns (§ 425.427).

1. FISCHEL on Hc. 4,299.

§ 366<sup>a</sup>. In the locative singular the forms in *-e* and those in *-mmi* = *-smin* (§ 313.350), quoted above from pronominal declensions (§ 313.350), often stand directly beside one another. So M. *mukke vi ṇaramāindattaṇṇammi* = *mukke ṇi naramyendratve* (G.10); *diṭṭhe sarisammī guṇe* = *diṭṭhe sadṛṣe guṇe* (H. 44); *naḍḍipūrasacchāhe jō vvaṇṇammi* = *naḍḍipūrasadṛṣe yawane* (H. 45); *suṇaha paṭṭarammi gāme* = *ṣuṇakapracure grāme* (H.138); *devāṭṭammi phale* = *daivāyatte phale* (H. 279); *hantavvammi dahamuhe* = *hantavve daṣamukhe* (R. 3,3); *apūramāṇammi bhare* = *apūryamāṇe bhare* (R. 6,67); *gaammi paose* = *gate pradoṣe* (R. 11,1); *ṇihaammi pahatthe* = *ṇihate prahaste* (R. 15,1); J.M. *pāḍalīputtammi pūravare* (Āv. 8,1) and *pāḍalīputte nagarammi* (Āv. 12,40); *dullahālabhammi māṇuse jamme* = *durlahālabhamme māṇuse janmani* (Āv. 12, 13); *kae kae vā vī kajjammi* = *krte krte vāpi kārye* (Āv. 12, 18); *cēṭṭammi ṇakkhatte vihuhatthe* = *cāitre nakṣatre viduhaste* (Kī. 19); J.S. *tivihe pattammi* = *trividhe*



*prāpte* ( Kattig. 402, 360; text °*mhi*; *accudammi sagge* = *acyute svarge* ( Kattig. 404, 391; text °*mhi* ). All the examples stand in verses. In prose in JM. the locative mostly is used, as *girinagare nagaer* ( Āv. 9, 12 ); *matthae* = *mastake* ( Āv. 11, 1 ); *puratthime disibhāe ārāma-*  
*majjhe* = \**purastime digbhāga ārāmadake* ( Āv. 13, 24 ), more seldom that in -*mmi*, -*mmi* as *raigharammi* = *ratigrhe* ( Āv. 11, 13 ); *komaumahā-*  
*savaṃmi* = *kaumudimahotsave* ( Erz. 2, 7 ); *majjhammi* ( Erz. 9, 1 ); forms of both the types sometimes stand in prose beside one another, as *vijjānimmiyammi siyarattapaḍāyābhūsie pāsāe* = *vidyānirimate sītarakatapatakābhū-*  
*ṣite prāsāde* ( Erz. 8, 24 ). In verses both the forms are usable according to the metre, as *bharahammi* = *bharate*, *tihujanammi* = *iribhuvane*, *śisammi* =  
*śirṣe* ( Āv. 7, 22; 8, 17; 12, 24 ), and *guṇasilujjāne* = *guṇasilodyāne*, *avasāṇe*, *sihare*  
= *śikhare* ( Āv. 7, 24. 26. 36 ). In JŚ too both the locatives are current. In Kattig. several times the MS. writes -*mhi* instead of -*mmi*: *kālamhi*  
( 399, 321 ) against *kālammi* ( 400, 322 ); *pattamhi* ( 402, 360 ); *accudamhi* ( 404,  
391 ); also in pronouns: *tamhi* = *tasmīn* ( 400, 322 ) besi' e *tammi* in the same  
line and *jammi* ( 399, 322 ). This may simply be an error of handwriting. Pav.  
has only -*mmi* : *dāṇammi* ( 383, 69 ); *suhammi*, *asuhammi* ( 385, 61 );  
*kāyacē tṭhammi* ( 386, 10; 387, 18 ); *jīṇamadammi* ( 386, 11 ) etc. The same  
error occurs in Kattig. in *savvaṇhū* for the correct *savvaṇṇū* ( Pav. 381, 16i )  
= *sarvajñah* ( 398. 302. 303 ). Cf. § 436. — In AMg. the most usual form is  
that in -*ṃsi* = -*smin* ( § 74.313 ); *logaṃsi* = *loke* ( Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 5, 7; 1, 3, 1, 1, 2, 1; 1, 4,  
2, 3; 1, 5, 4, 4; 1, 6, 2, 3; 1, 7, 3, 1; Sūyag. 213.380.381.463.465 etc. ); *susāṇamsi vā*  
*sunnāgarāmsi vā giriguhaṃsi vā rukkhamaṃsi vā kumbhārāyāṇamsi vā* = *śma-*  
*śāne vā śūnyāgāre vā giriguhāyāṃ vā ruḥṣamūle vā kumbhakarāyatane vā* ( Āyār.  
1, 7, 2, 1 ); *imaṃsi dāragāmsi jāyāmsi samāṇamsi* = *asmīn dārake jāte sati* ( Ṭhān.  
525; Vivāhap. 1275; cf. Vivāgas. 116 ). Forms in -*mmi*, -*mmi* are not rare:  
in verses: *samajammi* ( Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 9; 2, 16, 9 ); *bambhammi ya kappammi ya* =  
*brāhṃe ca kalpe ca* ( Āyār. p. 125, 34 ); *dāhīṇammi pāsammi* [sic] = *dakṣiṇe*  
*pārṣve* ( Āyār. p. 128, 20 ); *logaṃmi* = *loke* ( Sūyag. 136. 410 ); *saṃgāmaṃmi* =  
*saṃgrāme* ( Sūyag. 161 ); *āyāṃmi* = *āyūṃsi* ( Uttar. 196 ); *marāṇantammi* =  
*marāṇante* ( Uttar. 207 ); *jalaṇammi* = *jvalane* ( Nāyādh. 1394 ). Later such  
forms stand even in prose, beside the loc. in -*e*, hardly rightly, as *dāruṇa-*  
*mmi gimhe* ( Nāyādh. 340 ); *uṭṭhiyammi sūre sahasarassimmi dīṇajare tejasā*  
*jalante* = *utthite sūrye sahasrarasmau dinakare tejasā jvalati* ( Vivāhap. 169;  
Anuog. 60; Nāyādh. § 34; Kappas. § 59 ), and beside the loc. in -*ṃsi*, as  
*gimhakālasamaṃsi jeṭṭhāmūlamāsammi* = *grīṣmakālasamaye jyeṣṭhāmūlamāse*  
( Ovav. § 82 ). The loc. in -*e* in the early prose, in comparison with that  
in -*ṃsi*, is a little numerous: *harae* = *hrade* ( Āyār. 1, 6, 1, 2 ); *viyāle* = *vikāle*  
( Āyār. 2, 1, 3, 2 ); *lābhe sante* = *lābhe sati* ( Āyār. 2, 1, 1, 1 ff. ); *paḍipāhe* = *prati-*  
*pathe*, *parakkame* = *parākrame* ( Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 3 ), *sapaḍiḍvāre* = *svapratidvāre*  
( Āyār. 2, 1, 5, 5 ), more frequently in verses, as *loe* = *loke* ( Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 14;  
2, 16, 9; Uttar. 22.109 ); *laddhe piṇḍe* = *labdhe piṇḍe* ( Āyār. 1, 8, 4, 13 ); *ārāmā-*  
*gāre*, *nagare*, *susāṇe*, *rukkhamūle* ( Āyār. 1, 8, 2, 3 ); *marāṇante* ( Uttar. 213 );  
*dharaṇitale* ( Sūyag. 296 ), also beside the loc. in -*ṃsi* and -*mmi*, as *sisiraṃsi*  
*addhapāḍivāne* = *śiṣire arāhapratipāne* ( Āyār. 1, 8, 1, 21 ); *samsāraṃmi*  
*aṇantage* ( Uttar. 215. 222 ); *pattammi āese* = *prāpta ādeṣe* ( Uttar.  
227 ). In the later prose they stand also beside the loc. in -*ṃsi*, as  
*tāṃsi tārisagaṃsi vāsagharaṃsi abbhincrao sacittakamme bāhiraō dūmiya-*  
*ghaṭṭhamatṭhe* is followed still by seven loc. in -*e* — *tāṃsi tārisagaṃsi*  
*sajantijjāṃsi sāliṅgaṇavattie* is followed eight loc. in -*e* — *puvvaratīvarat-*  
*takālasamaṃsi* ( Kappas. § 32 ). Dialectically the loc. in -*hīm* from  
-*ssim* are also found ( § 65.264 ); Mg. *evamvaddakāhīm gallakkappamāṇāhīm kulā-*  
*hīm* = *evamvadrake galvarkapramāṇe kule* ( Mṛcch. 126, 9 ); Mg. *paḥaṇā-*

*himi*<sup>2</sup>=*pravahane* (Mṛcch. 119,23), are also found. In addition, the loc. is put also in *-hī* in A: *desahī*=*deśe*; *gharahī*=*gr̥he* (Hc. 4,386.422,15); *hradahī*=*hrade*; *padhamahī*=*prathame*, beside *tīe pāe*=*ṛṣṭīye pāde*; *samaḥāhī*=*sama-pāde*; *sisahī*=*śr̥ṣe*; *antahī*=*ante*; *cittahī*=*citte*; *vamsahī*=*vamśe* (Piṅgala 1,4<sup>b</sup>.70.71.81<sup>a</sup>.120.155<sup>a</sup>;2,102). The loc. in prose ends in *-e* in Ś. and mostly in Mg., too, as for Ś. Mk. fol. 69 expressly remarks: Ś. *gehe*, *āvaṇe*=*āpaṇe* (Mṛcch. 3,9.14.15), *muhe*=*mukhe* (Śak. 35,10); Mg. *haste*; *vihave vihaḍide*=*vibhave vighaṭite* (Mṛcch. 21,12; 32,21); *samale*=*samare* (Venis. 33,8). In verses in Mg. the loc. in *-mmi* too is found, sometimes beside that in *-e*: *caṅḍalātālammi*=*caṅḍā'akule*; *kūvammi*=*kūpe* (Mṛcch. 161,14;162,7); *śomammi gahammi*=*saumye grahe*; *sevīde apaścammī*=*sevite 'pathye* (Mudrār. 177,5; 257,2; cf ZDMG. 39,125.128). Rājaśekhara errs here too against the dialect, since he uses the loc. in *-mmi* in prose also: *majjhammi* (Karp. 6,1), beside *majjhe* (Karp. 12,10;22,9); *kavvammi*=*kāvye* (Karp. 16,8); *rāmammi rāme*; *sedusimantammi*=*setusimante* (Bālar. 96,3;194,14). In Indian editions the loc. in *-mmi* is often found in Ś., which perhaps is not a fault of the MSS., but of the authors, who did not know to write Ś. correctly. Cf. e. g. Pras. 35,3; 39,2; 44,8.9; 45,5; 47,6; 113.8.12; 119,14.15; Kārṇas. 25,3; 37,6; Kārṇasav. 50.2.14; Mallikām. 87,4; 88,23. Naturally the writings, such as *cāṇakkammi akarūṇe* (Mudrār. 53,8); *hīaṇivvīsesammi jaṇe*=*hṛdayanivvīseṣe jaṇe* (Viddhaś. 42,3), *gacchatammi deve* (Cait. 134,10), too are wholly false. In A. the loc. usually ends in *-i* from *-e*: *tali*=*tale*, *paṭṭhāri*=*praṭṭhāre*; *andhāri*=*andhakāre*; *kari*=*kare*; *mūli viṇaṭṭhāi*=*mūle viṇaṭṭhe*; *bāri*=*dvāre* (Hc. 4,334.344.349.354.427.436). Sometimes it ends in *-e* too: *appi'e diṭṭhāi*, *pi'e diṭṭhāi*=*apriye \*dṛṣṭake*, *priye \*dṛṣṭake*; *pi'e diṭṭhē*=*priye dṛṣṭe*; *sughē*=*sukhe* (Hc. 4,365,1. 396,2).

1. So it is to be read; cf. Mṛcch. 139,23, the v.l. in GODABOLE 348,3 and in LASSEN, Inst. p. 430. — 2. So to be read with the ed. Calc. 1829 p. 227, 6 and ed. GODABOLE p. 331,8 according to the v. l.

§ 366<sup>b</sup>. In the voc. sing. of the *a*-stem *pluti* is found frequently (§ 71). According to Hc. 3,38; Sr. fol. 5 the vocative of the masculine may end in *-e* too, beside in *-a*, *-ā*: *ajjo*=*ārya*; *devo*=*deva*; *khamāsamaṇo*=*kṣamāśramaṇa* (Hc.); *rukkeho*=*rukṣa*; *vaccho*=*vr̥kṣa* (Sr.). Such vocatives are found in AMg., and there they are used not only for the vocative singular, but also for the vocative plural of the masculine, so that probably they may not be considered as the nom. sing. of the masc. used as the vocative, specially when in AMg. in prose they end in *-e* always. The examples are: AMg. *ajjo*=*ārya* (Sūyag 1016; Uṭtar. 415; Vivāhap. 132.134; Kappas. Th. § 1.S. § 18.52); as plur. = *āryāḥ* (Ṭhān. 146. 147; Vivāhap. 132. 188 f. 193. 332; Uvās. § 119. 174); *tāo*=*tāta* (Nāyādh. § 83. 85. 98); *devo*=*deva* (Nāyādh. § 38); *puriso*=*puruṣa* (Sūyag. 108); *amma jāo*=*ambātāu*, therefore, plur. (Antag. 61. 62; Vivāhap. 804. 805. 808 ff. [oftener *ammātāo*]; Nāyādh. § 134. 138. 145; p. 260. 862. 887 etc.). Likewise one says in the feminine AMg. *JM. ammo*=*amba* (Hc. 3,41; Uvās. § 140; Āv. 13,33; 14,27); also used as the plur. of parents (Nāyādh. § 138; Uṭtar. 574). The example given by Hc., *ammo bhaṇāmi bhaṇīe* is H. 676, where WEBER and the Bombay edition read *bhaṇīe bhaṇāmi attā*; T. reads *attā bhaṇāmi bhaṇīe*; in Bhuvanapāla the strophe is wanting. Thus Hc. found *ammo* in M. too. Perhaps in the *o*, is inserted the particle *u*, which stands according to the lexicographers in addressing (*āmantraṇe*) and in calling from off (*sambodhane*). Against this, in AMg. *bhaṇīe*=*bhadantā*<sup>1</sup> (§ 165); Mg. *bhāve*=*bhāva* (Mṛcch. 10,22; 11,24; 12,3; 13,6. 24; 14,10 etc.); *ceḍe*=*ceṭa* (Mṛcch. 21,25) beside *ceḍā* (Mṛcch.

118,1; 119,11. 21; 121,9; 122,9 etc. ); *uvāsake*=*upāsaka* ( Mṛcch. 114,7 )  
*bhaṭṭake*=*bhaṭṭaka* ( Śak. 114,5; 116,11 ); *lāutte*=*rājaputra* ( Śak. 117,5 );  
*puttake*=*putraka* ( Śak. 167,7 )<sup>2</sup>, the nomin. must be considered to have  
been used vocatively. Whether even in A. *bhamaru*=*bhramara* ( Hc. 4,  
368 ); *mahīharu*=*mahīdhara* ( Vikr. 66,16 ) are to be taken as in the nomin.  
is doubtful, since in A. the final *a*, also elsewhere, becomes *u* ( § 106 ).  
The form in *-e* is used in Mg. as acc. sing. in *mama śīle śadakhaṇḍe kaleśi*  
=*mama śīrah śatakhaṇḍam karoṣi* ( Mṛcch. 151,25 ). Other examples quoted  
by LASSEN<sup>3</sup> have disappeared from the new edition. Cf. § 367<sup>a</sup>. In Veniś.  
at 33,12 according to the ed. Calc., we should read *labbhadi* instead of  
*lambhai* in GRILL, so that *maṁśae*, *uṁhe* (read *usṁe*), *luhile* are nom. according  
to § 357.

1. This is the right explanation. Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 2,155, note 3; FISCHEL on Hc. 4,287. Wrongly E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 50, where further literature.—2. Misunderstood by S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 28. See FISCHEL, GGA, 1880, p. 326, — 3. Inst. p. 429.

§ 367. The masculine nom. plur. ends in all the dialects in *-ā*=*āḥ*:  
M. AMg. JM. Ś. *devā*=*devāḥ* ( H. 355; Ovav. § 33; Erz. 4,31; Mṛcch. 3,13 );  
JŚ *aṭṭhā*=*arihāḥ* ( Pav. 382,26 ); Mg. *puṭiśā*=*puruṣāḥ* ( Lalitav. 565,13 );  
CP. *samuddā*, *saṭṭā*=*samudrāḥ*, *saṭṭāḥ* ( Hc. 4,326 ); D. *dakkhiṇattā*=*dākṣiṇā-*  
*tyāḥ* ( Mṛcch. 103,5 ); Ā. *visaddhā*=*visrabdhāḥ* ( Mṛcch. 99,16 ); A. *ghoḍā*=  
*ghoḍāḥ* ( Hc. 4,330,4 ). In AMg. in verses the masc. nom. plur. is found  
in *-āo* too; *mānavāo*=*mānavāḥ* ( Āyār. 1,3,3,3; Sūyag. 412 ); *tahāgayāo*=*tahā-*  
*gatāḥ* ( Āyār. 1,3,3,3 ); *hajyāo*=*hatāḥ* ( Sūyag. 295 ); *samathāo*=*samarthāḥ*;  
*omarathāo*=*avamarātrāḥ*; *sisāo*=*śiṣyāḥ*; *āujivāo*=*abivāḥ* ( Uttar. 755.768.794.  
1045 ); *virathāo* [ so the commentary; text *°āo* ]=*viraktāḥ*; *sāgarāo*=*sāgarāḥ*  
( Uttar. 758.1000 ). Other cases yet Uttar. 698.895.1048.1049.1053.  
1059.1061.1062.1064.1066.1071.1084. So also in M. or JM. *vaṇṇāo* beside  
*vaṇṇā*=*vaṇṇāḥ* in a grammatical citation in Lakṣmīnāthabhattacha on Piṅgala.  
1,2(p.3,5). Indian editions have these plural forms falsely in Ś.too, e.g. Dha-  
namjayav.11,7 ff.;14,9f.; Cait.43,18ff. A tracing of the plur. in *-āo*, which  
is the rule in the case of the feminine in *ā* ( § 376 ) back to Vedic *-āsas*,  
hence the derivation of Pkt. *janāo* from Vedic *janāsas* is linguistically im-  
possible. V. Mg. *bhaṭṭalākāho*, A. *loahō* ( § 377 ) are in direct continuation  
( § 372 ). Pkt. shows that *-āsas* is to be explained from *ās+as*, that is to  
say, the ending *-as* of the consonant stem has supplemented the plur. of  
the *a*-stem. Pkt. *mānavāo* is, therefore, a double form<sup>1</sup>, like the abl. sing.  
*vacchatto* ( § 365 ). In A. the ending *-ā* appears often shortened ( § 364 ):  
*gaa*=*gajāḥ*; *supurisa*=*supuruṣāḥ*; *bahua*=*bahukāḥ*; *kāara*=*kātarāḥ*; *meha*=  
*meghāḥ* ( Hc. 4,335. 367. 376 395,5; 419,6 ).—In the nom. acc. plur. of the  
neuter the most usual form is in *-im*, before which *a* is lengthened; beside  
it, in verses *-ī* and *-i* are used ( § 180.182 ). On the forms *dhaṇṇīm*, *vaṇ-*  
*nīm* taught by Ki. 3,28 see § 182. Vr. 5,26 teaches for M. *-i* only, C. 1,3  
only *-ṇi*; Hc. 3,26 and Sr.fol.17 teach *-ī*, *-im*, *-ṇi*, Ki.3,28; Mk.fol. 43 *-im*  
only. M. has *-im*, *-ī*, *-i*: *naṇṇīm*=*nayanāni* ( H. 5 ); *aṅgā* vi *piām* ( H. 40 );  
*raaṇāi va garuagunasaai*=*ratnānīva gurukagunaśatāni* ( R. 2, 14 ). In AMg.,  
already in the oldest texts, *-ṇi* too, beside *-im*, is quite usual: *pāṇām bhūy-*  
*ām jivām sattām*=*prāṇān bhūtāni jivāni sattvāni* ( Āyār. 1,6,5,4; 1,7,2,1; 2,1,  
1,11 ), beside *pāṇāni vā bhūyāni vā jivāni vā sattāni vā* ( Āyār. p. 132,28 );  
*udagapasūyāni kaṇḍāni vā mūlāni vā pattāni vā pupphāni vā phalāni vā biyāni vā*  
*hariyāni vā* ( Āyār. 2,2,1,5 ). Often both the forms stand beside one  
another: *sē jīām puṇa kulām jāṇējā tam jahā uggakulāni vā bhogakulāni vā*  
*rāinnakulāni vā*...still follow nine compounds with *kulāni* ( Āyār. 2,1,2,2 ) ;  
*agārām cejiām tam jahā āsaṇāni vā ājayaṇāni vā devakulāni vā*—yet follow

eleven forms in *āni*—*tahappagārāim āesaṇāni vā...bhavaṇagihāni vā* (Āyār. 2, 2, 2, 8); *anṇāni ya bahūni gambhādāṇāṃ ammaṇa-m-āiyāim kouyāim* (Ovav. [§ 105]); *khēttāim* in the same verse with *khēttāni=kṣetrāni* (Uttar. 356). The form in *-ni*, as in JM.<sup>2</sup>, especially before enclitics is selected. In verses the metre decides in AMg. too the choice between *-im*, *-ī*, *-i*. So in Uttar. 357 we should read *tāim tu khēttāi supāvayāim=tāni tu kṣetrāni supāpakāni*; Dasav. 619, 17 stands *pupphāi biyāim vippaiṇṇāi*; 621, 1 we should read *sattu-cuṇṇāim kolaccuṇṇāi āvaṇe*. In JM. the situation is the same, as in AMg.: *pañca egūṇāim addāgasāyāim...paḷkhattāim = pañcaikonāny \*ādarpaśatāni...praḷsīptāni; nicchiddāim dārāim=nischidraṇi dvārāni* (Āv. 17, 15, 19); *tāni vā pañca corasajāni...sambohiyāni pavvaiyāni=tāny api pañca corasatāni...sambodhitāni pravrajitāni* (Āv. 19, 2); *bahūni vāsāni* (Erz. 34, 3), beside *bahūim vāsāim = bahūni varṣāni* (Erz. 34, 17). Writings, like *vaithābharanāni rājasantiyāim* (Erz. 52, 8) in prose, are probably not correct, even when both the forms often stand closely beside one another, as in *poṭṭāim āṇehi | tie rattagāṇi āṇiyāni* (Erz. 31, 8). In Ś, according to Vr. 12, 11; Kī. 5, 78; Mk. fol. 69, *-ni* too may be used beside *-im*. So stands *suhāni = sukhāni* (Sak. 99, 4) and *apaccaviṇṇesāni sattāni* (Śak. 154, 7) in most of the MSS.; for *vaanāni = vacanāni* (Vikr. 87, 22) the best MSS. have *vaanāim*, and so all the critical texts give in Ś. Mg, elsewhere, *-im*<sup>3</sup> only. Dialectically nom. acc. plur. in *-ā* are often found beside those in *-im* or in *-ni*: AMg. *udagapasūyāni kandā ni vā mūlāni vā tajā pattā pupphā phalā biyā* (Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 9); *bahusambhūyā vaṇaphalā* (Āyār. 2, 4, 2, 13, 14); *pāṇā ya taṇā ya biyā ya paṇajā ya hariyāni ya* (Kappas. S. § 55). The form of the following words might have influenced *tajā = \*tvacāḥ = tvacāḥ* in the second example (cf. however, *tajāni* too § 358), and *pāṇā = prāṇāḥ*, in the third example. In other cases, however, such a hypothesis is out of question: *māuyāṅḍ = mātraṅḍāni* (Thāp. 187); *ṭhānā = sthānāni* (Thāp. 163, 165); *pañca kumbhakārāvaṇasajā = pañca kumbhakārāpaṇasatāni* (Uvā. § 184); *nahā = nakhāni, aharō ṭṭhā uttarō ṭṭhā = adharō ṭṭhe uttarō ṭṭhe* (Kappas. S. § 43); *cattāri lakkhaṇā, ālambaṇā = catvāri lakṣaṇāni, ālambanāni* (Ovav. p. 42 f.) JM. *pañca sayā piṇḍiyā* (Āv. 17, 1), beside *pañca pañca suvaṇṇasāyāni* (Āv. 16, 30); Ś. *midhunā* (Mṛcch. 71, 22), beside *midhunāim* (Mṛcch. 71, 14); *jānavattā = yānapātrāni* (Mṛcch. 72, 23; 73, 1); *virāidā ma āsaṇā = viracitāni mayāsonāni* (Mṛcch. 136, 6), beside *āsaṇāim* (Mṛcch. 136, 3), and in Mg. (Mṛcch. 137, 3); *dve piā uanādā = dve priye upanate* (Vikr. 10, 3); *aṇurāsasūā akkharā = anurāgasūcakāny akṣarāni* (Vikr. 26, 2). Hc. 1, 33 mentions *naanā = nayanāni; loṇā = locanāni; vaanā = vacanāni; dukkhā = dukkhāni; bhāṇā = bhājanāni*. He sees in them the masculine, which is definitely possible. The numerous neuter that have become masculine appear to me to suggest that the form in *-ā* is to be equated with the corresponding Vedic one, and that it has given cause for change of the gender. Before the endings *-im*, *-ī*, a short vowel often appears in A.: *ahiulāi = ahikulāni; loṇāi jāsarāi = locanāni jātsmarāni; maṇorahāi = manorathāḥ; niccintāi harināi = niccintā harināḥ* (Hc. 4, 353, 365, 1. 414, 4. 422, 20).

1. That is probably already meant by LASSEN. Inst. p. 307.—2. JACOBI, Erz. p. xxxvii § 39. In AMg. the examples are frequent: I can not attest the rule from JM., so I too have listed a large number of forms in *-ni*. — 3. FISCHER, De Kālidāsae Çākuntali recensionibus p. 29 f.; KB. 8, 142. Falsely BOLLENSSEN, Mālavikā. p. 113 and preface p. ix.

§ 367<sup>a</sup>. In the acc. plur. of the masculine usual in all the dialects is the ending *-e*, that has been extended from the pronominal declension<sup>1</sup>. M. *carāṇe = carāṇau; ṇīaame, garuare = nicatamān, gurukatarān*;

*dose*=*doṣān* ( G. 24. 82. 887 ); *dosaguṇe*=*doṣaguṇau*; *pāe*=*pāḍau*; *sahatthe*=*svahastau* ( H. 48.130.680 ); *dharanīhare*=*dharanīdharān*; *māhīhare*=*māhīdharān*; *bhīṇṇaade a garu taranīgappahare*=*bhīnnatātāms ca gurukāms taranīgappaharān* ( R. 6.85.90; 9,53 ); AMg. *samaṇamāhanaaīhīkivaṇavaṇimāge*=*śramaṇabrāhmanā tīhīkṛpaṇavanīpakān* ( Āyār. 2,2,2,8.9 ); *sāhte māse*=*sādhikān māsān* ( Āyār. 1, 8,1,2.4.6 ); *ime eṣārūve urāle kallāṇe sive dhanne maṅgalle sassirīe cōddasa mahāsumiṇe*=*imān etadrūpān udārān kalyāṇāṅśivān dhanyān māṅgalyān sasrīkāmś caturdaśa mahāsvapnān* ( Kappas. § 3 ); JM. *bhoē*=*bhogān* ( Āv. 8,24; 12,14. 20; Dvār. 495,7 ); *te nagaraloe jalāṇasaṁbhamubbhantalōyāṇe palāyāmāṇe*=*tān nagaralokān jvalāṇasaṁbhramodbhṛāntalocānān palāyāmānān* ( Āv. 19,10 ); *te ya samāgae*=*tāms ca samāgatān* ( Kk 263,22 ); JS. *sese puna tīthayare sasavasiddhe viśuddhasabhāve samaṇe ya* °*virijāyāre*=*śeṣān punas tīrthakarān sarasvasiddhān viśuddhasadbhāvān śramaṇāms ca* °*vīryācārān* ( Pav. 379,2 ); *vividhe visae*=*vividhān viṣayān* ( Pav. 384,49 ); Ś. *adikkantakusumasamāe vi rukkhāe*=*atīkrāntakusumasamayān api rukksakān* ( Śak. 10,2 ); *purā paḍiṇṇāde duve vare*=*purā prātiṇṇātau dvau varau* ( Mahāv. 65,5 ); *dārake*=*dārakau* ( Uttarar. 191,5 ); Mg. *avale*=*aparān* ( Mṛcch. 118,14 ); *ṇīpāṇe vihave kule kalatte a*=*ṇījapṛāṇān vibhāvān kulāni kalatrāni ca* ( Mudrār. 256,5 )<sup>2</sup>; D. *sumbhaṇisumbhe*=*sumbhaṇisumbhau* ( Mṛcch. 105,22 ). That the same ending is found in neuter too, as in AMg. *bahave jive*=*bahūni jīvāni* ( Uvās. § 218 ); Ś. *duve rukkhaseṇake*=*dve rukksasecānake* ( Śak. 24,1 ); A. *bhuāṇe*=*bhuvanāni* ( Piṅgala 1,62<sup>b</sup> ), is explained from the change of gender described in § 356 ff. Dialectically we find also the acc. plur. of the masc. in -*ā*=*ān* ( § 89; Sr. fol. 6 ); M. *guṇā*=*guṇān*, *nīdhanā*=*nīrdhanān* ( Śukas. 57,5. 6; Sīmhāsanadv. in IS. 15,355 [ so to be read ]; Vetālap. p. 219, No. 17 ed. UHLE; on Hc. 2,72 ); *dosā*=*doṣān* ( Śukas. 57,5. 6 ); AMg. *rukkhā mahālā*=*ruksān mahatāk* ( Āyār. 2,4,2,11. 12 )<sup>3</sup>; *purisā*, *āsā*=*puruṣān*, *āsvān* ( Nāyādh. 1378. 1388 f. ); *bandhavā*=*bāndhavān* ( Uttar. 576 ); *sambhāsā*=*saṁsparsān* ( Āyār. 1,8,2,14 ); *wassayā*=*upāśrayān* ( Kappas. S. § 60 ); prosodically *guṇa*=*guṇān* ( Dasav. 637,4 ) too. The form in -*ā*, -*a* is usual in A.; *saralā sāsa*=*saralānī svāsān*; *ṇīrakkhāe gaa*=*ṇīraksakān gajān*; *desadā*=*deśān*; *siddhatthā*=*siddhārthān* ( Hc. 4,387,1. 418,3. 6. 423,3 ); *maṇḍā maṇḍakān*; *vipakkhā*=*vipaksān*; *kuṇjarā*=*kuṇjarān*; *kavandhā*=*kabandhān* ( Piṅgala 1,104<sup>a</sup>. 117<sup>a</sup>. 120<sup>a</sup>; 2,230 ). The single remnant of an acc. with a nasal vowel would be *dālām*=*dārān* ( Prab. 47,1=55<sup>a</sup>,5 P.=58,16 M. ), if the reading be correct. The ed. Bomb. 102,3 reads *lisīṇam dālāṇam* against grammar and prosody.

1. WEBER, H<sup>1</sup> p. 51; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, KZ. 25,438.—2. The verse is to be read: *ya mahadha laḥkidum ṇīpāṇe vihave kule kalatte a* ( HILLEBRANDT, ZDMG. 39,121 ), *kule* and *kalatte* may be construed also as the acc. sing. according to § 366<sup>b</sup>.—3. It might be considered also as the acc. plur. of the neut. according to § 358. 367.

§ 368. The ins. plur. ends in all the dialects in -*ehim*=Vedic -*ebhis* (§ 72), which alternates with -*ehī*, -*ehi* in verses (§ 178) and with -*ehi* before enclitics in prose too in AMg. JM (§ 350): M. *amūlalahuehi sāsehim*=*amūlalahukāih svāsāih* ( G. 23 ); *avahattīasabbhāvehi dakkhīṇṇabhaṇīehim*=*apahastītasabbhāvair dāksīṇyabhaṇītaih* ( H. 353 ); *kañcanaśilālehim chīṇṇāvamaṇḍalehi*=*kāñcanaśilātalaś chīnṇātapamaṇḍalaih* ( R. 9,55 ). Apparently in such cases we should read -*hī* for -*hī* (§ 178; cf. § 370). AMg. *tīlaehim tālehim chattovehim sīrīsehim sattavaṇṇehim*—still 19 instr. follow—=*tīlakair lakucāś \*chattropāih sīrīśāih saptaparṇāih* ( Ovav. § 6 ); *santehim taccehim tahiehim sabbhūehim aṇīthehim akāniehim appīehim amaṇṇehim amaṇṇehim vāgaraṇehim*=*sabbhis \*iāttvāis* ( § 281 ) *tathyāih sadbhūtair aṇīṣṭair akāntair apriyāir amanojñāir \*amanāpāir*

*vyākaraṇaiḥ* (Uvās. § 259); JM. *māyandamahavindehim* = *mākandamadrukavṛndaiḥ* (KĪ. 18); *vatthābharanehim* = *vastrābharanaiḥ* (Āv. 26,27); *tehim kumārehim* = *taiḥ kumāraiḥ* (Āv. 30,9); JŚ. *vihavehim* = *vibhavaiḥ*; *sahassehīm* = *sahasraiḥ* (Pav. 380,6. 12); *maṇavajakāḥem* = *manovacaḥkāyaiḥ* (Kattig. 400,332); Ś. *janehim* = *janaiḥ* (Lalitav. 568,6; Mṛcch. 25,14); *jādasāṅkehim devehim* = *jātasāṅkair devaiḥ* (Śak. 21,5); *bhamarasaṅghavihadidehim kusumēhim* = *bhramarasāṅghavighaṭitaiḥ kusumaiḥ* (Vikr. 21,9); Mg. *tatiastehim* = *tatrasthaiḥ* (Lalitav. 565,20); *attanākelakehim pādehim* = *ātmīyābhyām pādābhyām* (Mṛcch. 13,9); *maścabandhanovāehim* = *matsyabandhanopāyaiḥ* (Śak. 114,2); Dh. *vippadivehim pādehim* = *vipratīpābhyām pādābhyām*; A. *lakkheḥi* = *lakṣaiḥ*; *sarehim, saravarehim, ujjānavanehim, nivasantehim, suanehim* = *śaraiḥ, sarovaraiḥ, udyānavanaiḥ, nivasadbhiḥ, sujanaiḥ* (Hc. 4,335. 422,11). The inst. in *-ahim* is frequent in A.: *gunahī* = *guṇaiḥ*, *paārahī* = *prakāraiḥ*; *savahī pānthiahī* = *sarvaiḥ pathikaiḥ* (Hc. 4,335. 367,5. +29,1); *khaggahī* = *khaḍgaiḥ*; *gaahī, turaahī, rahahī* = *gajaiḥ, turogaiḥ, rathaiḥ* (Piṅgala 1,7.145<sup>a</sup>). On this, as well on the instr. in *-ehim, -ihim* see § 128.

§ 369. Of the numerous forms, that the grammarians permit for the abl. plur. we have hitherto been able to demonstrate only the abl. in *-ehimto*, that is very frequent in AMg. and is shown to have clearly originated from the ins. plur. + suffix *-tas*, while that in *-sumto* is shown to have arisen from the loc. plur. + suffix *-tus*: *tlehimto* = *tilebhyah* (Sūyag. 594); *maṇussehimto vā pañcīndiyatirikkhajonehimto vā puḍhavikārehimto vā* = *manusyebhyo vā pañcīndriyatiryagyonikebheyo vā pṛthivīkāyikebhyo vā* (Thāṇ. 58); *nerāiehimto vā tirikkhajoṇiehimto vā maṇussehimto vā devehimto vā* (Thāṇ. § 336; cf. Vivāhap. 1534 and elsewhere often); *sarisaehimto rājakulehimto* = *saḍṣākebhyo rājakulebhyah* (Nāyādh. § 123); *kolagharehimto vaehimto* = *kaulagrhikebhyo vrajebhyah* (Uvās. § 342,343). In cases like *therehimto nam godāsehimto kāsavaḡotehimto; chaluehimto rohaguttehimto kosiyaḡotehimto* etc. (Kappas.Th. § 5 ff.), the plural is to be considered as that of the sovereign. Beside it AMg. JM. have also an abl. in *-ehim* = Skt. *-ebhyah*, so that the ins. and the abl. have become identical. AMg. *°nāmadhejjhehim vimānehim oṇṇā* = *°nāmadheyyebhyo vimānebhyo °vaīrṇāḥ* (Ovav § 37); *saehim saehim gehehimto nigacchanti* = *svakebhyah svakebhyo gr̥hebhyo nirgacchanti* (Kappas. § 66; cf. Nāyādh. 1048; Vivāhap. 187. 950. 943); *saehim saehim nagarehimto nigacchanti* = *svakebhyah svakebhyo nagarebhyo nirgacchanti* (Nāyādh. 826); *gāratthehi ya savvehim sāhavo samjamuttarā* = *gr̥hasthebhyah ca sarvebhyah sād̥havaḥ samyamottarāḥ* (Uttar. 208); JM. *jhareī romakūvehim seo* = *kṣarati romakūpebhyah svedaḥ* (Erz. 4,23; cf. JACOB § 95). Cf. § 376. In A. the abl. ends in *-ahū*: *girisīṅgahū* = *girisīṅgebhyah*; *muhahū* = *mukhebbhyah* (Hc. 4,337. 422,20); *rukknahum* = *rukṣebhyah* (KĪ. 5,29). *-hum, -hū* corresponds phonetically exactly to the ending *-bhyām* of the abl. dual. That it may be an abridgement of *-sumto* (LASSEN, Inst. p. 463) is wrong.

§ 370. The gen. plur. ends in all the dialects in *-āṇam* = Skt. *-ānām*. In M., however, the denasalised form in *-āṇa*, which is found in AMg. JM. JŚ. too, in AMg. particularly before enclitics (§ 350), but elsewhere too, as *gaṇāṇa majjhe* = *gaṇānām madhye* (Kappas. § 61 = Ovav. 48, p. 55,13 = Nāyādh. § 35), is almost the prevalent one. In places, where in M., both the forms stand beside each other, as *kuḍilāṇa pēmmāṇam* = *kuṭīlānām premāṇam* (H. 10), *maṇṇa oṇimillacchāṇam* = *mṛgāṇām avanimilitākṣāṇam* (R. 9,87), *sajjanāṇam pamhusiadasāṇa* = *sajjanānām vismṛtadaśānām* (G. 971), as in the analogous cases in the nom. acc. neut.; inst. loc. plur., we should for *-āṇā* read *-āṇa* (§ 178), which is pointed to by the metre as well in the example from R. Ś. Mg., except in verses, have only the form

in *-āṇām*. For Mg. Hc. 4,300 teaches also a gen. in *-āhā*. None of the MSS. writes this at the places referred to by him in Śak. (§ 178); the Lalitav too, which mostly agrees with Hc.'s rules, has the gen. in *-āṇām* only (565,14; 566,3.10.11). Against this *-āhā* and shortened *-ahā*, are the most usual endings in A., which go back to the pronominal ending *-sām*: *nivattāhā* = *nivṛttānām*; *soḥkkaḥā* = *saukhyānām*; *tanahā* = *trṇānām*; *muk-kāhā* = *muktānām*; *mattahā* *maagalahā* = *mattānām* *madakalānām*; *saṅṅāhā* = *saku-nānām* (Hc. 4,332.339.370.406.445,4); *vaṅkakaḍakkahā* *loṇahā* = *vakraḍākṣa-yor* *locanayoḥ* (Vetālap. p. 217, Nr. 13); *mahabbhāḍahā* = *mahābhāṭānām* (Kk. 261,5). According to C. 1,5, elsewhere the ending *-ham* too is found beside *-ṇām*: *devāham* beside *devāṇām*; *tāham* beside *tāṇām*. Hc. 4,301, who separates them from M., too has the rest of the examples in C. from *-ā*, *-n* and in the pronominal declension.

§ 371. In the loc., in M. AMg. JM. the principal form is in *-esu* = *-eṣu*, beside which sometimes *-esum* is found, as M. *sacandāṇesum* *āroviaroa-ṇesu* (read °sū; § 370) = *sacandāṇeṣu* *āropitarocaneṣu* (G. 211); *vaṇeṣum* = *vaṇeṣu* (H. 77); in AMg., oftener in Nāyādh. § 61-63, beside the more frequent forms in *-su*, notwithstanding the MSS. and the ed. Calc. p. 106 ff. always being in accord, we should throughout read °su. In Ś. the texts partly have *-su* (Lalitav. 555,11.12; Mṛcch. 9,2; 24,25; 25,1; 37,23; 70,3; 71,17; 97,22; 100,2; etc.; Mālav. 19,12; 30,6; 611,19.20; 67,10; 75,1; Vikr. 35,6; 75,3.6), and partly *-sum* (Vikr. 23,13; 52,1.5.7<sup>1</sup>; Śak. 9,12; 30,2; 50,11; 51,5; 53,9; 60,8; 64,2; 72,12 etc. in the Bengali recension, whilst the Kashmirian, Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions have *-su*). The Indian editions mostly have *-su*. In Mg. stands *pāeṣu* (Mṛcch. 19,6), but *pādeṣum* (121,20.22), beside *calaneṣu* (121,24) and *keṣeṣu* (122,22) in verses, Venis. has *keṣeṣu* (35,19), Mudrār. has *kammeṣu* = *karmasu* (191,9), and Prab. has *puliṣeṣu* (62,7). According to the analogy of the ins. and the gen., which always end in *-m*, for prose *-sum*, Mg. *-sum* will be more correct. In A. the loc. and the ins. have become identical: *saahū* = *śateṣu*; *maggahū* = *mārgeṣu*; *gaahū* = *gateṣu*; *kesahū* = *keṣeṣu*; *aṅṅahū* *taruarahū* = *anyeṣu* *taruareṣu* (Hc. 4,345.347.370,3.422,9). In Hc. 4,423,4 for *gavakkhehiṃ* we should read *gavakkahā* and in 445,2 probably *duṅṅarahā*. The instrumental stands in the sense of the loc. too in AMg. *jaganissiehiṃ* *bhūehiṃ* *tasanāmelī* *thāvarehiṃ* *ca* | *no tesim* *ārabhe* *daṇḍam* (Uttar. 248). Cf. 376.

1. Cf. FISCHER, De Kāl.dāsae ṣākuntali recensionibus p. 31.

§ 372. The vocative is similar to the nominative. In AMg. *ajjo* and *ammaṃāo* are used as the voc. plur. 100 (§ 366b). For the voc. plur. of Mg. Kī. 5,94 (cf. LASSEN, Inst. p. 393) permits the ending *-hu* too, Mk. fol. 75 *-ho* with *a* of the stem lengthened before it: *bamhaṇāhu* = *brāhmaṇāḥ* (Kī. 5,97). This voc. occurs in *bhaṣṭālākāho*, as at Mṛcch. 165,1.5 instead of *bhaṣṭālākāḥ* *ho* we should read. It is the usual one in A., where the ending mostly is *-hō*, without lengthening of *a* of the stem: *taruṇahō* = *taruṇāḥ*; *loahō* = *lokāḥ* (Hc. 4,346.350; 2.365,1). In A. the ending *-hō* comes after all the stems: *taruṇihō* = *taruṇyaḥ* (Hc. 4,346); *aggihō* = *agnayaḥ*, *mahilāhō* = *mahilāḥ* (Kī. 5,20); *cadummahohō* = *caturmukhāḥ*, *harihō* = *harayaḥ*, *taruhō* = *taravaḥ* (Sr. fol. 60 ff.). LASSEN, Inst. p. 399 has already rightly noticed, that in Mg. *-āhu* (*-āho*) the Vedic. ending *-āsas* has continued. Since he wrongly referred the rule of Kī. on Mg. to the nom. plur., he separated, the A. form from that of Mg. at p. 463 and sought in *ho* the particle *ho*, as they had done till then also in Mṛcch. 165, 1.5. In A. the endings of the *a*-stems have been extended to the rest of the vocalic stems too.—See § 105 on AMg. *ghūmsu-*, *pāṇu-*, *pilamkhu-*, *manthumilakkhu-*, the nouns that have become *u*-stems.

§ 373. The declension of *a*-stems in PG.VG.(§ 363) agrees most faithfully with that in Ś. The dat. sing., which is not usual in Ś., alone is deviating; in PG. however, it appears in two forms, of which that in *-āye* is put in the dative in AMg. JM. ( § 361. 364 ), and the abl. sing., which ends in *-ā* here, but in Ś., almost always ends in *-ādo* ( § 365 ).

b) FEMININE IN *-ā*.§ 374. *mālā* ( garland ).

## Singular.

Nom. *mālā*.  
 Acc. *mālām*.  
 Ins. M. *mālāe*, *mālāi*, *mālāo*, the other dialects only *mālāe*, A. *mālāē*.  
 Dat. *mālāe*; only in AMg.  
 Abl. M. AMg. JM. *mālāo*, *mālāu*, [ *mālāhimto*, *mālāi*, *mālāo*, *mālāto* ]; Ś. Mg. *mālādo* and *mālāe*; A. *mālāhē*.  
 Gen. Loc. M. *mālāe*, *mālāi*, *mālāo*, the rest of the dialects only *mālāe*; A.: gen. *mālāhē*, loc. [ *mālāhī* ].  
 Voc. *māle*, *mālā*.

## Plural.

Nom. Acc. Voc. M. AMg. JM. *mālāo*, *mālāu*, *mālā*; Ś. Mg. *mālāo*, *mālā*.  
 Ins. M. AMg. JM. *mālāhi*, *mālāhi*. *mālāhim*; Ś. Mg. *mālāhim*.  
 Abl. M. AMg. *mālāhimto*, [ *mālāsumto*, *mālāo*, *mālāu* ]; A. *mālāhu*.  
 Gen. M. AMg. JM. *mālāṇa*, *mālāṇū*, *mālāṇam*; Ś. Mg. *mālāṇam*; A.: [ *mālāhu* ].  
 Loc. M. AMg. JM. *mālāsu*, *mālāsū*, *mālāsum*, Ś. Mg. *mālāsu*, *mālāsum*.  
 In PG. are found the nom. sing. *paṭṭikā* ( 7,48. 51 ), *kaḍa tti=kr̥teti* ( 7,51 ), and the acc. sing. ( or plur. ) *pilā bādhā=pīḍām bādhām* ( or *pīḍā bādhāh* ) ( 6,40 ), as well as the acc. sing. *śimam=śimām* ( 6,28 ).

§ 375. On the declension of the *ā*-stems cf. Vr. 5,19-23; C. 1,3,9. 10; Hc. 3,27. 29. 30 4,34-8,352; Kī. 3,7. 23. 25. 27; Mk. fol. 43; Sr. fol. 14 f. On the shortening of *ā* in the nom. sing. in A. see § 100. So also Mg. *sevīda=sevītā* ( Mṛcch. 117,1 ). The instrumental, the genitive the locative, and according to the grammarians partly the ablative too, have become identical. The com mon form is *mālāe*=Skt. *mālāyai*, that is to say=the usual form of the gen. abl. in the Yajurveda and the Brāhmaṇas and known in the Avestā too<sup>1</sup>. Sometimes in verses the forms in *-āe* and *-āi* stand side by side, as *puchāi muddhāe = pṛṣṭāyā mugdhāyāh* ( H. 15 ). On metrical grounds, in M. the form in *-āi*, which is to be brought in throughout, where in the texts *-āē* may have to be read, is prevalent. The v. l. mostly has the correct reading *-āi*, as G. 44.46.56.65.71.212.222.243. 290.453 474.684.870.931.954. Some grammarians ( Hc. 3,29; Kī. 3,27; Sr. fol. 14 ) teach a form in *-āa* too, which is forbidden by others ( Vr. 5, 23; Mk. fol. 43 ). Such forms are found in M. as v. l. So: *jo ṇhāa = jyotsnāyā*; *nevachakalāa = nepathyakalayā*; *helāa = helyā*; *hariddāa = haridrāyāh*; *caṅgimāa = caṅgimatvena* ( Karp. ed. Bomb. 31,1; 86,4; 53,9; 55,2; 71,4; 79,12 ). KONOW reads for them *jo ṇhāi*, *nevachakalāi*, *helāi*, *haliddā*, *caṅgimāi* ( 29,1; 86,9; 51,2; 52,4; 69,3; 78,9 ). Some MSS. sometimes have *-āa*. Since G. H. R. does not otherwise know *-āa*, *tiadāa = trijāṭyāh* ( R. 11,100 ) and *ṇisaṇṇāa = ṇisaṇṇāyāh* ( R. 10,101 ) are not to be accepted as doctior lectio, with S. GOLDSCHMIDT, but as false for *āi*, as C. has. This *-āa* goes back to the abl. gen. Skt. *-āyāh*, so that *jo ṇhāa = jyotsnāyāh*, of which the strictly corresponding form *\*jo ṇhāā* is forbidden by Vr. 5,23; Hc. 3,30; Sr. fol. 14. In A. *-āe* has been shortened to *-āē*: *ṇiddāē = nīrdayā*; *candimāē = candri-*



*mayā; uddāvantiāē = uddāpantayā; mañjīthae = mañjīsthayā* (Hc. 4,330,2,349. 352,438,2).—On the dative in *-āē* in AMg. see § 361. 364.—Of the forms of the abl. sing. mentioned by the grammarians I can find in the texts only those in *-āo*, Ś. Mg. *-ādo* more often : AMg. *paratīhimāo vā disāo āgeo aham āmsi dāhiṇāo vā disāo.. paccatthimāo.. uttarāo... uddhāo = \*purastimāto vā disā āgato 'ham asmi dukṣiṇāto vā disāh... \*pratyastimātaḥ... uttarātaḥ... ūrdhvātaḥ* (Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 2); *jibbhāo = jihvātaḥ* (Āyār. p. 137, 1); *siyāo = śibikātaḥ* (Nāyādh. 870.1097.1189.1354.1497); *chāyāo = chāyātaḥ* (Sūyag. 639); *aṭṭanasālāo = aṭṭanasālātaḥ* (Kappas. § 60; Ovav. § 48); *māyāo = māyātaḥ* (Sūyag. 654; Ovav. § 123); *sūṇāo = sūnātaḥ* (Nirayāv. § 10); Ś. *bubhukkḥādo = bubhukṣātaḥ, dakkhiṇādo, vāmādo = dakṣiṇātaḥ, vāmātaḥ; padolīkādo = pratolīkātaḥ* (Mṛcch. 2,33; 9,9; 162,23; Mg. *lacchādo = rathyātaḥ* (Mṛcch. 158,13). Ablative in *-āē* (C. 1,19; Hc. 3,29; Śr fol. 14) occurs in Ś. and Mg.: Ś. *imāē maatanhiāē = ayaṃ mṛgatṛṣṇikāyāḥ* (Vikr. 17,1), which with BOLLENSEN cannot be comprehended as instr.; Mg. *śeyyāē* (text *śejjāē*) = *śayyāyāḥ* (Cait. 149,19).—The form *mālatto* follows from Hc. 3,124, and is taught explicitly by Triv. 2,2,34. It is an analogical formation from the masc. and neut. (§ 365). In A. the abl. sing. has become identical with the genitive. The ending *-hē* corresponds to the pronominal ending *-syāḥ*, so that *tahē dhaṇahē* (Hc. 4,350) strictly is = *tasyā \*dhanyasyāḥ = tasyā dhanyāyāḥ*<sup>2</sup>. Hc. 4,350 comprehends *bālāhē*, so that *visamatthāṇa* is to be taken as bahuvrīhi, is = “before the young woman with odd breasts”. Genitive are as: *tucchamajjhahē, jampirahē, tucchaarahāsahē, alahantīahē, vammahanivāsahē, muddhaḍahē = tucchamadhyāyāḥ, jalpanasīlāyāḥ, tucchātarahāsyāyāḥ, alabhamānāyāḥ, manmathanivāsāyāḥ, mugdhāyāḥ* (Hc. 4,350); *tisahē = tṛṣāyāḥ; muṇṭīahē = mṛṇṭīkāyāḥ* (Hc. 4,395,7. 444).—Examples for the loc. are: M. *dukkhuttarāi paavīe = dukkhottarāyām padavyām; gāmaracchāe = grāmarathyāyām* (H. 107. 419); AMg. *suhammāo sabhāe = sudharmāyām sabhāyām* (Kappas. § 14 and often); AMg. JM. *campāe = campāyām* (Ovav. § 2.11; Erz. 34,25); JM. *sayalāe nayarīe = sakalāyām nagaryām* (Dvār. 497,21); *ikkikkīe mehalāe = ekaikasyām mekhalāyām* (T. 5,11); Ś. *susamiddhāe = susamiddhāyām; edāe padosavelāe = etasyām pradoṣavelāyām; rukkhānāḍīe = rukṣavāṅkīkāyām* (Mṛcch. 4,20; 9,10; 73,6,7); Mg. *andhaālapūlidāe nāsīe = andhakārapūritāyām nāsikāyām; padolīe = pratolīkāyām; suvaṇṇacoliāe = suvaṇṇacorikāyām* (Mṛcch. 14, 22; 163, 16; 165, 2). AMg. *giriguhaṃsi* for *giriguhāe = giriguhāyām* (Āyār. 1, 7, 2, 1) has been determined through the loc. in *-msi* of the mascul. and neut. standing beside it. Cf. similar cases in § 355. 358. 364. 367. 379. 386. As a rule the vocative, as in Skt., ends in *-e*, a form that is known to Vr. 5, 28 alone; whilst Hc. 3, 41; Mk. fol. 44; Śr. fol. 14 permit even the nom. form in *-ā* as the vocative. Such vocatives in *-ā* are: M. *attā* (mother-in-law; Mk. fol. 44; H. 8, 469. 543. 553. 653. 676. 811); M. AMg. *piucchā = piṭṛsvasaḥ* (Hc.; Mk.; H.; Nāyādh. 1299. 1348); M. *māuā = māṭṛke* (H.); *māucchā = māṭṛsvasaḥ* (Hc.; Mk.; H.); AMg. *jāyā* (Uttar. 442); *puttā = putri* (Nāyādh. 633 f. 648 f. 655. 658), and the frequent M. Ś. *halā* (Hc. 2, 195; H.), in Ś., mostly joined with the vocative in *-e* of a proper noun, as *halā saṅgale* (Śak. 9, 10); *halā aṇṣūte* (Śak. 10, 12); *halā nomālie* (Lalitav. 560, 9; text *no°*); *halā cittalehe* (Vikr. 9, 3); *halā maṇṇie* (Ratn. 293, 29); *halā ṇiṇṇie* (Ratn. 297, 28) etc., or with proper nouns ending in an other vowel, as *halā uvvasi* (Vikr. 7, 17), or with adjectives, used substantively, as *halā apaṇḍīe* (Priyad. 22, 7), in M. Ś. used as plur. too (H. 893. 901; Śak. 16, 10; 58, 9; Vikr. 6, 13; 7, 1; 11, 1; Karp. 108, 5). JM. has *halē* too (Hc. 2, 195; Erz.), which Ki. 5, 19 mentions as A., and which is found in A.

as *hali* (Hc. 4,332,2; 358,1). Ś. *amba* (mother; Śak. ed. BURKHARD 201, 19; 202,20; Ratn. 315,26; 327,6; Mahāv. 56,3; Mālatīm. 179,6; 225,4; Nāgān. 84,15; Anarghar. 310,1 etc. is by origin a particle according to LANMAN<sup>3</sup> and BECHTEL<sup>4</sup>. In A. the final *-e* is shortened, as *sakhe* = \**sakhike*; *ammē*; *bahinē* = *bhaginike* (Hc. 4,358,1.367,1.396,2 422,14), or it becomes *-i*, as in *hali*, mentioned above, and in *ammi*, *muddhi* = *mugdhe* (Hc. 4,395,5. 376,1). On AMg. JM. *ammo* see § 366<sup>b</sup>.

1. FISCHER, BB. 6,281, note 3.—2. With LASSEN, Inst. p. 462, we may also consider it to be a case of transfer from the *a*-stems. — 3. Noun-Inflection p. 360. — 4. Hauptprobleme p. 265 f.

§ 376. In all the dialects the usual form in the nom. acc. plur. is that in *-o* (§ 367); nom. M. *mahlāo* = *mahlāḥ* (H. 397); AMg. JM. *devayāo*, Ś. *devadāo* = *devatāḥ* (Ṭhāp. 76; Erz. 29,3; Śak. 71,8); acc. AMg. *kalāo* = *kalāḥ* (Uttar. 642; Nāyādh. § 119; Ovav. § 107; Kappas. § 211); JM. *caivviahāo vagganāo* = *caturvidhā varganāḥ* (Āv. 7,4); Ś. *paḍivāo* = *praḍīpikāḥ* (Mṛcch. 25,18); A. *savvaṅgāo* = *sarvāṅgāḥ* (Hc. 4,348). In verses *-o* interchanges with *-u*, that is widely prevalent there: M. nom. *dhaṅṅāu tāu* = *dhanṅās tāḥ* (H. 147) against Ś. *dhaṅṅāo kku tāo kaṅṅāo* [so to be read] *jāo* (Mālatīm. 80,1); AMg. *thiyāu* = *strīkāḥ* (Sūyag 225); acc. A. *anurattāu bhattāu* = *anuraktā bhaktāḥ* (Hc. 4,422,10). Sometimes both the forms stand beside one another on account of metre, as M. *dāraggalāu jāo* = *dvārārgalā jātāḥ* (H. 322); *raivirāmalaḥḥijāo apattaniamsanāu* = *raivirāmalaḥḥijitā aprāptanivasanāḥ* (H. 459); *paḍigaāu disāo* = *pratigatā disāḥ* (R. 1,19). More seldom is the nom. acc. in *-ā*: M. *rehā* = *rekhāḥ* (G. 22; H. 206), beside *rehāu* (Hc. 474) and *rehāo* (G. 509. 682); *sariā sarantapavahā...vūdhā* = *saritāḥ saratpravāhāḥ...vūdhāḥ* (R. 6,50); *mehalā* = *mekhalāḥ* (Mṛcch. 41, 2); AMg. *ḍōjjhā* = *dohyāḥ*; *dammā* = *damyāḥ*; *rahaḥō ggā* = *rathayogyāḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,9); *pakkā* = *pakvāḥ*; *rūdhā* = *rūdhāḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,15. 16); *bhajjā* = *bhāryāḥ* (Uttar. 660; *nāvāhi tārimāo tti pānipeḥḥija tti no vae* = *nāvhiis \*tārimā itti pānipeyā itti no vudet* (Dasav. 629,1); *S pūijjantā devadā* = *pūiyamānā devatāḥ*; *gaṇiā* = *gaṇikāḥ* (Mṛcch. 9,1. 10); *agahidattā* = *agrhitāḥ* (Śak. 120,11); *adiḥḥasujjapāā...nāgakannā via* = *adrḥḥasūryapādāḥ...nāgakanyā va* (Mālav. 51,21; cf., however, the v. l.). Mk. fol. 69 permits in Ś. *-āo* only, and so we should probably correct throughout. In Mṛcch. 25, 20 stand beside one another: *tāo...paḍivāo avamānidaniddhanakāmūā via gaṇiā nissinehāo dānim samvuttā* = *tāḥ...praḍīpikā avamānitānirdhanakāmukā va gaṇikā nihsnehā idānim samvuttāḥ*. STENZLER has, with AB, already corrected *samvuttā* as *samvuttāo*; DH, in GODABOLE p. 72, have *gaṇiāo* for *gaṇiā*, so that *°kāmūāo* is to be read. Sometimes in AMg. too, both the forms stand side by side: *indabhūipamōkkhāo cō dāsasamaṇasāhassio ukkōstiyā samāsa-sampayā* = *indrabhūipramukhyās caturdaśasramaṇasāhasrya \*utkōḥitāḥ sramaṇa-sampadaḥ* (Kappas. § 134; cf. 135 ff.). Cf. Āyār. 2,4,2,9. 15. 16. — For the endings of the ins. gen. loc. § 178. 350 hold good; cf. § 368. 370. 371 too.—In Mg. the ins. is in *-ehim* instead of that in *-āhim* in *ambikāmādukehim* = *ambikāmātrkābhīḥ* (Mṛcch. 122,5) is not to be objected to in the mouth of the Śākāra, since the writer has openly and intentionally changed the gender. Against this R. 7,62 does not have the ins. *accharehim* = *apsarobhīḥ* from the stem *accharā* (§ 410)<sup>1</sup>, which was formerly read also at Vikr. 40,11<sup>2</sup>, but the first *samaccharehim* is to be analysed as *sama + ccharehim* = *sama + psarobhīḥ* (§ 328)<sup>3</sup>. — As in the masc. and neutr. (§ 369), in the fem. too, the form in *-him* is used for the abl., what is forbidden by Hc. 3,127: M. *dhārāhim* = *dhārābhyaḥ* (H. 170) and for the loc. (§ 371): M. *mehalāhi* (Karp. 16,1), in the sense of *mehalāsu*, as *Kāvya prakāśa* 74,1

has in the v. l., = *mekhalāsu*; AMg. *hatthutarāhim* = *hastottarāsu* (Āyār. 2, 15, 1. 2. 5. 6. 17. 22. 25; Kappas.); *gimhāhi* (Sūyag. 166), in the sense of *gimhāsu* (Vivāhap. 465) = \**grīsmāsu* (§ 358); *anantāhim osappiñiussappiñi-him* *vilkkantāhim* = *anantāsu avasarpinyutsarpanīsu vyatikrāntāsu* (Kappas. § 19); *visāhāhim* = *visākhāsu* (Kappas. § 149); *cittāhim* = *citrāsu* (Thāp. 363; Kappas. § 171. 174); *uttarāsādhāhim*, *āsādhāhim* (Kappas. § 205. 211); *chinnāhi sāhāhi* = *chinnāsu śākhāsu* (Uttar. 439; text °*him*)\*. — Abl. in *-himto* are AMg. *antosālāhimto* = *antaḥsālābhyah* (Uvās. § 195); *itthiyāhimto* = *stri-kābhyah* (Jiv. 263. 265). In the A. the abl. has the ending *-hu* = *-bhyah*: *vajamsiahu* = *vayasyābhyah* (Hc. 4, 351). According to Hc. the same form is used for the gen. plur. too. Cf. § 381. In the loc. the form in *-su* prevails here too (cf. § 371). In Ś. Śak. 29, 4, there stands *viralapādavacchādāsum vaṇarāisum* = *viralapādapacchāyāsu vaṇarājisu* in the Bengal recension, and *-āsu*, *-isu* in the rest. — In the voc. the form in *-o* is prevalent: Ś. *devadāo* (Bālar. 168, 7; Anarghar. 300, 1); *dāriāo* = *dārikāh* (Vikr. 45, 6); *avaloidā buddharakkhidāo* = *avalokitābuddharakṣite* (Mālatīm. 284, 11). On *halā* see § 375. — On *ajjū* = *āryā* see § 105.

1. The question, raised by S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 247, note 8, whether we should recognize a neuter *acchara* is naturally to be answered in the negative. — 2. BOLLENSEN on Vikr. p. 326; cf. HOEFER, De Pr. dialecto p. 150 f.; LASSEN, Inst. p. 316f. and § 410. — 3. FISCHER, ZDMG. 52, 93 ff — 4. That here we have a case of the instr. is proved by instances like *hatthutarāhim nakkhattaṇaṃ jogovagaṇaṃ* (Āyār. 2, 15, 6, 17; cf. Kappas. § 2). Cf. Kappas. § 157. 174. 211, and SPEYER, Vedische und Sanskrit Syntax (Strassburg 1896; Grundriss 1, 6) § 42.

2) STEMS IN *-i*, *ī* AND *-u*, *ū*.

## a) MASCULINE AND NEUTER.

§ 377. Masculine *aggi* = *agni*.

## Singular.

N. *aggi* [ *aggiṃ* ].Acc. *aggiṃ*.I. *aggiṇā*, A. also *aggiṇa*, *aggiṃ*.Abl. M. AMg. JM. *aggiō*, *aggiu*, *aggiṇo*, *aggiṇo*, *aggihimto*, [ *aggihi*, *aggiṭto* ]; JS. [ Ś. Mg. ] *aggiḍo*; A. *aggihe*.G. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇo*, *aggiṣsa*, [ *aggiō* ]; Ś. Mg. *aggiṇo*; A. [ *aggihe* ].L. *aggiṃmi*, AMg. mostly *aggiṃsi*, AMg. JM. *aggiṃmi* too; A. *aggihū*.  
V. *aggi*, *aggi*.

## Plural.

N. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇo*, *aggi*, *aggiō*, *aggao*, *aggau*; Ś. *aggiō*, *aggiṇo*.Acc. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇo*, *aggi*, *aggao*.I. M. AMg. JM. *aggihi*, *aggihū*, *aggihim*; Ś. Mg. *aggihim*.Abl. M. AMg. JM. *aggihimto*, [ *aggiṣumto*, *aggiṭto*, *aggiō* ]; A. *aggihū*.G. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇa*, *aggiṇā*, *aggiṇaṃ*; Ś. Mg. *aggiṇaṃ*; A. *aggihā*, *aggihū*.L. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṣu*, *aggiṣū*, *aggiṣum*; Ś. Mg. *aggiṣu*, *aggiṣum*; A. *aggihū*.V. M. AMg. JM. *aggiṇo*, *aggi*; A. *aggihō*.

Likewise go the neuter, as *dahi* = *dadhi*; only nom. acc. sing. M. AMg. JM. *dahim*, *dahī*, *dahi*, Ś. Mg. *dahim*, *dahi*; V. *dahi*; nom. acc. voc. plur. *dahūm*, *dahū* (not Ś. Mg.), *dahīni* (not Ś. Mg.), *dahī* (not Ś. Mg.). — In PG. is found the acc. sing. neutr. *udakādīm* 6, 29, the gen. sing. masc. *sattissa* = *śakteḥ* 6, 17, *bhaṭṭisa* = *bhaṭṭeḥ* 6, 19, and the acc. plur. masc. *vasudhādhipataye* = *vasudhādhipatīn* 7, 44 (cf. LEUMANN, EI. 2, 484).

§ 378. Masc. *vāu*=*vāyu*.

Singular.

N. *vāū* [ *vāum̐* ].Acc. *vāum̐*.I. *vāunā*; A. *vāuṇa*, *vāum̐* too.Abl. M. AMg. JM. *vāūo*, *vāūu* [ *vāūṇo*, *vāūhim̐to*, *vāutto* ]; A. *vāuhē*.G. M. AMg. JM. *vāūṇo*, *vāussa* [ *vāuo* ]; Ś. Mg. *vāūṇo*, Mg. in verses *vāūsśa* too; [ A. *vāuhē* ].L. *vāummi*, AMg. *vāumsi* too, AMg. JM. *vāummi*.V. *vāu*, *vāū*.

Plural.

N. M. AMg. JM. *vāūṇo*, *vāū*, *vāūo*, *vāavo*, *vāao*, *vāū*; Ś. *vāūṇo*, *vāao*.Acc. M. AMg. JM. *vāūṇo*, *vāū*, AMg. also *vāavo*.I. M. AMg. JM. *vāūhi*, °*h̐*, °*him̐*; Ś Mg. *vāūhim̐*.Abl. [ *vāūhim̐to*, *vāūsum̐to*, *vāutto*, *vāūo* ]; AMg. *vāūhim̐* also, A. *vāuhū*.G. M. AMg. JM. *vāūṇa*, °*ṇā*, °*ṇam̐*; Ś. Mg. *vāūṇam̐*, A. *vāuhū*; *vāuhū*.L. M. AMg. JM. *vāūsu*, °*s̐*, °*sum̐*; Ś. Mg. *vāūsu*, *vāūsum̐*; A. *vāuhū*.V. A Mg. *vāavo*; A. *vāuhō*.Likewise go the n-u'er, as *mahu*=*madhu*; only nom. acc. sing. *mahum̐*, *mahū*, *mahu*; Ś. Mg. *mahum̐*, *mahu*; voc. *mahu*; nom. acc. voc. plur. *mahūim̐*, *mahū* (not Ś. Mg.), *mahūni* (not Ś. Mg.), *mahū* (not Ś. Mg.).—In PG. an *u*-stem is not found.

• § 379. On the declension of *i*- and *u*-stems see Vr. 5,14-18. 25-27. 30; C. 1,3. 11-14; Hc. 3,16—26; 4,340 341. 343—347; Kī. 3,8. 11,13. 15. 17—22.24.28.29; 5,20,25—27.33—35.37; Mk.fol 42—44; Sr.fol. 9—12. In the nom. sing., according to Hc. 3,19, some taught beside the lengthening also the equivalent (§ 74) nasalization: *aggim̐*, *ṇihim̐*, *vāum̐*, *viḥum̐*. Triv. and Sr. do not mention this form; at Paṇḥāv. 448 *susāhum̐*, as the nom., is edited, probably falsely for *susāhū*, since beside it stand *suisī*, *sumuṇi*=*svrṣih̐*, *sumuniḥ*. On the nom. in *-ī*, *-ū* see § 72. From *sakhi* the nom. sing. is JM. *sahī* (Kī. 14). In the neuter prevalent is the denasalized form in the nom. and the nasalized form and in the acc.; yet AMg. *taū*=*trapu* (Sūyag. 282) is made certain on account of the metre; probably it is to be read *taū*. In the nom. stands AMg. Ś. *dahim̐* (Ṭhāṇ. 230; Mṛcch. 3,12 [ to be read so for *dahim̐* ]), but AMg. *dahi* (Ṭhāṇ. 514); AMg. Ś. *vattthu* = *vastu* (Uttar. 172; Lalitav. 51, 12); Ś. *ṇaṇamahu* = *nayanamadhu* (Mālav. 22,3). On AMg. *aṭṭhi*, *dahī* see § 358. Acc. are AMg. Ś. *acchim̐* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5; Śak. 31,13); *aṭṭhim̐* = *asthi* (Sūyag. 594); AMg. *dahim̐* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Ovav. § 73; Kappas. S. § 17); AMg. Ś. *mahum̐* (Āyār. 2,1, 4. 5. 8,8; Ovav. § 73; Kappas. S. § 17; Śak. 81,8); JS. *vattthum̐* (Kattig. 400. 335). The very frequent Skt. *svasti* always becomes *soṭṭhi* in Ś. (e. g. Mṛcch. 6,23; 25,4; 54,11. 19; Vikr. 15,16; 29,1; 44,5; Ratn. 296, 32; 319,17 etc.), and therefore, it is to be considered as a nom. in the same manner as *sāhu* (e. g. Mṛcch. 28,24; 37,16; 41,19; Vikr. 26,6; Ratn. 300, 13; 309,1) and *sutthu* (e. g. Mṛcch. 27,21; 28,24; 29,14; 41,18; Prab. 18,3), Mg. *śāhu* (Venīś. 34,3. 23; 35,14; Mṛcch. 38,7; 112,9; 161,15 etc.). Against this we should read *lahum̐*, with edd. Calcc. and GODABOLE for *lahu* (Mṛcch. 75,8; Vikr. 28,10) as stands at Śak. 39,3; 76,1; Mṛcch. 21,13; 59,8; 107,11; 112,11; 116,5; 166,16; 169,24; Ratn. 300,5; 302,25; 303,20; 312,8; 320,32 etc.; in the verse *lahu* is correct (Mṛcch. 99,24; Venīś. 33, 13).—With regard to the ins. it is to be noted that M. *paīṇā* = *patyā*, forms as one says M. *gahavaiṇā* (H. 172), AMg. *gāhāvaiṇā* (Uvās. § 6) = *gṛhapatinā*, Mg. *bahin̐padiṇā* = *bhagin̐patinā* (Mṛcch. 113,19). From *akṣi* the ins. is M. *acchiṇā* = *akṣṇā* (G. 32); from *dadhi* is found Ś. *sadahiṇā* =

*sadadhñā* (Mṛcch. 69,3). For the expected *aṭṭhīñā* = *asthnā*, *muṭṭhīñā* = *muṣṭhīñā*, *laḷuñā* = *leṣṭuñā* AMg. has *aṭṭhīñā*, *muṭṭhīñā*, *leḷuñā*, with shortening of *ā* before the enclitic *vā* and lengthening of the final vowel of the stem according to the analogy of the preceding and following ins in *-ena* in the combination *daṇḍena vā aṭṭhīñā vā muṭṭhīñā vā leḷuñā vā kavāleṇa vā* (Āyār. 2,1,3,4; Sūyag. 647. 692. 863). On similar cases of assimilation see § 355. 358. 364. 367. 375. 386, on the instr. *aggiṇa*, *aggim*, *vāum* in A. see § 146.—For the abl. the following have been found in the texts: M. *uahū* = *udadheḥ* (G. 56. 470); AMg. *kucchio* = *kukṣeḥ* (Kappas. § 21.32); *dahū* = *dadmaḥ* (Sūyag. 594; text °*hi*°); JŚ. *himsādo* = *himsādeḥ* (Pav. 386,4; text °*āido*); JM. *kammaggiṇo* = *karmāgneḥ* (Āv. 19,16); AMg. *ikkhū* = *ikṣoḥ* (Sūyag. 594; text °*to*); JM. *sūrihimo* (Kk. II, 509,4); A. *girihe* (Hc. 4,341,1).—In the gen. in M. JM. AMg. the forms *aggiṇo*, therefore, the form of the neut. transported into Skt., but evidently from the *n*-stems, which often become identical with the *i*-stems (§ 405), and *aggissa*, therefore, the form built on the analogy of the *a*-stem, are current side by side; likewise in the case of the *u*-stems, in JŚ. too: M. *giriṇo* (G.141) and M. AMg. *girissa* (G. 510; Sūyag. 312); M. *uahīṇo* (R. 5,10) and *uahissa* (R. 4,43. 60) = *udadheḥ*; M. *raviṇo* (G. 50. 272; H. 284) and *raṇvissa*, *raissa* (R. 4,30; Karp. 25,13) = *raveḥ*; M. *paīṇo* (H. 54. 55. 297) and *paissa* (H. 38. 200) = *patyuh*; M. *pasuvaīṇo* = *paśupateḥ* (H. 1), *paḍvaīṇo* = *prajāpateḥ* (H. 969), *bhuamgavaīṇo* = *bhujamgāpateḥ* (G. 155); *naravaīṇo* = *narapateḥ* (G. 413), but AMg. JM. *gāhūvaissa* = *grhāpateḥ* (Sūyag. 846; Vivāhap. 435 f.; 1207 ff.; Uvās. § 4. 6. 8. 11; Kappas. § 120; Āv. 7, 7); AMg. *muñissa* = *muneḥ* (Āyār. 2,16,5; Sūyag. 132); *isissa* = *iṣeḥ* (Uttar. 363; Nirayāv. 51); *rāyarisissa* = *rājarseḥ* (Vivāhap. 915 f.; Nāyādh. 600. 605. 611. 613); *sārahissa* = *sāratheḥ* (Uttar. 668); *andhagavañhiṇo* (Antag. 3) and *andhagavañhiṇo* (Uttar. 678 = Dasav. 613,33) = *andhrakavṛṣṇeḥ*; *aggissa* (Vivāhap. 909; Dasav. N. 654,6; Nirayāv. 50); JM. *pañcālāhūvaīṇo* *pañcālādhipateḥ* (Erz. 8,8); *hariṇo* = *hareḥ* (Āv. 36,30; 37,49); *nābhissa* = *nābheḥ* (Āv. 48,13,33).—M. *pahuṇo* (G. 847.1006.1065) and *pahussa* (H. 243) = *prabhoh*; AMg. *bhikkhuṇo* (Āyār. 1,5,4,1; 2,16,8; Sūyag. 133. 144; Uttar. 284) and more frequently AMg. JŚ. *bhikkhussa* (Āyār. 1,7,5,1 ff.; Pav. 387,19); AMg. *usussa* = *iṣoḥ* (Vivāhap. 1388); *macussa* = *mṛtyoḥ* (Pañhāv. 401); *sāhussa* = *sādhoḥ* (Uttar. 418. 571); *vattihussa* = *vastunoḥ* (Pañhāv. 398); JM. *bandhussa* = *bandhoḥ* (Sagara 8,5); M. *vinhuṇo* = *viṣṇoḥ* (G. 16); *caṇḍamsuṇo* = *caṇḍāmsōḥ* (Karp. 35,7); *ambuṇo* = *ambunaḥ* (G. 1196). In Ś. Mg. the form in *-ssa* is not used in prose: Ś. *rāesiṇo* = *rājarseḥ* (Śak. 21,4; 50,1; 130,1; Vikr. 7,2; 22,16; 23,14; 36,8; 80,4; Uttarar. 106,10; 113,1; Pras. 4,9; Anarghar. 111,13), *vihiṇo* = *vidheḥ* (Vikr. 52,18; Mālatim. 361,10); *sahassarasiṇo* = *sahasraraśmeḥ* (Prab. 14,17; Venis. 25,6); *paḍvadiṇo* = *prajāpateḥ* (Ratn. 306,2; Mālatim. 65, 6); *udarambhariṇo* = *udarambhareḥ* (Jivān. 43, 15); *dāsarahiṇo* = *dāsaratheḥ* (Mahāv. 52, 18; Anarghar. 157,10); *guruṇo* = *guroḥ* (Śak. 22,13; 158,3; Vikr. 83,1; Anarghar. 267,12); *muhamaḥuṇo* = *mukhamadoḥ* (Śak. 108, 1); *adharmabhiriṇo* = *adharmabhīroḥ* (Śak. 129,10); *vīkkamabāhuṇo* = *vīkramabāhoḥ* (Ratn. 322,33); *satiṇo* = *satroḥ* (Venis. 62, 3; 95, 15; Jivān. 19,9); *pahuṇo* = *prabhoh* (Prab. 18,1; Jivān. 9,1); *indūṇo* = *indoḥ* (Jivān. 19,10); *mahuṇo* = *madhunaḥ* (Hāsy. 43,23); Mg. *lāesiṇo* = *rājarseḥ* (Venis. 34,1); *sattuṇo* = *satroḥ* (Śak. 118,2). In the verse stands Mg. *viśāvāsuṣṭā* = *viśāvāsoḥ* (Mṛcch. 11,9). The gen. M. *dahiṇo* (Karp. 15,1) is from *dadhi*. On PG. see § 377.—In A. for the gen. we have to assume the same ending, as in the case of the *a*-stems, as for the abl., therefore *girihe*, *taruhe*. In the loc.

in M. JM. JŚ. the ending is *-mmi*, in JM. *-ñmi* too : M. *pañmi* = *patyau* (H. 324. 849); *jalahimmi* = *jalahau*; *girimmi* = *girau*; *asimmi* = *asau* (G. 146. 153. 222); *uahimmi* = *udadhau*, *jalahimmi* = *jalanidhau* (R. 2,39; 7,2. 7. 12; 5,1); JM. *girimmi* = *girau* (KI. 17); *vihimmi* = *vidhau*, *ujahimmi* = *udadhau* (Sagara 7,1; 9,3). In AMg. the common form is that in *-ñsi* : *kucchiñsi* = *kukṣau* (Āyār. 2,15,2 ff.; Vivāhap. 1274; Kappas.); *pāñimsi* = *pāṇau* (Āyār. 2,1,11,5; 2,7,1,5; Vivāhap. 1271; Kappas. S. 29); *rāsimsi* = *rāṣau* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2). Beside them are found in AMg. *tañmi rāyarisimmi namimmi abhinikkhamantañmi* = *tasmin rājarsau namāu abhiniṣkrāmati* (Uttar. 279); *accimmi*, *accimālimmi* (Vivāhap. 417); *agiñimmi* (Dasav. 620,24); more often *sahassarasimmi* (366a). Likewise with the *u*-stems : M. *pahummi* = *prabhau* (G. 210); *seummi* = *setau* (R. 8,93); JM. *merummi* = (T. 5,3); JŚ. *sāhummi* = *sādhou* (Kattig. 399.315; MS. °ha°); AMg. *leḷumsi* = *leṣṭau* (Āyār. 2,5,1,21); *bāhumsi*, *ūrumsi* = *bāhau*, *ūrau* (Dasav. 617,12); *uummi* = *ṛtau* (Ṭhāp. 527; text *udu*). Corresponding to *rāo* = *rātau* (§ 386) AMg. has also *ghimṣu* for \**ghimso* = *ghraṁse* (§ 105; Sūyag. 249; Uttar. 58. 109) in the verse. Mg. has in the verse *kedummi* = *ketau* (Mudrār. 176, 4). Ś. has *vāthunī* = *vastuni* (Bā'ar. 122, 11; Dhūrtas. 9,10). According to Mk. fol. 69 in Ś. the correct forms are *aggimmi* and *vāummi*.—In A. the ending of loc. *is-ñi* = *-ṣmin*: *kalihñi* = *kalau*; *akkihñi* = *akṣṇi*; *sañdhñi* = *sañdhau* (Hc. 4, 341, 3. 357, 2. 430, 3), *āhñi* = *ādau* (Piṅgala 1, 85. 142). For the *u*-stems the examples are wanting; Hc. 4, 341 teaches *-hi* for *i*- and *u*-stems. — In the voc. beside short vowel is found the long vowel too (§ 71); M. *gahavāi* (H. 297), but AMg. *gāhāvāi* (Āyār. 1,7,2,2. 3,3. 5,2; 2,3,3,16) = *grahāpate*; AMg. *muñi* = *mune* (Āyār. 1,6,1,4; Uttar. 713. 714. 719); AMg. JM. *mahāmūñi* (Sūyag. 419; Kk. II, 505,25); AMg. *maharisī* = *maharṣe* (Sūyag. 182); AMg. *subuddhī* = *subuddhe* (Nāyādh. 997. 998. 1003); AMg. *jambū* = *jambo* (Uvās.; Nāyādh. and often). Vr. 5,27 forbids the long, and so mostly even the short vowel only is found: M. *khaviasavvari* = *kṣapitaśarvarika*, *diṇavāi dinapate* (H. 655); M. *pavamgavāi* = *plavaṅgapate* (R. 8,19); JM. *pāvavihi* = *pāvavidhe* (Sagara 7,15); JM. *suravāi* = *surāpate* (Kk. 276,19); AMg. *muñi* (Sūyag. 259); AMg. *bhikkhu* = *bhikṣo* (Sūyag. 245. 301); M. JM. *pahu* = *prabho* (G. 717. 719. 736; R. 15, 90; Kk. 269, 35); Ś. *rāsi* = *rājarse* (Uttarar. 125,8). Ś. *jadāo* = *jatvyo* (Uttarar. 70,5) is probably a false reading.

§ 380. In the nom. plur. the forms *aggiṇo* and *aggi*, *vāṇo* and *vāu* go side by side in M. JM. AMg. : M. *kaiṇo* = *kavayah* (G. 12) and *kai* = *kapayah* (R. 6,59. 83); *giriṇo* (G. 114) and *giri* (G. 450; R. 6,34.60) = *girayah*; *riuṇo* (G. 1195) and *riū* (G. 245. 721) = *ripayah*; *pahuṇo* (G. 858. 861. 873. 880. 894) and *pahū* (G. 868) = *prabhayah*; AMg. *amuñi* beside *muñiṇo* = *amunayah*, *munayah* (Āyār. 1,3,1,1); *giyariṇo* = *gitaratayah* beside *giyanaccaṇarai* = *gitariyatatayah* (Ovav. § 35); *nānāru* = *nānārucayah* (Sūyag 781); *isiṇo* = *ṛsayah* beside *muñi* = *munayah* (Uttar. 367); *haya-māi* *goṇa-māi* *gayā-māi* *siha-māiṇo* (§ 353; Uttar. 1075); *vinnū* = *vijñāh* (§ 105; Āyār. 1,4,3,1); *gurū* = *guravaḥ* (Āyār. 1,5,1,1); *pasū* = *paśavaḥ* (Āyār. 2,3,3,3); *apasū* (Sūyag. 601); *uū* = *ṛtavaḥ* (Samav. 97; Vivāhap. 798; Anuog. 432); *dhāṇo* = *dhātavaḥ* (Sūyag. 37); JM. *sūriṇo* = *sūrayah* (Kk. 264 41; 267,41; 270,6. 36. 42 etc.); *sāhuṇo* = *sādhaṇah* (Āv. 9,22; 26, 36; 27,7; 46,3. 9; Kk. 274,36) and *sāhū* (T. 4,20); *guruṇo* = *guravaḥ* (Kk. 271,6; 274,28. 36). In AMg. prevalent is the form in *-i*, *-ū*, which is found perhaps exclusively in certain words, such as *ūru* (Uvās. § 94; Sūyag. 639 and often; also in M. G. 489), provided that one could see in them something like the old dual, likewise, a few cases as in AMg. *pāñi* (Kappas. S. § 43), AMg. *indaggi* = *indrāgni* (Ṭhāp. 82), AMg. *do*

*vāu* = *dvau vāyū* (Tṛhāṇ. 82), *M. bāhū* = *bāhū* ( G. 428 ). The forms other than those quoted are found just sporadically in the three dialects. Thus: *AMg. nāyao* = *jñātayaḥ* (Sūyag. 174. 179. 628. 635), *anāyao* (Sūyag. 628); *AMg. rāgaddosādayo* = *rāgadveṣādayaḥ* ( Uttar. 707 ); *JM. bhavadattādayo* ( Erz. 17,28); *AMg. risao* = *ṛṣayaḥ* (Ovav. § 56, p. 61,29); *JM. maharisao* (Erz. 3,14); *AMg. °ppabhiyao* = *°prabhṛtayaḥ* (Ovav. § 38, p. 49,32; 73 so to be read; cf. v. l. ); *AMg. jantavo* ( verse ! Āyār. 1,6,1,4; Uttar. 712. 798. 799; Sūyag. 105) beside *jantuṇo* ( Āyār. 2,16,1); *AMg. sāhavo* = *sādhavaḥ* (Uttar. 208). From *bahu* (many) the nom. in *AMg.* is always formed as *bahave* (§ 345; Āyār. 1,8,3,3. 5. 10; 2,1,4,1. 2; 2,5,2,7; 2,15,8; Sūyag. 852. 916; Uttar. 158.169; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. etc.). So also in *JM.* (Erz. 17,28), probably falsely for *bahavo* (Erz. 38,24) or *bahū* (Erz. 38,21). In *Ś.* the forms in *-i*, *-ū*, which are formed according to the nom. of the *a*-stems, are not used. The *i*-stems, like the feminine, partly have the nom. in *-io*, as *isṛo* = *ṛṣayaḥ*, *girio* = *girayaḥ* (Śak. 61,11; 98,8; 99,12; 126, 15 ); *risṛo* = *ṛṣayaḥ* ( Mṛcch. 326, 14 ), partly in *-no*, as *kaiṇo* = *kapayaḥ* ( Bālar. 238, 5 ); *mahesino* = *maharṣayaḥ* ( Bālar. 268, 1 ); *isiṇo* = *ṛṣayaḥ* ( Unmaatar. 3,7 ); *cintāmaṇipahudno* = *cintāmaṇiprabhṛtayaḥ* ( Jivān. 95,1 ). In the case of the *u*-stems in *Ś.* beside the forms in *-no*, as *paṅguṇo* = *paṅgavaḥ* ( Jivān. 87,13 ); *bālataruṇo* = *bālataravaḥ* ( Karp. 62,3 ); *taruṇo* ( Karp. 67, 1 ); *binduṇo* ( Mallikām. 83,15 ) occurs also the form *bindao* = *bindavaḥ* ( Mṛcch. 74,21 ). *bandhū* = *bandhavaḥ* ( Śak. 101,13 ) is not *Ś.*, but *M.* only *dihagomāo* from *\*dihagomāao* ( § 165 ) = *dirghagomāyavaḥ* is traceable in a verse in *Mg.* ( Mṛcch. 168, 20 ); otherwise examples for *i*- and *u*- are almost wanting.

§ 381. According to Vr. 5,14, in the acc. the forms *aggiṇo* and *vāuṇo* alone are permissible. But dialectically almost all the forms of the nom. are found in the acc. too: *M. paṇno* = *paṇin* ( H. 705 ); *JM. sūriṇo* = *sūrīn* ( Kk. 267,38; 270,2 ); *AMg. mahesino* = *maharṣin* ( Āyār. 1,5,5,1 ); but also *AMg. mittanāi* = *mitrajñātīn* ( Uvās. § 69.92; so to be read for *°ñāim* ); *mallaī*, *lēcchāī* = *mallaḥin*, *lēcchāvin* ( Vivāhap. 499 f.; Nirayāv. § 25 ); *nāyao* = *jñātīn* ( Āyār. 1,6,4,3; Sūyag. 378 [ text *nāio* ] ); *AMg. pasavo* = *paṣūn* ( Sūyag. 414 ); *JM. guruṇo* = *gurūn* ( Kk. 269,35 ); *JM. sāhuṇo* = *sādhūn* ( Kk. 271,15 ); *AMg. bāhū* = *bāhū* ( Sūyag. 222. 286 ); *AMg. sattū* = *śatrūn* ( Kappas. § 114 ); *AMg. bahū* = *bahūn* ( Āyār. 1,6,1,4; Uttar. 216 ), beside *bahave*, as in the nom. ( Āyār. 2,2,2,8.9; Uvās. § 119 184 ), for which is put *vasudhādhipataye* of PG. — Examples of the neuter, of which the nom. and acc. are identical are: *M. acchūm* = *akṣiṇī* ( Hc. 1,33; 2,217; G. 44; H. 40.54 ), *acchī* ( H. 314 ); *M. AMg. JM. acchīni* ( H. 314 in Mk. fol. 44; cf. v. l.; Āyār. 2,2,1,7; Uvās. § 94; Āv. 8,20; 30,4 ); *AMg. acchī* ( Vivāgas. 11 ), falsely in *Ś.* too ( Jivān. 89,3 ) *AMg. aṭṭhīni* = *asthīni* ( Sūyag. 590 ); *AMg. sāliṇi* = *sālīn* ( Āyār. 2,10,10 ); *vīhīni* = *vrihīn* ( Āyār. 2,10,10; Sūyag. 682 ); *darīni* = *darīḥ* ( Āyār. 2,10,11 ); *JM. āiṇi* = *ādīni* ( Kk. 274,4 ); *JŚ. ādīni* ( Pav. 384,48 ); *M. aṃsūm* = *aṣrūni* ( G. 130. 1208 ); *paṇḍū* = *paṇḍūni* ( G. 384. 577 ) and *paṇḍūm* ( G. 462 ); *bindūm* = *bindūn* ( G. 223 ); *AMg. maṃsūm* = *śmaṣrūni* ( Uvās. § 94 ); *maṃsūni* ( Āyār. 1,8,3,11 ); *dāruṇi* ( Sūyag. 247 ); *pāṇūni* = *praṇān* ( Anuog. 432; Vivāhap. 423 ); *kaṅgūni* = *kaṅgavaḥ* ( Sūyag. 682 ); *milakkhūni* = *\*mlaicchāni* ( Āyār. 2,3,1,8 ); *A. aṃsū* ( Piṅgala 1,61 ). According to Vr. 5,26 only the forms like *dahūi*, *mahūi* would be usable; Kī. 3,28 teaches *dahūm*. — For the endings of the ins. gen. loc. § 178. 350 hold good; cf. § 368. 370. 371 also. Examples for the ins. are: *M. kaīhī*, *°hi* = *kaṃbhīḥ* ( G. 84. 88 ) and = *kaṃbhīḥ* ( R. 6,64. 78. 94 ); *AMg. kimīhīm* = *krmbhīḥ* ( Sūyag. 278 ); *JM. āhīm* = *ādibhīḥ* ( Āv. 7, 12 ); *Ś. isīhīm* = *ṛṣibhīḥ* ( Śak. 70, 6 ); *Mg. °ppahudīhīm* = *°prabhṛtibhīḥ* ( Śak.

114,2); M. *acchihim*, °hī, °hi (H. 338. 341. 457. 502); Ś. *acchihim* (Vikr. 48,15; Ratn. 319,18); Mg. *akkihim* (Mṛcch. 120,13; 152,22) = *akṣibhyām* M. *riūhim* = *ripubhīh* (H. 471; G. 718); M. *sisūhī* = *śiśubhīh* (G. 1046); AMg. *vaggūhim* = *vagnubhīh* (Vivāhap. 946; Nāyādh. § 25. 79; p. 302. 736. 757. 1107; Rāyap. 266 f.; Uttar. 300; Thān. 527; Ovav. § 53. 181; Kappas); AMg. *ūrūhim* = *ūrubhyām* (Thān. 401); Ś. *gurūhim* = *gurubhīh* (Hāsy 40,17); Ś. *bindūhim* = *bindubhīh* (Venis. 66,21; Nāyādh. 24,13; Karp. 72,1). — The abl. occurs in M. *acchihimto* = *akṣibhyām* (G. 223); JM *ujjānāhiṃto* = *udyanādibhyaḥ* (Dvār. 498,20); AMg. *kāmidhīhiṃto* = *kāmarddeh* (honorific plural; Kappas.; Th. § 11). As in the case of the a-stems (§ 369), so in the case of i- and u-stems too, the ins. is used as the abl.: *santi egehim bhikkhūhim gāratthā saṃyamuttarā* = *santy ekebhyy* *bhikkṣubhyo grhasthāḥ saṃyamottarāḥ* (Uttar. 208) — A. *taruhū* = *tarubhyaḥ* (Hc. 4,341) is properly = *taruṣu*, that is to say = the loc., with which the ablative has become identical, according to Hc. 4,340 the gen. too; yet it will be better to consider *taruhū* as in the loc., whilst *bihū* = *dvayoh* (Hc. 4,383,1), by all means, stands in the sense of the gen. — The examples for the genitive are: M. *kāṇam* = *kavinām* (H. 86); *kāṇa* = *kapinām* (R. 6,84); *giriṇa* (G. 137. 449; R. 6,81); AMg. *dhammasārahinām* = *dharmasārahinām* (Ovav. § 20; Kappas. § 16); metrically *viṇa* = *ṛṣinām* (Sūyag. 317) and *iṣinām* (Uttar. 375. 377); *udahiṇa* = *udathinām* (Sūyag. 316); *vihīnam* = *vrihīnām* (Vivāhap. 421); JŚ. *jadinām* = *yatinām* (Pav. 385,63); *āṇam* = *ādinām* (Kattig. 401,340); Ś. *mahivadinām* = *mahipatinām* (Lalitav. 555,14); Ś. *acchīnam* = *akṣnoḥ* (Vikr. 43,15; Nāgān. 11,9); M. *icchīnam* = *iṣṣūnam* (H. 740); *riṇa* = *ripūnam* (G. 106. 166. 237); *tarūna* = *tarūnam* (G. 140); AMg. *bhikkhūnam* = *bhikkṣūnam* (Āyār. 1,7,7 2); *savvaṇṇanam* = *sarvajñānam* (Ovav. § 20); *milakkhūnam* = *mlecchānam* (Sūyag. 817); Mg. *bāhūna* = *bāhvoḥ* (in the verse; Mṛcch. 129. ?); *pañhūnam* = *prabhūnam* (Kāmsav. 50,4); JŚ. *sāhūnam* = *sādhūnam* (Pav. 379,4). A. has the ending *-hā* = *-sām* of the pronoun: *saūhihā* = *śakuninām* (Hc. 4,340); on *-hū* see above. — The loc., for example is found as M. *giriṣu* (G. 138) ; M. AMg. *acchīsu* (H. 132; Āyār. 2,3,2,5); Ś. *acchīsūm* (Śak. 30,5); M. *riūsū* = *riḷḷuṣu* (G. 241); JŚ. metrically *ādīsu* = *ādīṣu* (Pav. 383,69); AMg. *uūsū* = *ṛtuṣu* (Nāyādh. 344); Ś. *ūrūsū* = *ūroḥ* (Bālar. 238,7; text °ru°). In A. the form *duhū* corresponds to one \**duṣu* (femin.; Hc. 4,340), whilst *tihū* (Hc. 4,347), properly is = *tribhīh*, therefore = the instr., as in the case of the a-stems (§ 371). — The voc. occurs in JM. *saḷaḷaḷananihiṇo* = *sakalagaṇanidhayaḥ* (Sagara 7,12); AMg. *jantavo* (Sūyag. 335. 424), *bhikkhavo* (Sūyag. 157; text °*kkhu*°). For JM. *guruo* (Kk. III. 513,22) we should read *gurūo*. On A. see § 372.

§ 382. In AMg. the forms, of the plur. of *bahu* (much) that are valid for the masculine, are mostly used for the feminine too: *bahave pāṇajāi* = *bahvyaḥ pāṇajātayaḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2; *bahave sāhammiṇo* = *bahvīḥ \*sādharmiṇīḥ* (Āyār. 2,1,1,11; 2,2,1,2; 2,5,1,2; 2,10,2); *bahave devā ya devīo ya* (Āyār. 2,15,8); *bahave khuddākhuddījāo vāvīo* = *bahvyaḥ kṣudrākṣudrikā vāpyaḥ* (Jiv. 476); *bahūnam samaṇānam bahūnam samanānam bahūnam sāvayānam bahūnam sāvijānam bahūnam devānam bahūnam devīnam* (Kappas. S. § 64; Nāyādh. 498. 518. 615. 654; Vivāhap. 242); *bahūhim āghavanāhi* = *a paṇṇavanāhi ya vinṇavanāhi ya saṇṇavanāhi ya* = *bahvibhir \*ākhyāpanābhīś ca \*praññāpanābhīś ca \*vijñāpanābhīś ca \*saṃjñāpanābhīś ca* (Nāyādh. § 143; p. 539. 889; Uvās. § 222; Vivāhap. 814); *bahūhim khujjāhim* = *bahvibhīh kubjābhīh* (Nirayāv. § 4; Vivāhap. 791; Nāyāth. § 117; p. 832. 837; Vivāgas. 226; *bahūsu vāvīsu* = *bahvīṣu vāpīṣu* (Nāyādh. 915); *bahūsu vijjāharīsu* = *bahvīṣu vidyādhariṣu* (Nāyādh. 1275; so the commentary; text *bahusu vijjāsu*). Cf. also Ovav. § 8. On the retained Skt. forms like *girisu*,



*vagguhiṃ* see § 99, on the stepping over of the *a*-stems into the *u*-declension in M. AMg., § 105, on AMg. *sakahāo* = *sakthīni* § 358.

§ 383. The masculine in *-ī* and *-ū* shorten their *ī* and *ū* according to Hc. 3,43; Mk. fol. 42. 43; Sr. fol. 12 and are declined fully as the nouns in *-i*, *-u*. So nom. *gāmaṇī* = *grāmaṇīḥ*; acc. *gāmaṇiḥ*; ins. *gāmaṇiṇā*; gen. *gāmaṇiṇo* and *gāmaṇiṣṣā*; voc. *gāmaṇi*; nom. *khalapū* = *khalapūḥ*; acc. *khalapum*; gen. *khalapunā*; gen. *khalapuno*; voc. *khalapu* ( Hc. 3,24. 42. 43. 124). Sr. adds the nom. plur.: *khalavaū*, *khalavao*, *khalavuno*, *khalavū*. Examples are: M. *gāmaṇī*, *gāmaṇiṇo* = *grāmaṇīḥ*, *grāmaṇyaḥ* ( H. 449.633); *gāmaṇiṇaṇ* ( R. 7,60); J.M. *asogasiri*, *asogasiriṇo* = *asokaśriḥ* *asokaśriyaḥ* ( Āv. 8,2. 32); Ś. *candasiriṇo*, *candasiriṇā* = *candraśriyaḥ* *candraśriyā* ( Mudrār. 39, 3; 56,8; 227,2. 7 ); Ś. *māhavasiriṇo* = *mādhavaśriyaḥ* ( Mālatim. 211,1 ); Ś. *aggaṇī* = *agraṇīḥ* ( Mr̥cch. 4,23; 327,1 ). The forms *saambhuṃ*, *saambhuṇo* = *svayambhuvaṃ*, *svayambhuvaḥ* ( G. 1. 813 ), *saambhuṇo*, *saambhussa*, *saambhuṇā* ( Mk. fol. 42 f.) may be derived from *svayambhū* or from *°bhu*.

### b) FEMININE.

§ 384. In Pkt. the feminine forms in *-i*, *-u*, as *bhūmisu*, *suttisu*. ( § 99) are retained only in isolated places in verses. Otherwise the feminine in *-i*, *-u*, with which those in *-ī* and *-ū* have become identical, provided there is differentiation between words of one and more syllables. The declension exactly corresponds to that of the feminine in *-ā* in § 374ff, and it holds good for all the endings, as already noted there. In isolated cases the following one is to be considered.

§ 385. The grammarians give, for the ins. abl. gen. loc. sing. the forms: *ṇaī*, *ṇaie*, *ṇaia*, *ṇaiā* from *ṇai*=*nadī* ( Bh. 5,22; Kī.3,26; Mk. fol.43); *ruia*, *ruīā*, *ruīi*, *ruie* from *ruī* = *ruci* ( Sr. fol. 15 ); *buddhīa*, *buddhīā*, *buddhīi*, *buddhīe* from *buddhi*; *sahīa*, *sahīā*, *sahīi*, *sahie* from *sahī* = *sakhi*; *dhenūa*, *dhenūā*, *dhenūi*, *dhenūe* from *dhenu* = *dhenu*; *vahūa*, *vahūā*, *vahūi*, *vahūe* from *vahū* = *vadhū* ( Hc. 3, 29 ). Of these, the forms in *-īā*, *-ūā* are not available, and those in *-īi* *-ūi* are rare in the texts: M. *ṇaī* = *natyāḥ* ( G.1000); AMg. *mahūi* = *mahyāḥ* ( Sūyag. 312), more often correctly in the v. l. for *-īe* of the texts, as G. 139. 860. 922. For *gabbhiṇī* = *garbhinyāḥ*, now WEBER H. 166 correctly reads *gabbhiṇīa*. In all cases, where the forms in *-īe*, *-ūe* stand in the text, and the metre requires a short, as *mahiē*, *siriē*, *tajjanīē*, *ṇavittharanīē*, *navarīē*, *ṇivasiriē*, *lacchiē* etc. ( G. 122. 212. 247. 268. 501. 928); *vahūē* ( H. 874. 981), the forms in *-īa* or in *-īi*, *ūa* or in *-ūi* are to be put, as WEBER H. 69 has corrected *-īa*, which is attested for all the examples collected by him at p. 40 in Hāla<sup>1</sup> by the manuscripts. At H. 86, there is found the v. l. *hasamṭīi* beside *hasamṭīa*, *hasamṭīe* ( cf. IS. 16,53 too). For *vahūē* ( H. 874. 981) the old Śāradā manuscripts of Kāvyaaprakāśa give the v. l. at 874 *vahūo*, *bahūa*, at 981 *bahūi*, *bahūi*. We have, therefore, to write *vahūa* or *vahūi*, as also H. 786. 840. 874; *vahūa* stands at H. 457. 608. 635. 648, everywhere with the v. l. *vahūe* or *bahūe*. Cf. §375. The forms in *-īa*, *-ūa* are, likewise those in *-īi*, *-ūi*, confined to verses, but with the stems in *-i*, *-i* in M. very frequently: ins. *bandīa* = *bandyā*; *vāhīa* = *vyādhyā*; *laliṅgulīa* = *laliṅgulyā* ( H. 118. 121. 458 ); *āhīā* = *abhijātyā*; *rāsirīa* = *rājasrīyā*; *ditṭhīa* = *dr̥ṣṭyā*; *ṭhīa* = *sthītyā*; *jāṇaīa* = *jānakīyā* ( R. 1, I. 13. 45; 4,43; 6,6 ); *sippīa* = *śuktyā*; *muṭṭhīa* = *muṣṭyā*; *devīa* = *devyā* ( Karp. 2,4; 29,4; 48,14 ); gen. *koḍīa* = *koḷeh*; *gharīṇīa* = *gr̥hīnyāḥ*; *giriṇaīa* = *girinadyāḥ* ( H. 3,11. 14. 37); *dhanariddhīa* *sirīa* a *salīlu-ppaṇṇāi* *vārunīa* a = *dhanariddhyāḥ* *śrīyaś* ca *salīlotpannāyā* *vārunyāś* ca ( R. 2,

17); *dharanā* = *dharanyāḥ* ( R. 2,2; 7,28 ); *sarassā* = *sarasvatyāḥ*; *rūdhā* = *rūdhēḥ* ( Karp. 1,1; 51,3 ); L. *pānāidā* = *prānakutyām* ( H. 227; on the meaning cf. Pāyā. 105 with Deśin. 6,38); D. *narā* = *nagaryām* ( Mṛcch. 100,2). For the ablative examples are wanting. The usual forms in all the dialects, except A., that C. 1,9 alone knows, is that in *-ie*, *-ue*, which, however, is not found in the abl. So ins. M. *bhaṇantie* = *bhaṇantiyā* ( H. 123 ); AMg. *gaie*, Ś. *gadīe* = *gatyā* ( Kappas. § 5; Śak. 72,11 ); Mg. *śattīe* = *śaktyā* ( Mṛcch. 29,20 ); P. *bhagavatīe* = *bhagavatīyā* ( Hc. 4,323 ); gen. *lacchīe* = *lakṣmyāḥ* ( G. 68 ); AMg. *nāgasirīe māhanīe* = *nāgasirīyā brāhmaṇyāḥ* ( Nāyādh. 1151 ); Ś. *radarāvalīe* = *raināvalyāḥ* ( Mṛcch. 88,21 ); Mg. *majjālīe* = *mārijāryāḥ* ( Mṛcch. 17,7 ); loc. *paavīe* = *padavyām* ( H. 107 ); AMg. *vāṇarasīe paṇarīe* = *vāṇānasyām nagaryām* ( Antag. 63; Nirayāv. 43. 45; Vivāgas. 136. 148. 149; Vivāhap. 284 ff.; Nāyādh. 1516. 1528 ). AMg. JM. *aḍavīe* = *aṭavyām* ( Nāyādh. 1137; Erz. 1,4; 13,30; 21,21 ); Ś. *masāṇavīdhīe* = *śmaśānavithyām* ( Mṛcch. 72,8 ); Mg. *dhalanīe* = *dharanyām* ( Mṛcch. 173,16 ). The form is found to have been shortened to *-ie* in A. too : ins. *maragaakantiē* = *marakatakāntīyā*; gen. *ganantiē* = *ganantiyāḥ*; *radīē* = *ratyāḥ* ( Hc. 4,349. 333. 446 ).

§ 386. In the ins., *diṭṭhiā* = *diṭṭyā* ( e. g. Mṛcch. 68,2; 74,11; Vikr. 10,20; 26,15; 49,4 etc. ) used adverbially, Ś. has retained an old ins. in *-ā*. In the A. of Piṅgala, more than once, we find an ins. in *-ī* : *kiṭṭī* = *kiṭṭyā* ( 1,65<sup>a</sup>; 2,66 ); *bhattī* = *bhaktīyā* ( 2,67 ), and so is also *evāsattī* for *°tā* ( S. GOLDSCHMIDT, *°tū* ) = *ekaviṃśatyā* to be read at 1,142. — On the dative in *-ie* in AMg. JM. Ś. see § 361. — The abl., except in A., where, according to Hc. 4, 350, like the gen., it ends in *-he*, has the endings *-io*, *-ūo*, JŚ. Ś. Mg. *-īdo*, *-ūdo* : AMg. *arāṭraio* = *arāṭrateḥ* ( Sūyag. 654; Ovav. § 123 ); *koṣio* = *koṣyāḥ* ( Sūyag. 593 ); *najario* = *nagaryāḥ* ( Nirayāv. § 19; p. 44. 45; Nāyādh. 1135 ); *pōkharinīo* = *puṣkarinyāḥ*; *corapallio* = *corapallyāḥ* ( Nāyādh. 1060. 1427. 1429 ); *gaṅgāsindhūo* = *gaṅgāstndhoḥ* ( Thān. 544; Vivāhap. 482 f. ) Ś. : *aḍaido* = *aṭavyāḥ* ( Śak. 35,8 ); *ujjāṇīdo* = *ujjayinyāḥ* ( Ratn. 321,22; 322,9 ); *sacīdo* = *śacyāḥ* ( Vikr. 44,8 ); Mg. *naalīdo* = *nagaryāḥ* ( Mṛcch. 159,13 ). — The gen. has in A., as in the case of *a*-stems ( § 375 ), the ending *-he*, before which the vowel is shortened : *joantihe* = *paśyantiyāḥ*; *mēllantihe* = *mūlcantiyāḥ*; *gorihe* = *gauriyāḥ*; *tumbīnihē* = *tumbinyāḥ* ( Hc. 4,332,2. 370,4. 395,1. 427,1 ); *kaṅguhē* = *kaṅgoḥ* ( Hc. 4,367,4 ). — In the loc. in AMg. we find frequently *rāo* = *rātrau* as well, the only form ( Āyār. 1,8,2,6; Sūyag. 247. 255. 519; Nāyādh. 302. 374 ), as in the combinations *aho jā rāo* ( Āyār. 1,2,1,1,2,2; 1,4,1,3; Sūyag. 295. 412. 485; Uttar. 430 ), or in *aho jā rāo ja* = *ahas ca rātrau ca* ( Paṇhāv. 373 ), *rāo vā vijāle vā* ( Āyār. 2,1,3,2; 2,2,3,2. 23 [ so correctly ed. Calc. p. 126 ] ), *diyā jā rāo ja* = *divā ca rātrau ca* ( Āyār. 1,6,3,3. 4,1; Uttar. 847 ), *diyā vā rāo vā* ( Sūyag. 846; Dasav. 616,13 ). Sometimes in AMg. the ending of the masc. and neutr. is extended over to the feminine : *piṭṭhīmsi* from *piṭṭhī* ( § 53; Nāyādh. 940 ); *bhittīmsi* = *bhittau* ( Āyār. 2,5,1,21 ); *rāyahāṇīmsi* = *rājadhānyām* ( Āyār. 2,1,2,6; 2,1,3,4; 2,3,1,2 ) between pure loc. in *-msi* of the masc. and the neutr. Cf. § 355. 358. 364. 367. 375. 379. Ś. has *rattimmi* = *rātrau* ( Jivān. 9,23; 17,23; Mallikām. 226,4 ); *bhūmimmi* = *bhūmau* ( Mallikām. 337,21 ). In A. the loc. ends in *-hī* = *-syām*; *mahihī* = *mahyām*; *riddhīhī* = *riddhau*; *sallāhīhī* = *śallakṣyām*; *vāṇarasīhī* = *vāṇānasyām*; *ujjenihī* = *ujjayinyām* ( Hc. 4,352. 418. 842. 9,442,1 ); *ṇadīhī* = *nadyām* ( Piṅgala 1,5<sub>a</sub> ), in the A. of Piṅgala, in the case of the *i*-stems, also in *-ī* and shortened : *-ī puhāvī* = *prthivyām* ( 1,121; text *°mī* ); *dharanī* = *dharanyām* ( 1,137<sup>a</sup> ); *puhāvī* = *prthivyām* ( 1,132<sup>a</sup> ); *mahī* = *mahyām* ( 1,143<sup>a</sup> ). — The vocative ends in *-i*, *-u* : M. *māhavi* = *mādhavi*; *bhāṭravi* = *bhāiravi*; *devī* = *devī* ( G. 285. 287. 290. 331 );

*thorattani* = *sthūlastani* (H. 925); Ś. *bhaavadi bhāiradhi* = *bhagavati bhāgīrathi* (Bālar. 163,10; Pras. 83,4); JM. *Ś. puti* = *putri* (Āv. 12,11. 17; Bālar. 165,3; 174,8); Ś. *sahi mālati* = *sakhi mālati* (Mālatim. 94,2); Mg. *vuddhakustani* = *vṛddhakustāni* (Mṛcch. 141,25; 152,22); *kaccāṇi* = *kātyāyani* (Caṇḍak. 69,1); M. *vevantoru* = *vepamānoru* (H. 52); *suaru* = *sutanu* (G. 186; H. ); *kariaroru* = *karikaroru* (H. 925); in Mg. with *pluti vāsū* (Mṛcch. 127,1).

§ 387. The nom. acc. voc. plur. end in *-io*, *-ūo*, which alternate with *-iu*, *-ūu* in verses : nom. M. *katīo* = *kṛttayāḥ* (H. 951); *riddhio* = *ṛddhayāḥ* (G. 92); *lumbio* = \**lumbyāḥ* (H. 322); *naio* = *nadyāḥ*; *naario* = *nogaryāḥ* (G. 360. 403); AMg. *mahānaio* = *mahānadyāḥ* (Thāp. 76. 77. 79); *hiranakoḍio* = *hiranyakoṭyāḥ* (Uvās. § 4); *ithio* = *striyāḥ* (Thāp. 121); M. *taruṇiu* = *taruṇyāḥ* (G. 113; H. 546); JM. *palatanio* = *avarohajuvāio* = *pralapaniyāḥ...avarodhayuvatayāḥ* (Sagara 4,13); *vasahio* = *vasatayāḥ* (T. 4, 22); Ś. *gidio* = *gītayāḥ* (Mahāv. 121,7); *mahuario* = *madhukaryāḥ* (Mṛcch. 29,5. 7; 70,2); *āidio* = *ākṛtayāḥ* (Śak. 132,6); *paidio* = *prakṛtayāḥ* (Vikr. 73,12; Mudrār. 39,1; 56,8); A. *ānguliu* = *āngulyāḥ* (Hc. 4, 333), with a short vowel, as on metrical grounds in the other dialects too (§ 99); M. *kulavahūo* = *kulavadhvāḥ* (H. 459); AMg. *suravadhūo* (Ovav. § [38]); *rajjūo* = *rajjavāḥ* (Jiv. 503). — Acc. M. *sahio* = *sahanasūlāḥ* (H. 47); AMg. *vallio* = *vallīḥ* (Āyār. 2,3,2,15); *osahio* = *ośadhīḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,16; Sūyag. 727; Dasav. 628,33); *savatīo* = *sapatnīḥ* (Uvās. § 239); *sajagghio* = *śataghñīḥ* (Uttar. 285); JM. *gonio* (Āv. 7,10); Ś. *bhaavadio* = *bhagavatīḥ* (Śak. 79,13); A. *vilāsiniu* = *vilāsiniḥ* (Hc. 4,348), and with *ī* *sallaiu* = *śallakīḥ* (Hc. 4,387,1). AMg. *bahūo coravijjāo* = *bahvīś coravidyāḥ* (Nāyādh. 1421), but also *bahave sāhammivāo* = *bahvīḥ \*sādharmīḥ* (§ 382). — Voc. JM. *bhayaavāo devayāo* = *bhagavatyo devatāḥ* (Dvār. 503,25); M. Ś. *sahio* = *sakhyāḥ* (H. 131. 619; Śak. 12,1; 90,8; Cait. 73,7; 83,12 etc.); Ś. *bhodio* = *bhavatyāḥ* (Viddhaś. 121,1); *bhaavadio* = *bhagavatyaḥ* (Uttarar. 197,10; Anarghar. 300,1); M. *sahiu* (H. 412. 743). In A. the voc. has the ending *-hō*: *taruṇihō* = *taruṇyāḥ* (Hc. 4,346). The forms in *-z*, *-ā*, taught by Hc. 3,27. 124, are likewise found in the texts : nom. M. *asāi mha* = *asatyāḥ smaḥ* (H. 417); voc. M. *piasahī* = *priyasakhyāḥ* (H. 903); acc. AMg. *itthī* = *striḥ* (Verse !; Uttar. 253). For the rest of the cases of the plur. a few examples will suffice. Ins. M. Ś. *sahīhim* = *sakhībhiḥ* (H. 144; Śak. 167,9); M. *diṭṭhīhim* (G. 752); *sahīh*, *sahīhi* (H. 15. 60. 69. 810. 840); JŚ. *dhūlīhim* (Pav. 384,60); AMg. *cilāṭhīhim vāmanīhim vadabhihim babbarīhim ...damīlīhim simhalīhim...=kirāṭībhīr vāmanībhīr vadabhiḥbhīr barbarībhīr dravidībhīḥ simhalībhīḥ* (Ovav. § 55); Ś. *āngulīhim* = *āngulībhiḥ* (Mṛcch. 6,7; Śak. 12,1). Āyār. 1,2,4,3, without a v. l., has *thībhī* = *stribhīḥ*; A. *pupphavāhi* = *puspavatībhiḥ* (Hc. 4,438,3) and with a shortened vowel : *asāhi* = *asātibhiḥ*, *dēnīhi* = *dadatībhiḥ* (Hc. 4,396,1. 419,5). — Gen. M. *sahīna* = *sakhīnām* (H. 482); *thūna* = *stutīnām* (G. 82); *taruṇinām* (H. 545); cf. H. 174; AMg. *savattīnām* = *sapatnīnām* (Uvās. § 238. 239); M. Ś. *kāmīṇinām* (H. 559; Mṛcch. 71,22); M. *vahūnām* = *vadhūnām* (G. 1158; H. 526; R. 9, 71. 93) and *vahūna* (R. 9,40. 96; 15,78). Loc. M. *rāisu* = *rāriṣu* (H. 45); *giriadisu* = *giriṭṭisū* (G. 374); AMg. *itthīsu* = *striṣu* (Āyār. 2,16,7; Sūyag. 405. 409); JM. *kujorīsu* = *kuyorīsu* (Sagara 11,4); M. AMg. *vāvisu* = *vāpīsu* (G. 166; Nāyādh. 915); M. *īthalīsum* (G. 256) and *īthalīsu* (G. 350. 421) = *īthalīsu*; Ś. *vanarāisum* = *vanarājīsu* (Śak. 29,4; Uttarar. 22,13; text *īsu*); *devīsum* (Śak. 141,9). In A. the loc. has become identical with the ins.: *disih* = *\*dīṣīsu* = *dīṣu*, but also *duhu* = *dvayoh* (Hc. 4, 340; cf. § 381).

§ 388. In PG. is found only the loc. sing. *āpīṭṭiyam* (6,37) that is to say *āpīṭṭiyam* = *āpīṭṭiyām*, therefore, the form of Pāli. — If the feminine forms

in *-i*, *-u*, *-ī*, *-ū* enter at the end of a compound, they naturally, as in Skt., take the endings of the masc. or those of the neuter, when they refer to a masc. or neuter. So M. *karena va pañcaṅgulīnā* (G. 17); M. *sasialāsuttiṅā... kavāleṇa = śaśikalāśuktīnā . kapāleṇa* (G. 40); Ś. *mae māndabuddhiṅā = mayā māndabuddhinā* ( Śak. 126, 10 ); Ś. *mohidamadiṅā = mohitamatinā, nīdiniṅā = nīdiniṅābuddhinā* ( Mudrār. 228,1; 269,3 ); Ś. *ujjumadiṅo = rjmateḥ* ( Pras. 46,9 ). Mg. *muṣṭie = muṣṭiṅā = muṣṭāmūṣṭi*, really = *muṣṭyā muṣṭinā* ( Mr̥cch. 170,15 ) is also noticed.

### 3) STEMS IN *-ṛ*.

§ 389. The distinction, that Skt. makes between *nomina agentis* and words of relationship, has been maintained in Pkt. In the nom. acc. sing. and nom. plur., the forms identical with those of Skt. are retained. Otherwise, corresponding to the change of *ṛ* to *i* or *u* (§ 50ff) the stems in *-ṛ* have become *i-* or usually *u-*stems, or the stem of the acc. sing. is employed as new theme, according to the *a*-declension: *piṛ-, piu-, piara- = piṛ-; bhāṭṭi-, bhattu-, bhattāra-*. The feminina of the words of relationship too are declined as the *ā*-stems, to which the nom. sing. gave the impulse: *māā-, māī-, māū-, māārā-*. Hence the grammarians ( Vr. 5,31—35; Hc. 3,44—48; Kī. 3,30—34; Mk. fol. 44; Sr. fol. 13 16.18 ) teach for the *ṛ*-stems, all the forms that are valid for the *a-*, circumstantial *ā-*, and *u-*stems, and it has not as yet been possible to get all of them authenticated. The forms that have been found in the texts provide with the following paradigms.

§ 390. *Nomina agentis*. — *bhattu = bhartṛ* ( husband ).

#### Singular.

Nom. *bhattā*; AMg. *bhattāre*, also JM. *bhattāro*.  
Acc. *bhattāraṃ*; Mg. *bhattālaṃ*.  
Gen. *bhattuno*, AMg. *bhattārassa* also.  
Loc. JM. Ś. *bhattāre*.  
Voc. *bhattā*.

#### Plural.

Nom. M. AMg. *bhattāro*; AMg. *bhattā* also.  
Ins. AMg. *bhattārehiṃ*.  
Loc. AMg. *bhattāresu*.  
Voc. AMg. *bhattāro*.

In the meaning “master” *bhartṛ* has become an *i*-stem in Ś. (§ 55.289) and as such is declined in the oblique case. Ś. nom. *bhaṭṭā* ( Lalitav. 563, 23; Ratn. 293,32; 294,11 etc.); acc. *bhaṭṭāraṃ* ( Mālav. 45.16; 59,3; 60,10 ); ins. *bhaṭṭīnā* ( Śak. 116, 12; 117, 11; Mālav. 6, 2. 9; 8, 7 ); gen. *bhaṭṭiṅo* ( Śak. 43,10; 117,7; Mālav. 6,22; 40,18; 41,9. 17; Mudrār. 54,2; 149,2 ); voc. *bhaṭṭā* ( Ratn. 305,17. 23; Śak. 144,14 ), also in Dh. ( Mr̥cch. 34,11. 17 ).—Examples for individual cases are : nom. AMg. *ne ā = netā* ( Sūyag. 519; text *netā* ); *kaṅṭhacchēttā* ( Uttar. 633 ); JM. *dāyā = dātā* ( Erz. 58,30 ); M. JM. Ś. *bhatti* ( Karp. 43,4; Āv. 11,2; Erz.; Mr̥cch. 4,4.5 ); JS. *nādā = jñātā, jhādā = dhyātā* ( Pav. 382, 42; 386, 70 ), *kattā = kartā* ( Pav. 384,36. 58. 60 ); Ś. *sāsīdā = śāsītā, dādā = dātā* ( Kāleyak. 24,16; 25,22 ); Ś. *rakkhidā = rakṣītā* ( Śak. 52,5; Mukund. 15,5 ); AMg. *udagadāyāre* [ text °*dātāro* ] = *udakadātā* ( Ovav. § 86 ); AMg. *bhattāre* ( Nāyādh. 1230 ); AMg. *uvadamse'ttāre* [ text °*ro* ] = *upaḍarsayitā* ( Sūyag. 593 ); JM. *bhattāro = bhartā* ( Āv. 12.5. 12. 16. 17; Erz. 6,36; 85,22 ).—Acc. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *bhattāraṃ* ( H. 390; Samav. 84; Erz.; Mālatīm. 240, 2 ); Mg.

*bhattālam* (Veñis. 33,8); AMg. *udagadāyāram* = *udakadātāram* (Ovav. § 85); *pasathāram neyāram* = *praśāstāram netāram* (Samav. 84); *sathāram* = *sāstāram* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); AMg. JŚ. *kattāram* = *kartāram* (Uttar. 412; Pav. 379,1).—Gen. M. JM.Ś. *bhattuṇo* (Karp. 7,1; Erz. 41,23; Śak. 81,70; Vikr. 52,14; 82,6. 16; 88,14 etc.); AMg. *udagadāyārassa* = *udakadātūḥ* (Ovav. § 85). — For the loc. Ś. *bhattari* (Śak. 109,10) we should, with the v. l. read *bhattāre*, that Hc. 3,45 teaches and JM. too has (Āv. 23, 5). False is also the reading *bhattari* of the Kashmirian - (105,15), *bhattumī* of the Devanāgarī- and *bhattummi* of the Drāviḍian recensions (70,12 ed. BÖHRL.; 248,6 ed. Madras). The manuscripts of the Drāviḍian recension waver between *bhattummi*, *bhattari*, *bhattari*, *bhattammi*.—Voc. *bhattā*, see above.—Plural: nom. M. *soāro* = *śrotārah* (Vajjālagga 325,17); AMg. *pasathāro* = *praśāstārah* (Sūyag. 585; Ovav. § 23. 38); *uvavattāro* = *uḥpattārah* (Sūyag. 699. 766. 771; Vivāhap. 179. 508. 610; Ovav. § 56. 69. ff.); *akkhāyāro*, *āgantāro*, *neyāro* | text *netāro* ], *pannattāro* = *ākhyātārah*, *āgantārah*, *netārah*, \**prajñaptārah* (Sūyag. 81. 439. 470. 603); AMg. *gantā* = *gantārah* (Sūyag. 150); *savejā* = *savejārau*, *taṭṭhā* = *vaṣṭārau* (Ṭhāp. 82). To it belongs also AMg. *bhajantāro*, which, at Ovav. § 56 appears as *bhavantāro*<sup>1</sup>, and is used as the nom. of the sing. too, (Āyār. 2,1,11,11; 2,2,2,6—14; 2,5,2,3; Sūyag. 562.766; Ovav. § 56.129) and the voc. (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Sūyag. 239. 585. 630. 630. 635). Its meaning is = *bhavantaḥ* or *bhagavantaḥ*, with which the scholiasts inter alia restore, and it is derived directly from *bhavant*, the participle used as a pronoun, like the voc. *āusantāro* = *āyusmantaḥ* (Āyār. 2,4,1,9; used as a sing.) from *āyusmant*. There is found also the gen. *bhajantārānam* (Āyār. 2,2,2,10; Sūyag. 635). Ins. *dāyārehiṃ* = *dātybhiḥ* (Kappas. § 112).—Loc. *āgantāresu* = *āgantṛṣu* (Āyār. 2,7,1,2. 4. 5; 2,7,2,1. 7. 8.), *dāyāresu* = *dātṛṣu* (Āyār. 2,15,11. 17). — The neutra are inflected, according to Sr. fol. 18 either according to the *a*-declension of the stem, e. g. *kattāra*-, or according to the *u*-declension of the stem, e. g. *kattu*-.

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. considers the word as an admixture of the pres. part. *bhavant* and the fut. part. *bhavitṛ*. — 2. The hypothesis of STEINTHAL (Specimen der Nāyādhammakahā p. 40), that the nomina agentis are wanting in Jaina-Prākṛt (i. e. AMg.), is wrong. AMg., on the contrary, is the single dialect, in which they are frequent.

§ 391. Words of Relationship. — *piu* = *piṭṛ*.

Singular.

Nom. *piā* [ *piaro* ]; Ś. Mg. *pidā*.

Acc. *piaram*; AMg. JM. *piyaram*; Ś. *pidaram*; Mg. *pidalam*.

Ins. *piuṇā* [ *piareṇa* ]; Ś. Mg. *piduṇā*; A. *piara*.

Gen. *piuṇo*; AMg. *piuṇo*, *piussa*; JM. *piuṇo*, *piyarassa*; Ś. Mg. *piduṇo*; A. *piaraha*.

Voc. [ *piā*, *piā*, *piaram*, *piaro*, *piara* ].

Plural.

Nom. [ *piaro* ], [ *piuṇo* ]; AMg. JM. *piyaro*; AMg. also *piṭ*; Ś. *pidaro*.

Acc. [ *piare*, *piuṇo* ]; AMg. *piyaro*; Ś. *pidaro*, *pidare*.

Ins. [ AMg. *piūhiṃ*, also *piṭhiṃ*; [ *piarehiṃ* ].

Gen. AMg. *piūnam*, also *piṭnam*.

Loc. [ *piūsum* ].

Sing. : nom. is very frequent : M. *piā* (R. 15,26); AMg. JM. *pijā* (Sūyag. 377. 635. 750; Jiv. 355; Nāyādh. 1110; Erz. 14,13); Ś. *pidā* (Śak. 21,2; Uttarar. 113,6; Kaleyak. 24,18); Ā. *pidā* (Mṛcch. 104,17); Mg. *pidā* (Mṛcch. 32,11); AMg. JM. *bhāyā* = *bhrātā* (Āyār. 2,15,15; Sūyag. 377. 635. 750; Uttar. 217; Erz. 14,13); Ś. Ā. *bhādā* (Uttarar. 128,10;

Pras 83,6; Venis. 102,4; 103,22; Ā. Mṛcch. 104,18); Ś. *jāmādā* = *jāmātā* (Mālatīm. 235,4; Mallikām. 210,23; Priyad. 27, 4 [text °do]); Mg. *vāmādā* (Mṛcch. 139,25). Acc. Mg. *piyaram* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3; Sūyag. 176. 217. 330. 345); *ammāpiyaram* (Thāṇ. 126; Uttar. 573); Ś. *pidaram* (Vikr. 81,10; 82,8; Mālav. 84,5; Venis. 61,4; Kāleyak. 18,22; Kāmsav. 50,12 etc.), in Ā. too (Mṛcch. 101,17) and Dh. (Mṛcch. 32,10); JM. *bhāyaram* Ś. *bhādarām* = *bhrātaram* (Erz. 85,4; Venis. 95,14; 104,12; Mālatīm. 240, 2). — Ins. M. AMg. *piunā* (G. 1197; Vivāhap. 820. 827), Mg. *pidunā* (Mṛcch. 167,24), A. *piara* (Sukas. 32,3); JM. *bhāunā* (Erz. 45,28), Ś. *bhādunā* (Mālav. 71,2; Mālatīm. 244,2); Ś. *jāmādunā* (Ratn. 291,2). — Gen. M. AMg. *piuno* (R. 8,28; Kk. 262,28; Nāyādh. 784; Kappas. Th. § 3); AMg. *ammāpiuno* (Thāṇ. 125) beside *ammāpiussa* (Thāṇ. 126); JM. *piuno* (Erz. 9,19; 17,17) and *ammāpiyarassa* (Erz. 77,30); Ś. *piduno* (Mṛcch. 95,2. 15; Uttarar. 73,10; Mudrār. 262,6; Pārvatīp. 11,4; 28,6; Mukund. 34,3); Ś. *bhāduno* (Mālatīm. 242,1; 245,5; 249,4; Bālar. 113,7; 144,10; Venis. 60,21; 64,7; Mudrār. 35,9); Ś. *jāmāduno* (Venis. 29,12; Mallikām. 21,4; 212,17; Viddhaś. 48,9); A. *piaraha* (Piṅgala 1,116, in the meaning of the acc.). — Plural: nom. AMg. *piyaro* (Thāṇ. 511. 512), frequently in the compound *ammāpiyaro* (Āyār. 2,15,11. 16; Vivāhap. 809. 926; Thāṇ. 524.525; Antag. 61; Nāyādh. § 114. 116; p. 292. 887. 965 and often); AMg. JM. *bhāyaro* (Sūyag. 176; Samav. 238; Kk. 267,36; Erz.); also AMg. *bhāyarā* (Uttar. 402.622) and AMg. *do pī* = *dvau pitarau* [as the names of stars; Thāṇ 82], Ś. *bhādaro* (Uttarar. 12,7; Venis 13,9). False are Ś. *mādarāpiarā* (sic; Kāmsav.50,14) and *bhāarā* (sic; Kāmsav.50,10). We should read *mādāpidaro* and *bhādaro*. — Acc. AMg. JM. *ammāpiyaro* (Antag. 4, 23.61. Nāyādh. § 134.138; p. 260.887; Vivāhap. 808; Erz. 37,29); Ś. *pidaro* (Vikr. 87,17); AMg. also *ammāpiyare* (Uttar. 643; Commentary °*ram*); Ś. *mādāpidare* = *mātāpitarau* (Śak. 159,12). — Ins. AMg. *ammāpiūhim* (Āyār. 2,15,17; Nāyādh. § 138; p. 889) and AMg. JM. *ammāpiūhim* (Kappas. § 94; v. l. °*piū*°; Thāṇ. 527; Vivāhap. 1206; Āv. 37,2; 38,2) JM. *māyāpiūhim* (Āv. 17,31); AMg. *piūhim*, *bhāūhim* (Sūyag. 694; text °*ihiṃ*), false, *piyāūhim* (104) and *piūūhim* (692); Ś. *bhādarehim* (Mṛcch. 106,1) is merely conjectural. — Gen. AMg. *ammāpiūnam* (Kappas. § 90; Nāyādh. § 120; p. 905. 965) and *ammāpiūnam* (Ovav. § 72; v. l. °*piū*°; 103. 107); JM. *māyāpiūnam* (Āv. 37,21). The proper noun AMg. *culanīpiyā* = *culanīpitṛ* is declined as: nom. *culanīpiyā*, acc. °*piyam*, gen. °*piyassa*, voc. °*piyā* (Uvās.s.v.).

§ 392. *mātṛ* (mother) forms the nom. M. *mā* (H.400.508); AMg. JM. *māyā* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1; Sūyag. 115.161.377.635.750; Nāyādh. 1110; Jiv. 355 Kappas. § 46. 109; Erz. 5,19; 10,4. 7); Ś. Ā. Mg. *mādā* (Uttarar. 126,6; Venis. 29,12; Ā. Mṛcch. 104,17; Mg. Mṛcch. 129,6). In the meaning 'divine mother', the stem *māarā*, which is declined like the feminine in *-ā*, makes its appearance according to Hc.3,46. — Acc. M. *māaram* (Hc.3,46), AMg. JM. *māyaram*, Dh. Ś. *mādarām* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3; Sūyag. 176. 217. 330. 345; Erz.; Dh.; Mṛcch. 32,12; Ś. Mṛcch. 141,11; Śak. 59,7; Vikr. 82,3; 88,16 etc.), in M. also *māam* (H.741), and so the word may generally be declined as an *ā*-stem: sing. ins. JM. *māyāe* (Āv. 11,3,9); gen. Ś. *mādāe* (Karp. 19, 5); voc. M. *māe* (H. s. v. *mā*), Ś. *māde* (Venis. 58,17; Viddhaś. 112,8); plur.: ins. AMg. *māyāūhim* (Sūyag. 104); gen. A. *māahā* (Hc. 4,399). The nom. plur. is AMg. *māyaro* (Thāṇ. 512; Samav. 230; Kappas. § 74. 77); besides AMg. JM. have *i*- and *ū*-stems (Hc. 3,46); gen. loc. sing. *māūe* (Kappas. § 93; Āv. 12,9; loc. Vivāhap. 116); ins. plur. *māūhim* (Sūyag. 692 [°], 694); gen. plur. *māūnam*, *māūna* (Hc. 1,135; 3,46) which appears more frequently in compounds (§ 55). Voc. sing. *mā* in A. Piṅgala 1,2. — From *duhitṛ* the nom. Ś. is *duhidā* (Mālav. 37,8; Ratn. 291,1; Viddhaś.

47,6. 10; Priyad. 52,6 ), the acc. Ś. *duhidaram* ( Śak. 128,2 ), the voc. Ś. *duhīde* ( Viddhaś. 38,3 ed. Calc. ). JM. *dhīyā*, Ś. Mg. *dhūdā* and M. *dhūā*, AMg. JM. *dhūjā*, Ś. Mg. *dhūdā* are mostly used ( § 65.148 ), JM. *dhīyā*, Ś. Mg. *dhūdā* which are inflected as *ā*-stems, especially in the combinations JM. *dāśīedhīyā*, Ś. *dāśīedhūdā*, Mg. *dāśīedhūdā*, comprehended as compounds ( cf. *dāśīeutta* ). In Ś. Mg. the manuscripts and texts write *dhūā* mostly falsely. Nom. Ś. *dāśīedhūdā* ( Ratn. 302,8 ); AMg. JM. *dhūjā* ( Āyār. 1,2, 1,1; 2,15,15; Sūyag. 635,657; Vivāgas. 105. 214. 228; Antag. 55; Nāyādh. 586 781.1068.1070.1228; Vivāhap. 602.987; Jiv. 355; Āv. 10,23; 11,10; 12,3; 29,14; 37,26ff.; Erz. 5,38 ); Ś. *ajjādhūdā* = *āryāduhitā* ( Mṛcch. 53,23; 54, 7; 94,11; 325,14 ); acc. M. *dhūam* ( H. 388 ), AMg. *dhūjam* ( Vivāgas. 228. 229; Nāyādh. 820 ); ins. M. *dhūāi* ( H. 370 ); *dhūāe* ( H. 864 ); Ś. *dāśīedhūdāe* ( Nāgān. 57,4 ). Mg. *dāśīedhūdāe* ( Mṛcch. 17,8 ); gen. Ś. *dāśīedhūdāe* ( Mṛcch. 77,12; Nāgān. 47,10 ); Ś. *ajjādhūdāe* ( Mṛcch. 53,15; 94,4 ); loc. AMg. *dhūjāe* ( Nāyādh. 727 ); voc. JM. *dāśīedhūe* ( Erz. 68,20 ); Ś. *dāśīedhūde* ( Mṛcch. 51,7. 10; 72,19; Karp. 13,2 [ KONOW *dhūde* ]; Viddhaś. 85,11; Ratn. 294,3; 301,18; Nāgān. 57,3; Caṇḍak. 9,16 ); Mg. *dāśīedhūde* ( Mṛcch. 127,23 ). Plural: nom. acc. AMg. JM. *dhūjāo* ( Āyār. 2,1,4,5; 2,2,1,12; Vivāgas. 217; Āv. 10,23; 12,1; Erz. 14,12 ); ins. JM. *dhūjāhi* ( Erz. 14,16 ); gen. AMg. *dhūjānam* ( Āyār. 1,2,5,1 ); Ś. *dhūdānam* ( Mālatim. 288,5 ); voc. Ś. *dāśīedhūdāo* ( Cait. 84,7 ). From the stem *dhūyarā* is found the acc. sing. AMg. *dhūyaram* ( Uttar. 641 ), ins. plur. *dhūyarāhi* ( Sūyag. 229 ).— From *svasy* the nom. sing. is AMg. *sasā* ( Hc. 3, 35; Pāīyal. 252; Sūyag. 176 ).

#### 4) STEMS IN *o* AND *au*.

§ 393. Of the old flexion of *go* only a few remnants are traceable in AMg.: nom. *suṃyago* = *abhinavaprasūtā gauḥ* ( Sūyag. 180 ); nom. plur. *gāo* = *gāvaḥ* ( Dasav. 628,15 ); acc. plur. *gāo* = *\*gāvaḥ* = *gāḥ* ( Āyār. 2,4,2,9. 10 ); ins. plur. *gahim* = *gobhiḥ* ( Anuog. 351 ); gen. plur. *gavaṃ* = *ganām* ( Samav. 83; Uttar. 293 ). The nom. sing. in AMg. is *gave* = *\*gavaḥ* ( Āyār. 2,4,2,10; Dasav. 628,17 ), as also at Sūyag. 147 we have to read for *gavaṃ* of the text; the nom. plur. is AMg. *gavā* in *jaraggavā* = *jaradgāvaḥ* ( Sūyag. 185 ). For the mascul. *goṇo* is mostly used in AMg. Mg. ( Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 2,104; Triv. 1,3,105; Āyār. 2,1,5,3; 2,3,3,8. 13; 2,4,2,7; Sūyag. 708. 720. 724 f. 727; Jiv. 356; Panhāv. 19; Samav. 131; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Uvās.; Mṛcch. 97,21; 98,20; 99,12; 100,13; 107,18; 112,17; 117,15; 118,5. 12-14. 24; 122,15; 132,16; at the last two places *goṇām* with a change of gender according to § 358 ); AMg. *gonattāe* = *gotvāya* ( Vivāgas. 51 ). The fem. is JM. *gonī* ( Āv. 7,10. 12; 43,10 ), or M. *gāi* ( Hc. 1,158; H. ), AMg. JM. *gāvī* ( C. 2,16; Hc. 2,174; Āyār. 2,1,4,3. 4; Vivāgas. 67; Jiv. 356; Dasav. 618,39; Dasav. N. 658,7; Āv. 43,11. 20; Dvār. 504,12. 14; Erz. ). For the masc. Hc. 1,158 mentions *gāūo*, *gāo*, for the femin. *gāūā*, *gāi*. Of them *gāūo* = *gavayāḥ*, *goṇo* is either = *\*goṇno* for *\*gunno* = *\*gūrṇāḥ* from *ṽgur* according to § 66<sup>1</sup>, or = *\*gavana*. Cf. also § 8. 152.

1. So more correctly than BB. 3,237.

§ 394. *nau* ( ship ) always forms, from the strong stem, a femin. *nāvā*, which is inflected according to the *ā*-declension ( Hc. 1,164; Sr. fol. 16 ); sing. nom. AMg. *nāvā*, Ś. *nāvā* ( Nāyādh. 741. 1339; Vivāhap. 105; Uttar. 716; Mṛcch. 41,20 ), A. *nāva* ( Hc. 4,423,1 ); acc. M. *nāvām* ( G. 812 ), AMg. *nāvām*, *nāvām* ( Āyār. 2,3,1,13 ff.; Sūyag. 68. 271. 438; Vivāhap. 105; Nāyādh. 741 ); ins. gen. AMg. *nāvāe* ( Āyār. 2,3,1,15 ff.; Nāyādh. 1339 f.; Uvās. § 218 ); abl. AMg. *nāvāo* ( Āyār. 2,3,2,2. 3 ); plur. ins. AMg. *māvāhi* ( Dasav. 629,1 ).

5) STEMS IN *-t*.

§ 395. The nouns in *-t*, having a single stem, of which *t* is preceded by a vowel, cross over to the corresponding vocalic declension after dropping off of the final *t*: M. *indaiṇā* = *indrajitā* (R. 14,16), gen. *indaiṇo* (R. 12,58, 84) and *indaissa* (R. 15,61), loc. *indaiṇmi* (R. 13,99); *taḍī* = *taḍit* (Hc. 1,202), A. *taḷi* = *taḍitam* (Vikr. 55,2); *marū* = *marut* (Kī. 2,123; M. *viḷjū* = *vidyut* (Vr. 4, 9; Bh. 4, 26; Hc. 1, 15; Kī. 2, 129; H. 585). From *jagat*, the nom. sing. is M. *jaam* (R. 5, 20; 9, 73), AMg. *jage* (Sūyag. 74), A. *jagu* (Hc. 4,343,1); the acc. AMg. *jagam* (Sūyag. 405. 537); the gen. A. *jaassu* (Hc. 4,440); the loc. M. *jaammi* (H. 364; R. 3,12; Karp. 78,4; 80,4) and *jae* (G. 239; H. 303), AMg. *jagai* (Sūyag. 104; text °*ū*), and *jagamsi* (Sūyag. 306), JŚ. *jagadi* (Pav. 382, 26; text °*it*), A. *jagi* (Hc. 4,404; Kk. 261,1). The feminine nouns mostly take the endings *-ā*: *sarit* becomes Pāli *saritā*, M. *sariā* (G. H. R.), JM *sariyā* (Erz.), A. *saria* (Vikr. 72,9); M, gen. plur. *sariāhā* (Hc. 4,300); A. also ins. plur. *sarihū* = \**saribhiḥ* = *saridbhiḥ* (Hc. 4,422,11). The transition to the *-ā*-declension is prohibited by the grammarians for *vidyut*. Cf. § 244. According to Hc. 1,33 there is found *viḷjuṇā* too beside *viḷjūe*, according to C. 1,4 nom. plur. *viḷjuṇo* too.

§ 396. The stems in *-at*, *-mat*, *-vat* partly go according to the mode of Skt., especially in AMg., and partly according to that of the *a*-declension of the strong stems in *-antā*, *-mantā*, *-vantā*. Thus with the flexion of Skt.: sing. nom. AMg. *jāṇam* = *jānan* (Sūyag. 1,332); *viḷjam* = *vidvān* (Sūyag. 126. 306. 380 ff.); *cakkhumaṁ* = *cakṣuṣmān* (Sūyag. 546); *diḷḷhimaṁ* = *drṣṭimān* (Sūyag. 200. 531); *āyavaṁ nāṇavaṁ dhammavaṁ bambhavaṁ* = *ātmavān jñānavān dharmavān brahmavān* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2), *puṭṭhavaṁ* = *spṛṣṭavān* (Āyār. 1,7,8,8; in the passive sense), *thāmavaṁ* = *sthāmavān* (Uttar. 50. 90), *ciṭṭham*, *aciṭṭham* = *tiṣṭhan*, *atiṣṭhan* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2), *kuvvaṁ* = *kurvan* (Sūyag. 31,863), *kiṇam*, *haṇam*, *paṇam* = *krīnan*, *ghnan*, *ṇacan* (Sūyag. 609); AMg. JM. *mahaṁ* (Āyār. 1,7,1,4; Sūyag. 582; Ovav. § 5; Kk. 271. 11); JM. *arahaṁ* = *arhan* (Dvār. 495,9). In M. I have not been able to find this form. In Ś. Mg. it is confined to *bhagavat* and *bhavat* (pronoun) (Hc. 4,265). So Ś. *bhaavaṁ* (Mṛcch. 28,1; 44,19; Mudrār. 20,7; 179,3; Ratn. 296,5. 23; Vikr. 10,2; 23,19; 43,11 etc.); likewise Mg. (Mudrār. 178,6; Caṇḍak. 43,7); Ś. *bhavam* (Mṛcch. 4,24; 6,23; 7,3; 18,25; Śak. 37, 1 etc.), *atthabhavaṁ* = *atrabhavān* (Śak. 33,3; 35,7), *tatthabhavaṁ* = *tatrabhavān* (Vikr. 46,5; 47,2; 75,3. 15); likewise P. *bhagavaṁ* (Hc. 4,323), as in AMg. (Āyār. 1,8,1,1 ff.; Uvās. and very often).—Ins. AMg. *māimayā* = *matimatā* (Āyār. 1,7,1,4. 2,5), *māimajā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,22.2,16. 3,14.4,17; Sūyag. 373); AMg. *jāṇajā pāsaya* = *jānatā paśyatā* (Āyār. 1,7,1,3); AMg. JM. *mahajā* = *mahatā* (Āyār. 1,2,1,1; Sūyag. 718; Vivāgas 239; Nāyādh. § 15.135 etc.; Kk. 259,37), used also for the femin. in consonance with the following masculine and neuter (§ 355): *mahajā iddhiḥ mahajā juiḥ mahajā balenaṁ*... = *mahatyarddhiyā mahatyā dyutyā mahatā balena*... (Jiv. 588 [text *juttie*]; Kappas. 102; Ovav. § 52); M. *bhaavaā* (G. 896), AMg. JM. *bhagavajā* (Āyār. 1,1,1,1. 7. 3, 5 etc.; Uvās.; and very often; Kk. 268, 17), Ś. *bhaavadā* = *bhagavatā* (Lalitav. 265,18; Śak. 57,17; Vikr. 23,6; 72,14; 81,2); likewise in Ś. *bhavadā* = *bhavatā* (Śak. 36,16; Vikr. 19,15), *atthabhavadā*, *tatthabhavadā* (Vikr. 16,11; 30,9; 80,14; 84,19; Śak. 30,2), as also in the gen.: Ś. *bhaavado* (Śak. 120,5; Ratn. 294,5; 295,6), likewise Mg. (Prab. 52,6; Caṇḍak. 43,6); Ś. *bhavado* (Śak. 38,6. 8; 39,12; Mṛcch. 52,12; Vikr. 18,10,20,19; 21,19 etc.), *atthabhavado* (Vikr. 21,10), *tatthabhavado* (Mṛcch. 6,4; 22,12; Vikr. 38,18; 51,113; 79. 16). So also in the proper



noun Ś. gen. *rumaṇṇado* = *rumaṇṇataḥ* (Ratn. 320,16), of which the nom. is *rumaṇṇo*, as of an *n*-stem (Priyad. 5,5). In the case of adjectives and participles only the forms of the *a*-stems are otherwise usual in Ś.Mg. Hence false is Ś. *guṇavado* (Śak 84,8 ed. BURKHARD), for which ed. BÖHTLINGK 43,14, ed. Madras. 186,11 and the Kashmir recension 72,15 have likewise the false dative *guṇavade*. On the dative *bhavade* see § 361. — Gen. AMg. *mahao* = *mahataḥ* (Sūyag. 312), *bhagavao* = *bhagavataḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,2,4; 2,15,9 ff.; Kappas. § 16. 28; Vivāhap. 1271; Uvās.; and very often), *paḍivajjao* = \**pratipadyataḥ*, *viharao* = *viharataḥ* (Uttar. 116), *aviyāṇao* = *aviyānataḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2; 1,4,4,2; 1,5,1,1), *akuvvao* = *akurvataḥ* (Sūyag. 540), *pakuvvao* = *prakurvataḥ* (Sūyag. 340), *karao* = *kurvataḥ* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5) *haṇao* = *ghnataḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,4,2; 1,7,1,3), *kittayao* = *kīrtayataḥ* (Uttar. 726), *dhiṃao* = *dhr̥timataḥ* (Āyār. 2,16,8). On Ś. Mg. see above. — Loc. Ś. *sadi* = *sati* (Śak. 141,7); M. *himavaī* = *himavati* (Mudrār. 60,9). — Voc. AMg. JM. *bhagavaṃ*, *bhāvavaṃ* (Vivāhap. 205; Kappas. § 111; Erz. 2,32;44,18; Dvār. 495,13); Ś. *bhaavaṃ* (Ratn. 296,24; 298,14; 300,33; Prab. 59,4; Śak. 73,5; Vīkr. 86,10; Uttarar. 204,8 etc.); P. *bhagavaṃ* (Hc. 4,323). Beside AMg. *āusaṃ* = *āyuṣmaṃ* (Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 1; Sūyag. 792; Samav.1) AMg. very frequently has *āuso* (Āyār. 1,7,2,2; 2,2,2,6—14; 2,5,1,7. 13, 2,6,1,5. 10. 11; 2,7,1,2; 2,7,2,1. 2; Sūyag. 594; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas. etc.); further *samaṇāuso* (Samav. 31; Ovav. § 140; Nāyādh. 518. 614. 617. 652 ff.), that is used for the plural too (Sūyag. 579.582; Nāyādh. 497.504). *āuso* is rightly equated by LEUMANN (Aup. Ś. s. v.) as = \**āyuṣmas*, hence it is to be connected with the Vedic vocative in *-as* (WHITNEY § 454). — In the plur. the nom. and the voc. only are formed dialectically according to the old flexion too. Nom.: AMg. *silamanto guṇamanto vaīmanto* (Āyār. 2,1,9,1); *mūlamanto kandaṃmanto khandhamanto tajāṃmanto sālāmanto pavālamanto* etc. (Ovav. § 4), *bhagavanto* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1; 2,1,9,1; Vivāhap. 1235; Kappas. Ś. § 61), and so also Ś. nom. *bhaavanto* (Mudrār. 20,5). For Ś. *kidavanto* = *kṛtavantaḥ* (Jivān. 40,26) we have to read *kidavantā*, on the other hand for voc. *bhavantā* (Śak. 27, 16 ed. BÖHTLINGK) we should with the ed. Madras. 135,7 read *bhaavanto*, as stands at Venis. 102,2. — Nom. plur. neut. are AMg. *pariggahāvanti* (Āyār. 1,5,2,4; cf. 1,5,3,1); *balavanti* (Uttar. 753); *ejāvanti savāvanti* = *etāvanti \*sarvāvanti* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5. 7); *āvanti* = *yāvanti* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; 1,5,2,1. 4; cf. § 357); *jāvanti* (Uttar. 215). The sing. *abhiddavaṃ* = *abhidraṃ* metrically stands for the plural (Āyār. 2,16,2). Cf. FISCHER, Ved. Stud. 2.227. So also in prose the voc. JM. *bhāvavaṃ* (T. 4,14. 20) in addressing more than one. — As AMg. *samaṇāuso* is used for the plur. too, so is used very frequently the plural *āusanto* for the singular; hence it is to be taken as pluralis majestatis, since the nom. sing. in prose would be *āusante*: *āusanto samaṇā* = *āyuṣmaṇ śramaṇa*, *āusanto gāhāvai* = *āyuṣmaṇ gr̥hapate* (Āyār. 1,7,2,2; 5,2; 2,1,3,2; 2,3,1,16 ff.; 2,3,2,1. 2. 16; 2,3,3,5 ff. etc.); *āusanto goyamā* = *āyuṣmaṇ gotama* (Sūyag. 962. 972. 981) beside *āyuso goyamā* (Sūyag. 964); *āusanto udagā* = *āyuṣmaṇ udaka* (Sūyag. 969. 972. 1012. 1014). A doubtless plural is for example *āusanto nīyaṇṇhā* = *āyuṣmanto nirgranthhā* (Sūyag. 989. 992). From the weak stem are formed *jāṇao*, *ajāṇao* (Āyār. 2,4,1,1), in case one, with the commentary and JACOBI (S B E. XII, 149) will like to take it as the nom. plur. However, it is not possible for the prose, so that the forms are to be explained as the gen. sing., which gives also a better sense.

§ 397. With the exception of the cases noted under § 396 the formation in *-anta*, *-manta*-, *-vanta* prevails in all the dialects: sing. nom. M. *pianto* = *piḃan*; *calanto* = *calan*; *bahugūṇavanto* = *bahugūṇavān*; *kuṇanto* =

*kṛṇvan* ( H. 13. 25. 203. 265 ); AMg. *sāsanto* beside *sāsañ* = *sāsat* ( Uttar. 38 ); *anusāsanto* ( Uttar. 39 ); *kiṇanto*, *vikiṇanto* = *kṛiṇan*, *vikiṛiṇan* ( Uttar. 1010 ); *mūlamante*, *kandamante* = *mūlavān*, *kandavān* ( Ovav. § 5 ); *vannṛante*, *gandhamante* = *vārṇavān*, *gandhavān* ( Bhag. 1,420 ); *virāyanto* = *virājan* ( Ovav. § 48 ); *visīyanto* = *viśīdan*, *ramanto* = *ramamāṇaḥ* ( Dasav. 613, 16; 641, 21 ); *cullahimavante* = *cullahimavān* ( Thāṇ. 176 ); JM. *saṁthuvanto* = *saṁstīlyamānaḥ*; *gāyanto* = \**gāyan*; *deṅto* = \**dayan*; *agūhanto* = *agūhan*; *paloṅto* = *pralokayan* ( Āv. 7,25; 8,26; 9,5. 6; 15,21 ); *kandanto* = *krandan* ( Erz. 42,12 ); JM. Ś. *mahanto* ( Erz. 8,5; 50,5; 63,28; Kk. 274,4; Vikr. 45,1; Mallikām. 245,5; Mudrār. 43,8 ); Ś. *karēnto* = *kurvan*. ( Mṛcch. 6,13; 40,23 ), *jāṇanto* ( Mṛcch. 18,23; 104,1 ); *puloanto* = *pralokayan* ( Mahāv. 99,3 ), *cittavanto* = *cittavān* ( Śak. 87,13 ); Mg. *puṣcaṁde* = *prcchan* ( Lalitav. 565,20 ); *mahante* = *mahān* ( Mṛcch. 132,11; 169,18; Prab. 58,9; Venis. 35,17; 36,3 ); *colaante* = *corayan* ( Mṛcch. 165,9 ); *daṁśante* = *darśayan* ( Śak. 114,11 ); *māntante* = *manṭrayan* ( Prab. 32,10; so to be read; ed. Bomb. 78,12 *to* ); Dh. *ācakkhanto* = \**ācaksat* ( § 88; Mṛcch. 34,24 ); P. *cintayanto* = *cintayan*, *paribbhamanto* = *paribhraman* ( Hc. 4,323 ); A. *hasantu* = *hasan*, *daṁsijjantu* = *darśyamāna* ( Hc. 4,383,3.418,6 ), *jaggantu* = *jāgrat* ( Piṅgala 1,62<sup>a</sup> ), *valantu* = *valan*; *ulhasantu* = *ullasan*; *guṇavantu* = *guṇavān* ( Piṅgala 1,4<sup>b</sup>; 2,45 ); nom. neut. *bhaṇantaṁ* = *bhaṇat* ( H. 218 ); *kirantaṁ* = *kirat* ( G. 1182 ); Ś. *disantaṁ* = *darśyamānam* ( Uttarar. 77,6 ); A. *dhaṇamanta* = *dhanavat* ( Piṅgala 2,45 ). Mg. *dahante* ( more correctly *ḍahaḍahante* with the v. l.; Venis. 35,23 ) is related to the neuter *soṇidam* = *sonitam*. In the acc. masc. the Skt. form becomes identical with the later formation of Pkt.: AMg. Ś. *mahantaṁ* ( Āyār. 1,3,2,3; Sūyag. 944; Mṛcch. 40,22 ); M. *pijantaṁ*, *anupijantaṁ*, *avalambijjantaṁ*, *paāsantaṁ* = *piyamānam*, *anuniyamānam*, *avalambiyamānam*, *prakāśayantaṁ* ( G. 466-469 ); AMg. *saṁārambhantaṁ* = *saṁārabhamānam*, *kiṇantaṁ* = *kṛiṇantaṁ*, *giṇhantaṁ* = *grīhantaṁ* ( Āyār. 1,2,2,3; 1,2,5,3; 2,7,1,1 ); JM. *jaṁpantaṁ* = *jalpantaṁ* ( Kk. 262,5 ); Ś. *jāṇantaṁ*, *santaṁ*, *asantaṁ* ( Mudrār. 38,2; 63,9.10 ), *kaḍḍijjantaṁ* = *kaḍḍiyamānam* ( Mṛcch. 4,10 ), *uvahantaṁ* = *udvahantaṁ* ( Mṛcch. 41,10 ). False is Ś. *bhaavadam* for *bhaavantaṁ* ( Vikr. 87,17 ). Mg. *mālantam* = *mārayantaṁ*, *yiantam* = *jvantaṁ* ( Mṛcch. 123,22; 170,5 ); *aliḥantaṁ* = *arhantaṁ* ( Latakam. 14,19 ); A. *dārantu* = *dārayantaṁ* ( Hc. 4,345 ); neuter: M. *santaṁ* *asantaṁ* ( H. 513 ); Ś. *mahantaṁ* ( Mṛcch. 28,11 ). — Ins. M. *pianteṇa* = *piḍatā*, *paḍanteṇa* = *paṭatā* ( H. 246. 264 ); AMg. *vinimujjanteṇaṁ* = *vinimuṅcatā* ( Ovav. § 48 ); *anukampanteṇaṁ* = *anukampatā* ( Āyār. 2,15,4 ); JM. *jaṁpanteṇa* = *jalpatā* ( KI. 15; Erz. 10,26 ); *kunanteṇa* = Vedic *kṛṇvatā* ( KI. 15 ); *vaccanteṇaṁ* = *vrajatā* ( Āv. 11,19 ); JŚ. *arahanteṇa* = *arhatā* ( Pav. 385,63 ); Ś. *calaṁteṇa* = *calatā* ( Lalitav. 568,5 ); *gāanteṇa* = *gāyatā*, *karēnteṇa* = *kurvatā* ( Mṛcch. 44,2; 60,25; 61,24 ); *haranteṇa* ( Uttarar. 52,9 ) *bhūttavanteṇa* = *bhuktavatā* ( Jivān. 53,11 ); Mg. *gaścanteṇa* = *gacchatā* ( Mṛcch. 167,24 ); *āhiṇḍanteṇa* = *āhiṇḍamānena* ( Caṇḍak. 71,12 ); A. *pavasanteṇa* = *pravasatā* ( Hc. 4,333 ); *bhamanti* = *bhramatā* ( Vikr. 55,18; 58,9; 69,1; 72,10 ); *roanteṁ* = *rudatā* ( Vikr. 72,11 ). — Abl. AMg. *cullahimavanto* = *cullahimavataḥ* ( Thāṇ. 177 ). — Gen. M. *ārambhantassa* = *ārabhamāṇasya*, *ramantassa* = *ramamāṇasya*, *jāṇantassa* = *jānataḥ* ( H. 42, 44. 243 ), *viśahantassa* = \**viśahataḥ*, *voḥchindantassa* = *vyavacchinḍataḥ* ( R. 12, 23; 15, 62 ); AMg. *āusantassa* = *āyusmataḥ* ( Āyār. 2, 7, 1, 2; 2, 7, 2, 1 ); *bhagavantassa* = *bhagavataḥ* ( Kappas. § 118 ); *vasantassa* = *vasataḥ* ( Uvās. § 83 ), *cajantassa* = *tyajataḥ* ( Ovav. § 170 ); *cullahimavantassa* ( Jiv. 388 f. ); *kahantiassa* = *kathayataḥ* ( Sūyag. 907 ); *jiṇantassa* = *jayataḥ* ( Dasav. 618, 14 ); JM. *acchantassa* = *rcchataḥ*, *dhūvēntassa* = *dhūpayataḥ*, *sārakkhantassa* = *saṁrakṣataḥ* ( Āv. 14, 25; 25, 4; 28, 16 ); *karēntassa*, *kunantiassa* = *kurvataḥ*

(Erz. 1,24;18,10); JM. *cintantassa*, Ś. *cintaantassa* = *cintayataḥ* (Erz. 11,8; 18,16; Śak. 30,5); Ś. *mahantassa* = *mahataḥ* (Uttarar. 105,5); *maggantassa mārgamāṇasya*, *nikkamantassa* = *niṣkrāmataḥ* (Mṛcch. 95,7; 105,24); *hanumantassa* = *hanumataḥ* (Mahāv. 125,14); Mg. *vaññāmdaśsa* = *vrajataḥ* (Lalitāv. 566,7); *alihanataḥ* = *arhataḥ* (Prab. 52,7); CP. *ṇaccantassa* = *nṛiyataḥ* (Hc 4,326); A. *mellantahō* = *tyajataḥ*, *dēntahō* = *\*dayataḥ*, *jujjhantahō* = *judhyataḥ*, *karantahō* = *kurvataḥ* (Hc. 4,370,4.379,1.400).—Loc. M. *samāruhantammi* = *samārohati*, *hōntammi* = *bhavati*, *ruantammi* = *rudati* (H. 11. 124. 596); *hanūmantē* and *hanumantammi* = *hanumoti* (R. 1,35; 2,43); AMg. *jalante* = *jvalati* (Kappas § 59; Nāyādh § 34; Uvās § 66; Vivāhap. 169); *sante* = *sati* (Āyār. 2,5,1,5; 2,8,1; 2,9,1), *himavante* = *himavati* (Uvās. § 277); *arahantamsi* = *arhati* (Kappas § 74; Nāyādh. § 46); *abhinikkhamantammi* = *abhinīṣkrāmanti* (Uttar. 279); Ś. *mahante* = *mahati* (Śak 29,7); D. *jiante* = *jivati* (Mṛcch. 100,9); A. *ḥavasante* = *pravasati* (Hc. 4,422,12).—Voc. M. *āloanta sasanta jambhanta ganta roanta mucchanta paḍanta khalanta* = *ālokayan śvasan jṛmbhamāṇa gacchan rudan mūrchan pātan skhalan* (H. 547); *mahanta* (desiring), *muanta* = *muñcan* (H. 510. 643), Mg. *alihanta* = *arhan* (Prab. 54,6; 58,7; Laṭakam. 12,13).—Plural: nom. M. *paḍantā*, *ṇivadantā* = *patantāḥ*, *ṇipatantāḥ* (G. 122. 129. 442); *bhindantā* = *bhindantaḥ*, *jāṇantā* = *jānataḥ* (H. 326. 821); AMg. *silamantā* = *silamantaḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); *jampantā* = *jalpantaḥ* (Sūyag. 50); *vāyantā ya gāyantā ya naccantā ya bhāsantā ya sāśantā ya sāvēntā ya rakkhantā ya* = *vācayantaś ca gāyantāś ca nṛiyantaś ca bhāsamāṇaś ca śāsataś ca śrāvayantaś ca rakṣantaś ca* (Ovav. § 49, V); *pūrayantā*, *peccantā*, *ujjōntā*, *karēntā* = *pūrayantaḥ*, *prakṣamāṇāḥ*, *uddiyotayantaḥ*, *kurvantaḥ* (Ovav. [ § 37 ]); *buddhimantā* = *buddhimantaḥ* (Sūyag. 916); *arahantā* = *arhantaḥ* (Kappas § 17. 18), even in the combination *arahantā bhagavanto* (Āyār. 1, 4, 1, 1; 2, 4, 1, 4 [ so to be read ]; Vivāhap. 1235), likewise *samaṇā bhagavanto silamantā* (Āyār. 2, 2, 2, 10); JM. *kiddantā* = *kṛidantaḥ* (Āv. 30,15); *gavesantā* = *gaveṣayantaḥ*, *cojjantā* = *codyamāṇāḥ* (Kk. 273, 42; 274, 3); *santā* = *santaḥ*, *carantā* = *carantaḥ* (Erz. 1. 12. 13); Ś. *pūjjantā* = *pūjyamāṇāḥ*, *sikkhantā* = *śikṣantaḥ* (Mṛcch. 9, 1; 71, 21), *khalantā* = *khalantaḥ* (Uttarar. 108, 2); Mg. *śasantā* = *śvasantaḥ*, *paḍivaśantā* = *pratīvasantaḥ* (Mṛcch 116,17; 169,3); A. *phukkijjanta* = *phūṭkriyamāṇāḥ* (Hc. 4,422,3); *guṇamanta* = *guṇavantaḥ* (Piṅgala 2,118); neuter: AMg. *varṇamantāim gandhamantāim rasamantāim phāsamantāim* = *varṇavanti gandhavanti rasavanti sparśavanti* (Āyār. 2,4,1,4; Vivāhap. 144; Jiv. 26); acc. M. *uṇnamante* = *uṇnamataḥ* (H. 539); AMg. *arahante bhagavante* = *arhato bhagavataḥ* (Vivāhap. 1235; Kappas. § 21), *samārambhante* = *samārabhamāṇān* (Āyār. 1,1,3 5); JŚ. *arahante* (Pav. 379,3); neutrum: AMg. *mahantāim* (Vivāhap. 1308 f.).—Ins. M. *viṣamghaḍantehiṃ* = *viṣamghaḍabhiḥ* (H. 115), *viṇṇtehiṃ* = *vinirgacchadbhiḥ* (G. 138); AMg. *jiṇṇtehiṃ* = *jivadbhiḥ*, *ovayantehi ya uppajantehi ya* = *apapatadbhiḥ cotpatadbhiḥ ca* (Kappas. § 97); *paññamantehiṃ* = *\*prajñānamadbhiḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1); *āvasantehiṃ* = *āvasadbhiḥ* (Āyār. 1,5,3,4); *bhagavantehiṃ* = *bhagavadbhiḥ* (Anuog. 95); *arahantehiṃ* = *arhadbhiḥ* (Thāṇ. 288; Anuog. 518 [°ri°]); *santehiṃ* = *sadbhiḥ* (Uvās. § 220. 259. 262); JM. *āpucchantehiṃ* = *āpucchadbhiḥ* (Āv. 27,11); *maggantehiṃ* = *mārgamāṇāḥ* (Āv. 30,17); *gāyantehiṃ* = *gāyadbhiḥ*, *bhaṇantehiṃ* = *bhaṇadbhiḥ*, *āruhantehiṃ* = *ārahadbhiḥ* (Erz. 1,29; 2,15. 21); Ś. *gacchantehiṃ* = *gacchadbhiḥ* (Mudrār. 254,3); *anicchantehiṃ* = *anicchadbhiḥ* (Bālar. 144,9); *gāantehiṃ* = *gāyadbhiḥ* (Cait. 42,2); Mg. *paṇisantehiṃ* = *pravisadbhiḥ* (Caṇḍak. 42,11); A. *ṇivasantāḥ* = *ṇivasadbhiḥ*, *valantāḥ* = *valadbhiḥ* (Hc. 4,422,11. 18).—Gen. M. *ēntāṇam* = *āyatām*, *cintantāṇa* = *cintayatām* (H. 38,83); AMg. *arahantāṇam bhagavantāṇam* (Vivāhap. 1235;

Kappas. § 16; Ovav. § 20. 38); *santāṇaṁ* = *satām* (Uvās. § 85); *pannāṇa-mantāṇaṁ* = \**prajñānamatām* (Āyār 1 6,1,1); JM. *āyārantāṇaṁ* = *ācaratām* (Dvār. 502,28), *caratāṇaṁ* = *caratām* (Āv. 7,9), *kuṇantāṇaṁ* = *kurvatām* (Kk. 270,40), *joyantāṇaṁ* = *paśyatām* (Erz. 73,18); JŚ. *arihantāṇaṁ* (Pav. 379,4; 383,44 [°ro°]); Ś. *pekkhantāṇaṁ* = *prekṣamāṇānām* (Venīs. 64,16; Nāgān. 95,13); Mg. *alīhantāṇaṁ* = *arhatām*, *ṇamanitāṇaṁ* = *namatām* (Prab. 46,11; 47,1); *niṣkamantāṇaṁ* = *niṣkrāmatām* (Caṇḍak. 42,12); A. *peccantāṇa* = *prekṣamāṇānām*, *cintantāhā* = *cintayatām*, *ṇavantāhā* = *ṇamatām*, *joṇitāhā* = *paśyatām* (Hc. 4,348. 362. 399. 409).—Loc. M. *dhavalāntesu* = \**dhavalā-yatsu* (H. 9); JM. *naccantesu* = *ṇṛtyatsu* (Erz. 2,2), *gacchantesu* = *gacchatsu* (Āv. 7,26; Erz. 7,19), *kīlantesu* = *krīḍatsu* (Erz. 16,16); Ś. *parihariantesu* = *parihriyamānesu* (Mudrār. 38,10), *vaṭṭantesu* = *varitamānesu* (Pārvatīp. 2,5; text *vaṭṭadesu*).—Voc. AMg. *āusantā* = *āyusmantāh* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17).

§ 398. In the case of the stems in *-at*, *-mat*, *-vat* we find isolated forms, that are built according to the model of the nouns, having a single stem, that is to say, from the weak stem: nom. JM. *bhagavo* (Erz. 25,19); Mg. *haṇūme* = *hanūmān* (Mṛcch. 11,8); cf. Mg. *haṇūmasīhale* (Mṛcch. 133,12) and M. *variahaṇumam* (R. 12,88); AMg. *asam* = *asat* (Sūyag. 35); acc. AMg. frequently *maham* = *mahantam* and *māhat* (Āyār. 2,15,8; Uttar. 325; Vivāgas. 221; Vivāhap. 1325; Uvās. s. v. *maha*; Nāyādh. § 22. 122), femin. too (Vivāhap. 105), and *bhagavaṁ* = *bhagavantam* (Uvās. s. v.; Kappas. § 15. 16. 21; Bhag. 1,420; Ovav. § 33. 38. 40 etc.).—Forms from the weak stem in *-ta*, transported to the *a*-declension, are also found. So nom. sing. AMg. *ajāṇao* = \**ajānatah* = *ajānan* (Sūyag. 273; text *avijāṇao*), *vijāṇao* = *vijānan* (Nandīs. 1); nom. plur. femin. *amaimayā* = \**amatimatāh* = *amatimatyah* (Sūyag. 213); gen. plur. mascul. *bhavaṇyānaṁ* = \**bhavatānām* = *bhavatām* (Uttar. 354). For Ś. *himavadussa* (Pārvatīp. 27,13; 32,19; 35,1) we should read *himavantassa*, as in the last place GLASER (31,15) has.—From *arhat* are always formed the nom. *arahaḥ*, *arihā*, as from the stem *arhan* (e. g. Uvās. § 187; Kappas.; Ovav.); likewise is found M. *haṇumā* (Hc. 2,159; Mk. fol. 37; R. 8,43). Cf. also § 601.—On AMg. *āusantāro*, *bhājantāro* see § 390).

6) STEMS IN *-n*.

§ 399. 1) Stems in *-an*, *-man*, *-v n*. *-rāa-*, AMg. JM. *rāja-*, Mg. *lāa-* = *rājan*. In the declension of *rājan*, the old *n*-stem and the *a*-stem, that appears at the beginning of a compound come beside one another. Besides an *i*-stem should be deduced from the original separation-vowel *i* (§ 133).

## Singular.

Nom. *rāā*, [rāo]; AMg. JM. *rājā*; Mg. *lāā*; P. *rājā*; CP. *rācā*.  
 Acc. *rāāṇaṁ*; [rāṇam, rāam]; AMg. JM. *rājānaṁ*, *rājyaṁ*; Mg. *lāānaṁ*.  
 Ins. *raṇṇā*, *rāiṇā*; JM. also *rāeṇa*; [rāaṇā, rāṇā]; Mg. *laññā*; P. *raññā*, *rāciñā*.  
 Abl. [raṇṇo, rāiṇo, rāāo, rāādo, rāāu, rāādu, rāāhi, rāāhiṁto, rāā, rāāṇo].  
 Gen. *raṇṇo*, *rāiṇo*; AMg. JM. also *rājyassa*; [rāāṇo, rāaṇo]; Mg. *lañño*, *lāiṇo*; P. *rañño*, *rāciṇo*.  
 Loc. [rāimmi, rāammi, rāe].  
 Voc. [rāa, rāā, rāo]; AMg. JM. *rāja*, *rājā*, AMg. also *rājyaṁ*, Ś. *rāam*; Mg. [lāam]; P. *rājyaṁ*.

## Plural.

Nom. *rāāṇo*; AMg. JM. *rājyāṇo*, *rāiṇo*; [rāā]; Mg. *lāāṇo*.  
 Acc. *rāāṇo*; AMg. JM. *rājyāṇo*; [rāiṇo, rāe, rāā].

Ins. *rāhīm*; [ *rāhīm* ].

Abl. [ *rāhīm*, *rāhīmto*, *rāhīmto*, *rāsumto*, *rāsumto* ].

Gen. *rāṇam*, [ *rāṇam*, *rāṇam* ]; JM. *rāṇam*, *rāyānam*.

Loc. [ *rāsum*, *rāsum* ].

Voc. = nom.

On the declension of *rājan* see Vr. 5,36—44; Hc. 3,49—55; 4,304; Kī. 3, 35—40; Mk. fol. 44. 45; Sr. fol. 20. Cf. § 133. 191. 237. 276. Most of the cases are found in the texts often in AMg. JM. Ś.: sing. nom. Ś. *rāā* (Mṛch. 28,2. 12; 68,8; Śak. 40,7; Vikr. 15,4; 39,13; 75,3; 79,7 etc.); AMg. JM. *rājā* (Sūyag. 105; Ovav. § 11. 15; Uvās.; Kappas.; Āv. 8,37; 21,1 ff.; Erz. ); Mg. *lāā* (Mṛch. 128,10; 139,25; 140,1; Caṇḍak. 43,5); P. *rājā*, CP. *rācā* ( Hc. 4,304. 323. 325 ).—Acc. JM. *rājānam* ( Erz. 2,5; 24,26; Kk. III, 510,32) and *rāyam* (Uttar. 443; Ovav. § 55; Nāyādh. §78; Nirayāv. § 8. 22; Erz. 33,23); Mg. *lānam* (Mṛch. 138,25).—Ins. AMg. JM. *raṇṇā*, *raṇṇā* ( Nāyādh. § 23; Ovav. § 41; Kappas.; Āv. 8,23. 30. 33. 40. 53; Erz. 24,23; 25,11) and JM. *rāṇā* ( Āv. 8,35. 38; 9,17; Erz. 1,22; 18,19; 24, 28; 25,6; Kk. 260,30; 261,7; 270, 42; III, 510, 6 ); JM. *rāṇa* ( Āv. 8,6 ); Ś. *raṇṇā* (Mṛch. 4,10; 102,1; 103,15; Śak. 57,4; Mg. *laṇṇā* (Śak. 113,7; 117,3) in agreement with Hc. 4,302, whilst at Mṛch. 158,23. 25 *laṇṇā* stands; P. *raṇṇā*, *rāciṇā* ( Hc. 4,304. 320 ). — Gen. AMg. JM. *raṇṇo*, *raṇṇo* ( Uvās. § 113; Ovav. § 12. 13. 47. 49; Kappas.; Āv. 8,12. 27. 29. 54; Erz. 1,2; 32,13; 33,25); JM. also *rāṇo* (Erz. 46,24; 47,3. 4; 49,1) and *rāyassa* (Kk. II, 505,17; III, 512,34); Ś. *raṇṇo* (Mṛch. 99,25; 101,21. 23; Śak. 29,3; 54,2; Vikr. 28,19) and *rāṇo* (Mālatīm. 90,6; 99,4; Kamsav. 49,10 ); Mg. *laṇṇo*, written as *laṇṇo* ( Mṛch. 168,3) and *lāṇo* ( Mṛch. 171,11); P. *raṇṇo*, *rāciṇo* ( Hc. 4,304 ).—Voc. AMg. JM. *rājā* ( Nirayāv. § 22 ); mostly *rāyam* (Uttar. 409.414.417.418.444.503 etc.); JM. *rājā* (Kk. 261,12); Ś. *rāam* (Hc. 4,264; Śak. 31,10); Mg. *lāam* (Hc. 4,302); P. *rāyam* (Hc. 4,323); A. *rāa* (Hc. 4,402).—The nom. voc. *rāo*, ins. *rāṇā*, abl. gen. *rāṇo* are mentioned only by Sr., and the abl. *rādo*, *rādu* by Bh. Kī. 3,40 mentions also the ins. *rāṇā*, which is meant by C. 3,19, p. 49 too, where we should read *rājā* in place of *rājā*. — Plural: nom. AMg. JM. *rājāno* ( Āyār. 1,2,3,5; Sūyag. 182; Nāyādh. 828. 830; Jiv. 311; Erz. 17,29; 32,24. 32; Kk. 263, 16), JM. also *rāṇo* (Erz. 9,20; Kk. III, 512,13 [so to be read for *rāyāno*]); Ś. *rāṇo* (Śak. 58,1; 121,12; Mudrār. 204,1); Mg. *lāṇo* (Śak. 115,10).—Acc. AMg. JM. *rājāno* ( Nāyādh. 838; Kk. 263,16 ).—Ins. AMg. JM. *rāhīm* ( Nāyādh. 829. 833; Erz. 33,12 ).—Gen. AMg. JM. *rāṇam* ( Āyār. 1,2,5,1; Nāyādh. 822 ff. 832 ff.; Āv. 15,10; Kk. 263,11), JM. also *rājānam* ( Erz. 28,22 ).

§ 400. At the end of compounds, the *a*-stem does not prevail, as in Skt., but all the stems appear dialectically as unconnected words: sing. nom. AMg. *ikkhāgarājā* = *aikṣvākarājā* ( Ṭhān. 458; Nāyādh. 692. 729); *devarājā* = *devarājā* ( Āyār. 2,15,18; Uvās. § 113; Kappas. ); JM. *vikkamarāo* = *vikramarājā* ( Kk. II, 507,12 ), but *dīharājā* = *dīrgharājā* (Erz. 6,2); Ś. *mahārāo* = *mahārājā* (Śak. 36,12; 56,11; 58,13; Vikr. 5,9; 9,4; 10,20); *juarāo* = *yuvārājā* (Śak. 45,6); *aṅgarāo* (Venīs. 66,3); *vaccharāo* = *vatsarājā* (Priyad. 32,2; 33,7); *vallaharāo nāma rāā* (Karp. 32,4).—Acc. JM. *gaddabhillarājānam* (Kk. 261,29); Ś. *mahārāam* (Vikr. 27,17). — Ins. AMg. *devarannā* ( Kappas. ); Ś. *aṅgarāena* (Venīs. 60,5); *nāārāena* = *nāgarājena* ( Nāgān. 69,18 ); *mahārāena* ( Vikr. 8,9; 29,13 ). Nāyādh. 852 has the mixed form AMg. *devaranṇenam*. — Gen. AMg. *asurakumārāṇo*, *asurarāṇo* (Vivāhap. 198); *devarāṇo* (Vivāhap. 220 ff.), *devaranno* (Kappas.); JM. *sagaranno* = \**śakarājāṇā* ( Kk. 268,15 ); *vārasimharājāyassa* (Kk. II, 505, 17 ); Ś. *vaccharāssa* ( Priyad. 33, 9 ); *kalīngaraṇṇo* ( Priyad. 4, 15 );

*riurāṇo* = *riṣurāṇjasya* (Lalitav. 567, 24); *māhārāssa* (Vikr. 12,14;28,1); *aṅgarāssa* (Venīs. 62,13); Mg. *mahālāssa* (Prab. 63,4). — Voc. AMg. *pañcālārāyā* (Uttar. 414); *asurarāyā* (Vivāhap. 254), both with pluti; Ś. *aṅgarāa* (Venīs. 66, 14); *māhārāa* (Vikr. 12, 13). — Plural nom. AMg. *gaṅgarāyāno* (Kappas. § 128); JM. *lādāyavisayarāyāno* = *lāṭakaviṣayarājāḥ* (Kk. 264, 18); Ś. *bhīmasenaṅgarāa* = *bhīmasenaṅgarāju* (Venīs. 64,9). — Acc. AMg. *gaṅgarāyāno* (Nirayāv. § 25). — Ins. AMg. *devarāṭhīm* (Vivāhap. 241). — Gen. AMg. *devarāṭhīnam* (Vivāhap. 240 f.; Kappas.); JM. *sagarāṭhīnam* (Kk. 266,41). For Ś. Mg. only the forms of the *a*-stems will be correct.

§ 401. *ātman* forms: sing. nom. AMg. *āyā* (Āyār. 1,1,1,3,4; Sūyag. 28.35.81.838; Uttar. 251; Vivāhap. 132.1059 ff; Dasav. N. 646,13); JŚ. *ādā* (Pav. 380,8 etc.; § 88); M. AMg. JM. JŚ. *appā* (G.333. 798. 887. 899. 952. 956. 1120; H. 39. 193. 361. 672. 754. 880; R.; Uttar. 19; Dasav. N. 646,5; Nāyādh.; Bhag. 1,420; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 380,11; 382,27; 385,61; Mṛcch. 12,7; 78,11; Śak. 19,7; 137,6; 140,7; Ratn. 291,2; 295,9; 299,17; 307,31 etc.); Ś. Mg. *attā* (Śak. 104,4; Mg. Mṛcch. 140,21)<sup>1</sup>. — Acc. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Dh. *appānum* (G. 240. 860. 898. 953. 1070. 1201; H. 516. 730. 756. 902. 953; R.; Āyār. 1,3,3,2;2,3,1,21; Sūyag. 415 [°nā]; Vivāhap. 178; Kappas. § 120; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 17,9. 10; Erz.; Kk.; Pav. 382, 27; 385, 65; 386, 70; Kattig. 399, 313; Mṛcch. 32, 14); AMg. also *attānam* (Āyār. 1,1,3,3; 1,3,3,4; 1,6,5,4; 2,5,2,2 [so to be read for *attā nam*]; Sūyag. 474 [°nā]) and *āyānam* (Sūyag. 367); Ś. Mg. only *attānam* = *\*ātmānakam* (Mṛcch. 90,21; 95,4; 96,7. 10. 14; 141,17; Śak. 14,3 [so to be read]; 24,1; 60,8; 63,9; 64,2; 74,5; 124,8; 137,12; 159,12; Vikr. 7,17; 23,13 etc.); Mg. Mṛcch. 37,13; 133,21; 162,21, 24; 169,7); false *attānam* (Mṛcch. 327,3; Priyad. 41,14); *appānam* (Priyad. 12,9; 23,10; 28,1. 5) and *appānaam* (Cait. 75,16)<sup>2</sup>. — Ins. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *appānā* (G. 78. 83. 910; H. 159; R.; Āyār. 2,5,2,2,3; Sūyag. 170; Vivāhap. 67. 178; Kappas. S. § 59; Erz.; Vikr. 84,7). — Abl. AMg. *āyao* = *\*ātmataḥ* (Sūyag. 474), and so, or we have to read *attaō* for *āttāō* of the text at Sūyag.472 too; JM. *appāpāno* (T. 5,18). — Gen. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. D. Ā. *appāno* (H. 6.281.285; R.; Āyār. 1,2,5,1,1. 5; 1,3,2,1; Sūyag. 16; Kappas. § 8. 50. 63. 112; S. 2; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Pav. 380,7; D. Mṛcch. 103,20; Ā. Mṛcch. 104,9); M. *attāno* (G. 63. 90 [v. i. °ppa°]. 96; H. 201 [v. i. °ppa°]), and so always stands in Ś. Mg. (Mṛcch. 141,15; 150,13; 166,15; Śak. 13,10; 25,1; 32,1,8; 51,4; 54,7 etc.; Vikr. 13,4; 15,3; 32,17; 46,7; Ratn. 297,32; 303,32; 304, 11 etc.; Mg. Mṛcch. 114,14; 116,19; 154,20; 164,4). — Voc. *appām* (Hc. 3,49). — Plur. nom. *appāno* = *ātmānaḥ* (Bh. 5,46; Hc. 3,56; Kī. 3,41; Mk. fol. 45). — From *appa-* = *ātma-*, that appears in the beginning of a compound, has been deduced a substantive *appa-*, that is declined according to the *a*-declension (Hc. 3,56; Mk. 45): nom. *appo*; abl. *appāo*, *appāu*, *appāhi*, *appāhīnto*, *appā*; loc. *apphe*; voc. *appa*, *appā*; Plur. ins. *apphehi*; abl. *appāsumto*; gen. *appānam*; loc. *apphesu*. Found in the texts are: acc. AMg. *appām* (Sūyag. 282); ins. AMg. *appēna* (Sūyag. 282), *appēnam* (Sūyag. 207); gen. A. *appāho* = *\*ātmasyaḥ* (Hc. 4,346); loc. AMg. *apphe* (Uttar. 293); plur. *appā* in M. *suhambharappa ccia* = *suhambharātmāna evā* (G. 993). With *kaḥ svārthe*, this stem occurs in JM. *appāyam* (Erz. 52,10) and A. *appāū* (Hc. 4,422,3) = *ātmakam*. Further new *a*-stems are built from the old strong and weak stems. Thus from the strong stem: sing. nom. M. JM. *appāno* = *\*ātmānaḥ* = *ātmā* (Vr. 5,45; Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45; G. 882; H. 133; R.; Sagara 10,1); *attāno* (Mk. fol. 45); AMg. *āyāne* (Vivāhap. 132). — Ins. AMg. *appāṇenam* (Āyār. 1,1,7,6; 1,5,5,2; 2,1,3,3. 5; 2,15,2,24; Vivāhap. 178). — Gen. JM. *appānassa* (Erz.). — Loc. M. *appāṇe* (R.). — Plur. nom. AMg. *āyānā* (Sūyag. 65); *appānā* (Hc. 3,56). With *kaḥ svārthe*:

acc. JM. *attāṇayaṃ* (Erz.); Ś. Mg. *attāṇaṃ* (see above). — Gen. M. *appāṇaassa* (G. 955). In the first member of a compound the re appears the strong stem in AMg. *appāṇarakkhī* = *ātmarakṣī* (Uttar. 197); JŚ. *appāṇasamaṃ* (Kattig. 400,331). From the weak stem: sing. nom. *appāṇo* (Kī. 3,41). — Acc. A. *appāṇu* (Hc. 4,337). — Ins. M. *appāṇeṇa* (Kī. 3,41; H. 827); A. *appāṇeṃ* (Hc. 4,416). With *kaḥ svārthe*: acc. *appāṇaṃ* (Hc. 2,153); A. *appāṇāṃ* (Hc. 4,350,2); gen. Mg. *attāṇaśśā* (Mṛcch. 163,20). — In the first member of a compound the weak stem appears in Ś. *attāṇakeraka* (Mṛcch. 74, 8; 88, 24), Mg. *attāṇakelaka* (Mṛcch. 13, 9; 21, 20; 118, 17; 130, 10; 139, 16; 164, 3; 167, 2); A. *appāṇachandaṃ* = *ātmacchandakam* (Hc. 4,422,14). It occurs also in the ins. *appāṇā*, *appāṇā* (Hc. 3,14, 57) of which the explanation is uncertain and in JM. *savvaḥḥappāṇayāe* = *\*sarvātmanatayā* (Erz. 58, 31). Whilst the nom. sing. AMg. *āyā* would be taken as in the femin. (§ 358), one built as ins. sing. AMg. *āyāe* = *ātmanā* (Vivāhap. 76. 845), *āṇāyāe* = *anātmanā* (Vivāhap. 76).

1. In Śak. 104,4 we should probably read with I *appā*. — 2. FISCHER on Hc. 3,56. Wrongly WEBER, IS, 14,235.

§ 402. The stems, appearing in Skt. in compounds and as the strong-stems, also of other masculine nouns ending in *-an*, are used as independent *a*-stems, beside the old flexion of Skt., as in the case of *ātman* (§ 401); So sing. nom. *addhā* and *addhāṇo* = *adhvā* (Bh. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45) — acc. AMg. *addh'* for *addham* (§ 173; Sūyag. 59) and in the bahuvrīhi *dīha-mt addham* = *dirghādhvānam* (§ 353); loc. AMg. *addhāṇe* (Uttar. 712). In the first member of a compound stands the strong *a*-stem in AMg. *addhāṇapaḍivanna* = *adhvapratiḥpanna* (Vivāhap. 153). Since *addhā* elsewhere in AMg. is used as feminine (§ 358), the acc. *addham* too may be derived from it. — Sing. nom. D. *bambhā* (Vr. 5,47; Hc. 3,56; Mṛcch. 105,21), JM. *bambho* (Erz. 30,20), AMg. *bambhe* (Kappas. Th. § 6) = *brahmā*; acc. M. *bambhāṃ* (H. 816); gen. AMg. *bambhassa* (Jiv. 912); plur. nom. AMg. *bambhā*, as *ajjamā* = *aryamaṇau* (Thāp. 82). — Sing. nom. *muddhā* and *muddhāṇo* = *mūrdhā* (Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45); acc. AMg. *muddhāṇam* (Ovav. § 19; Kappas. § 15); ins. AMg. *muddheṇa* (Uttar. 788) and *muddhāṇeṇam* (Uvās. § 81. 83); loc. AMg. *muddhi* = *mūrdhni* (Sūyag. 243) and *muddhāṇamsi* (Vivāhap. 1442); plur. nom. AMg. *\*kajamuddhāṇa* = *\*kṛtamūrdhāṇaḥ* (Nāyādh. § 40). — M. *mahimam* = *mahimānam* (G. 885). — M. *savvatihāmeṇa* = *sarvasthāmnā* (H. 567). — Ś. *vijavammā* = *vijavavarmā* (Ratn. 320,16), voc. *vijavammam* (Ratn. 320,19 32); Ś. *dīdhavammā* = *drdhavarmā* (Priyad. 4,15); but PG. *sivakhandavamo* = *sivaskandavarmā* (5,2), *bhaṭṭisamma* = *bhaṭṭisarmaṇaḥ* (7,50), VG. *sirivijayabuddhavammassa* (101,3); Ś. *cittavammo* = *citravarmā* (Mudrār. 204,2); Ś. *māṅkavammo* (Viddhaś. 73,2), *māṅkavammassa* (Viddhaś. 43,7; 47,6; 113,2); A. *vaṅkima* = *vakṛimānam* (Hc. 4,344); *ucchā* and *ucchāṇo* = *ukṣā* (Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45), also *ukkhāṇo* (Mk. fol. 45); *gāvā* and *gāvāṇo* = *grāvā*; *pūsā* and *pūsāṇo* = *pūṣā* (Hc. 3,56; Mk. fol. 45); *takkhā* and *takkhāṇo* = *takṣā* (Hc. 3,56). So is explained also AMg. *siṅghāṇa* = *śleṣman* (§ 267). At the end of bahuvrīhi the words mostly go over to the *u*-declension from the stem of the composita, particularly when the last member is a neuter (cf. § 404): M. *thīrapemmo* = *sthīrapremā* (H. 131); so to be read with H.<sup>1</sup> 134, as also Bhuvanapāla (IS. 16,117) has *\*pimmō*; M. *añṇāṇṇapparūḍḍhapemmanam* (Pārvatīp. 45. 13); AMg. *akamme* = *akumā* (Āyār. 1,2,3,1); AMg. *kayabalikamme* = *kṛtabalikarmā* (Ovav. § 17), femin. *\*kammā* (Kappas. § 95); JŚ. *rahitaparīkammo* = *rahitaparīkarmā* (Pav. 388,27); AMg. *sarvovāḍakammassa* = *sarvovāḍakarmanāḥ* (Sūyag. 144); AMg. *bahukūrakammā* = *bahukūrakarmanāḥ* (Sūyag. 282);

JM. *kajāyamaṇakammā* = *kytācamanakarmāṇaḥ* ( Dvār. 500,39 ); AMg. *jāyathāme* = *jāstathāmā* (Kappas. § 118 ; AMg. *itthiyāo.. parūḍhanahakesakakkharomāo* = *striyah ... parūḍhanahakesahaksaromnyah* ( Ovav. §72 ); JM *namuñāmo* = *namucināmā* ( Erz. 1,20 ), but also *cittasambhūyanāmāno* = *citrasambhūtanāmānau* ( Erz. 1,19 ); Ś. *laddhañāmissa* = *labdhanāmnaḥ* ( Ratn. 321. 29 ); Ś. *kidāraḥaparikkammaṁ* = *kytācāraparikarmāṇam* ( Śak. 30,6 ); Ś. *añṇasaṁkantoppemṁmā* = *anyasaṁkrāntapremāṇaḥ* ( Vikr. 45,2 ); Mg. *diṇṇakalavīladāme* = *datīakaravīradāmā* ( Mṛcch. 157,5 ), *uddāme* = *uddāmā* ( Mṛ. ch. 175,14 ). For Mg. *uddān'eva kiślī* ( Mṛcch. 161,5 ) we should read *uddāma vva kiśolī*.

§ 403. From *maghavan* the nom. sing. is *maghoṇo* ( Hc. 2,174 ) from the extended weak stem, the acc. is AMg. *maghavaṁ* ( Vivāhap. 249 ). — *juvan* is inflected as: sing. nom. M. JM. Ś. *juvā*, *juā* ( Bh. 5,47 ; Hc. 3, 56 ; H. ; Dvār. 501,15 ; Mṛcch. 28,5. 9 ; Pārvatip. 31,8 ); beside M. JM. *juvāṇo* ( Bh. 5,47 ; Hc. 3,56 ; Kī. 3,41 ; Mk. fol. 45 ; H. ; Prab. 38,10 ; Dvār. 506,31 also at the end of compounds ), AMg. *juvāṇe* ( Vivāhap. 212. 214. 218. 222. 280. 287. 349 ) and *juvaṁ*, as from a *t*-stem ( § 396 ; Āyār. 2,4,2, 10 ; 2,5,1,1 ) ; with *kaḥ svārthe*: M. *hamsajuānao* ( Vikr. 64,5 ; 74,4 ) ; femin. M. °*juvāṇā* ( H. ) ; ins. M. *juvāṇeṇa* ( H. ), JM. °*juvāṇeṇa* ( Erz. 43,18 ) ; voc. M. *juvāṇa* ( H. ) ; plur. nom. M. *juvāṇā*, AMg. *juvāṇā* ( H. also at the end of compounds ; Thān. 371 ; Antag. 55 ) ; ins. M. °*juvāṇehi* ( H. ) ; gen. AMg. *juvāṇāṇam* ( Aṇug. 323 ) ; voc. AMg. *juvāṇā* in *he juvāṇa tti* ( Thān. 488 ; Aṇug. 324 ). — From *śan* are found: sing. nom. *sāṇo* ( Bh. 5,47 ; Hc. 3,56 ), AMg. *sāṇe* ( Āyār. 2,4,1,8 ), A. *sāṇa* ( Piṅga'a 1,99 ), therefore, the stem, which likewise occurs in AMg. ( Panhāv. 20 ) ; gen. AMg. *sāṇassa* ( Uttar. 12 ). — From the different stems, which one tends to put together under *panthan* or *pathin* or *pathi* or *path*, are found exclusively from *patha* : sing. nom. *pantho* ( Hc. 1,30 ) and *paho* ( Vr. 1,13 ; Hc. 1,88 ; Kī. 1,18 ; Mk. fol. 7 ) ; acc. AMg. JM. *pantham* ( Hc. 1,88 ; Āyār. 1,7,1,2 ; Thān. 248 ; Āv. 22,26 ; 46,5. 11. 15 ), AMg. *pan'h'* = *pantham* ( § 173 ; Sūyag. 59 ), AMg. *paham* ( Sūyag. 59 ; Uttar. 324 ) ; ins. M. JM. *pahena* ( G. 423 ; Kk. 269,29 ; Āv. 36,33 ), AMg. *pahenam* ( Uttar. 635 ) ; abl. JM. *panthāo* ( Kk. 264,4 ) ; loc. JM. *panthe* ( Erz. 36,28 ) ; A. *panthi* ( Hc. 4,429,1 ), AMg. *pahe* ( Uttar. 324 ), JM. *pahammi* ( Dvār. 504,1 ) ; plur. nom. M. *panthāṇo* ( H. 729 ), AMg. JM. *panthā* ( Sūyag. 110 ; Erz. 7,3 ) ; gen. AMg. *panthāṇam* ( Sūyag. 189 ) ; loc. AMg. *panthesu* ( Uttar. 53 ). — In compounds appear the stems M. JM. *pantha*, °*vantha* ( H. ; R. ; Āv. 46,6 ) and *paha*, °*vaha* ( G.H.R. ; Kk. ; Erz. ).

§ 404. The neutra in *-an* sometimes become masculine ( § 358 ) ; but they are inflected mostly like the neutra in *-a*. Thus e. g. *pemma* = *preman*: sing. nom. M. Ś. *pemmaṁ* ( H. 81. 95. 124. 126. 232 ; Ratn. 299,18 ; Karp. 78,3. 6 ) ; acc. M. Ś. *pemmaṁ* ( H. 522 ; Vikr. 51,16 ; Karp. 76,8. 10 ) ; ins. *pemmaṇa* ( H. 423. 746. 966 ) ; gen. M. Ś. *pemma* ( H. 53, 390. 511. 910. 940 ; Karp. 75,9 ) ; loc. M. *pemmammi* ( Karp. 79,5 ), M. Ś. *pemma* ( H. 304 ; Karp. 75,10 ) ; plur. nom. M. *pemmaṁ* ( H. 127. 236. 287 ) ; gen. M. *pemmaṇam* ( H. 10 ). — Sing. nom. M. Ś. Mg. *nāmaṁ*, AMg. JM. *nāmaṁ* ( H. 452 ; Kappas. § 108 ; Āv. 13,29 ; 14,19 ; Erz. 4,34 ; Vikr. 30,9 ; Mg. Mudrār. 191,5 ; 194,7 ) ; acc. Ś. M. *nāmaṁ* ( Mṛcch. 28,21 ; 37,25 ) ; ins. Ś. Mg. *nāmeṇa* ( Vikr. 16,9 ; Mṛcch. 161,2 ), JM. *nāmeṇa* ( Āv. 8,5 ), AMg. *nāmeṇam* ( Ovav. § 105 ), *nāmeṇam* ( Kappas. § 107 ) ; loc. M. *nāme* ( G. 89 ) ; plur. nom. JM. *nāmāṇi* ( Āv. 13,28 ) and AMg. JM. *nāmāṁ* ( Uvās. § 277 ; Āv. 14,18 ). Skt. *nāma* ( by name ; namely ) becomes M. Ś. Mg. *nāma* ( G. H. R. ; Mṛcch. 23,22 ; 28,23 ; 40,22 ; 94,25 ; 142,12 etc. ; Mg. Mṛcch. 21, 10 ; 38, 2 ; 40, 9 ), JM. *nāma* ( Āv. 15, 8 ; 16, 29 ; 39, 2 ;



Erz. 1,1. 20; 11,17 etc. ), but AMg. *nāmañ* (Ovav. § 11; Kappas. § 124; Uvās.; Bhag.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.) and *nāma* (Ovav. § 1. 12; Kappas. § 42. 129).—Sing. nom. AMg. *jammanñ* = *janma* (Uttar. 636; Kattig. 399,321); acc. M. AMg. *jammanñ* (H. 844; Āyār. 1,3,4. 4; Sūyag. 689); ins. Ś. *jammeṇa* (Śak. 141,10); abl. AMg. *jammāo* (Sūyag. 689. 756); gen. AMg. *jammaṣṣa* (Sūyag.); loc. JM. Ś. *jamme* (Āv. 12,13; 25,37; Nāgān. 35, 5), A. *jamī* (Hc. 4, 383, 3; so to be read).—Sing. nom. M. AMg. *kammam* = *karma* (R. 14, 46; Uttar. 247. 413. 505); acc.; AMg. *JŚ. kammañ* (Sūyag. 381. 382. 456. 496; Kattig. 399,319; 400, 327; 403,373. 374. 377); ins. AMg. *kammenañ* (Vivāhap. 168. 190; Uvās. § 72. 76); gen. M. AMg. *JŚ. kammaṣṣa* (H. 614; Uttar. 178; Paṇṇav. 665. 671 f.; Kappas. § 19; Pav. 383,27), Mg. *kammāha* (Hc. 4,299, with note; the Kashmir recension of Śak. reads 108,13 *kammaṇo*); loc. AMg. *kammaṃsi* (Thāp. 208; Rāyap. 249), JM. *kamme* (Erz. 38,31); against the dialect is Ś. *kammammī* (Kaṃsav. 50,2) for the correct *kamme* (Kāleyak. 25,8); plur. nom. AMg. *kammā* (Uttar. 113); acc. AMg. *kammāñ* (Sūyag. 284; Uvās. § 138; Ovav. § 153) and *kammā* (Uttar. 155), *ahākammāñi* (Sūyag. 873), *JŚ. kammāñi* (Pav. 384,59); ins. AMg. *kammehim* (Āyār. 1,4, 2,2,3,3; 1,5,2,3; Sūyag. 716. 718. 719. 721. 771; Uttar. 155. 175. 205. 218. 221. 593; Vivāhap. 147. 168. 185), *ahākammehim* (Uttar. 155. 205); gen. AMg. *kammāṇañ* (Sūyag. 1012; Uttar. 156. 205; Samav. 112; Uvās. § 74), *kammāṇa* (Uttar. 177); M. according to Hc. 4,300 also *kammāhā*; loc. Ś. *kammesu* (Viddhaś. 28,6), Mg. *kammesu* (Mudrār. 191,9). On the nom. Ś. *kamme* see § 358. Of the isolated forms may be mentioned: sing. loc. AMg. *cammaṃsi* = *carmaṇi* (Kappas. § 60), *rommaṃsi* = *romṇi* (Uvās. § 219), *ahamaṃsi* = *ahani* (Āyār. 2,15,11); Ś. *paṇve* = *parvaṇi* (Kāleyak. 13,20); plur. acc. M. *cammāñ* (H. 631); ins. AMg. *lomehim* = *lomabhiḥ* (Uvās. § 94. 95); AMg. Ś. *dāmehim* = *dāmbhiḥ* (Jiv. 348; Rāyap. 63; Mrcch. 69,1); loc. M. *dāmesu* (G. 784); *JŚ. paṇvesu* = *parvasu* (Kattig. 402,359). Dialectically the old Skt. forms have sometimes been retained: sing. nom. M. *camma* = *carma* (H. 955); nom. acc. AMg. *JŚ. Ś. Mg. kamma* = *karma* (Āyār. 1,4,3,2; 2,2,2,13. 14; Sūyag. 282; Uttar. 113. 178; Pav. 386,4; Venis. 62,5; Uttarar. 197,10; Mg. Śak 114,6 [verse]; Venis. 33,5). For Ś. Mg., except in verses, the form will be false for *kammañ*. In Mrcch. 70,24 we should read *amūñ...kammatoraññiñ*, which is pointed to by the v. l. in GODABOLE p. 201; for Ś. *peṃma* (Prab. 41,6) the ed. Bomb. 91,6 reads *peṃma* for *peṃma* (Karp. 77,10 ed. Bomb.) Konow 76,8 rightly has *peṃmañ*. Ins. AMg. *kammaṇā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,4); probably wrongly for *kammunā*, as AMg. JM. otherwise have (§ 104; Āyār. 1,4,4,3<sup>1</sup>; 1,8,1,13. 17; Sūyag. 108. 151. 377. 542. 873. 978; Uttar. 28. 43. 177. 217. 505. 592. 753 f.; Jiv. 796; Paṇḥāv. 134. 391; Vivāhap. 283. 1808; Erz. 25,20; Sagara. 2,9). Likewise there appears *u* for *a* in the gen. sing. AMg. *kammunō* (Uttar. 170. 223. 312), in the gen. plur. AMg. *kammunañ* (Sūyag. 542) and in the ins. sing. AMg. *dhammunā* from *dharman* in the combination *kāladhammunā samjjuṭṭa* = *kāladharmanā samyukta* (Thāp. 157; Vivāgas. 82 ff. 117. 155. 207. 217. 225. 238; Nāyādh. 329. 1099. 1421). Corresponding to Skt. *karmataḥ* AMg. has *kammao* (Uvās. § 51), and Ś. *jammado* (Raṇ. 298,11) is = Skt. *janmataḥ*. The loc. Ś. *kammaṇi* (Bālar. 251, 8) will be false. A loc. plur. AMg. *kammasu* = *karmasu* stands at Sūyag. 403 in the verse.—As the masculina form a new stem in *-āṇa* (§ 401. 402), so the neutra dialectically form a stem in *-āṇa*: AMg. *jammanañ* = *janma* (Hc. 2,174; Jiv. 122. 123. 136 ff.); AMg. JM. *jammanā* (Uttar. 1105; Paṇḥāv. 72 ff.; Nāyādh. 290; Vivāhap. 1159. 1738. 1741 f. 1773; Sagara 6,10; Erz.); JM. *kammaṇañ* = *karma* (Erz. 52,17; 56,31), *kammaṇā* (Erz. 29,23). The same stem with *u*, as in the ins. gen. sing., gen. plur. of *karman*, occurs in the abl. sing. AMg. *kammunā*

(Āyār. 1,7,8,2; Sūyag. 17)<sup>2</sup>. *bamhaṇa* = *brahman* (Kī. 3,41) too is to be included in the neuter.

1. JACOBI reads with the ed.Calc. against the MSS. *kammāni*, to accept which he is constrained to refer to this acc. plur. by *saphalam* (SBE. XXII, p. 4.). We should with the MSS. read *kammupā*, and *saphalam* is to be assumed as=*svaphalam*.—2. *kammupā u* can also be deduced. Yet perhaps the interpretation given above is better.

§ 405. 2) Stems in *-in*, *-min*, *-vin*. The stems in *-in*, *-min*, *-vin*, partly according to the style of Skt., and partly on the basis of the stem in *-i*, that appears in the beginning of the composita, are declined according to the *i*- declension. Sing. nom. M. AMg. JM. *Ā. hatthī*, Mg. *hasṭī*, *Ā. hatthī* = *hasṭī* (R. 8,36; Ovav. § 11; Erz. 16,18; Mṛcch. 40,22,25; Mg. Hc. 4,289; Mṛcch. 40,9; 168,4; A. Hc. 4,443); M. *sihī* = *śikhī* (H. 13); AMg. JM. *Ā. tavassī*, Mg. *tavaśśī* = *tapasvī* (Kappas. S § 61; Āv. 32,18; Erz. 25,6; Śak. 132,8; Mg. Mṛcch. 97,3); AMg. *mehāvī* = *medhāvī* (Āyār. 1,2,2,3; 1,2,6,2. 5; 1,6,4,2. 3), metrically also *mehāvi* (Sūyag. 414); JŚ. *nānī*, AMg. *nānī*, = *jñānī* (Kattig. 402. 358. 360; 403,377. 379. 382. 384; 404,386; Sūyag. 318); neuter M. *viāsī* (Mukund. 14,10); *Ś. kārī* (Bālar. 56,14). The acc., in majority of cases, is formed according to the *i*- declension: M. AMg. JM. *hatthim* = *hasṭinam* (Mṛcch. 41,16; Āyār. 2,1,5,3; Vivāhap. 850; Nirayāv. § 18; Erz. 72,21); AMg. *tavassim* (Āyār. 2,2,2,4; Vivāhap. 232), *bambhāyārim* = *brahmacāriṇam* (Uttar. 487), *ojassim teyassim vaccassim jasassim* = *ojasvinam tejasvinam varcasvinam yaśasvinam* (Āyār. 2,2, 1,12), *paḅkhiṇim* = *paḅṣiṇam* (Āyār. 2,3,3,8; 2,4,2,7), *śeṭṭhiṇim* = *śreṣṭhinam* (Samav. 84); JM. *sāmiṇim* = *svāminam* (Āv. 32,14. 32; 33,6); *Ś. kañcuim* = *kañcukinam* (Vikr. 45,10; Priyad. 48,21), but otherwise *Ś. piāāriṇam* (Vikr. 10,14), *uaāriṇam* (Vikr. 12,11; 13,18), *jālovajivinaṇim* = *jālopajivinaṇim* (Śak. 116,7), *vālinam* (Mahāv. 55,12).—Ins. M. *sasiṇā* (R. 2,3; 10,29. 42), *avalambiṇā* (G. 301); AMg. *gandhatthiṇā* (Nirayāv. § 18), *nihāriṇā* = *nirhāriṇā* (Ovav. § 56), *tāmalinā bālatavassinā* (Vivāhap. 235); JM. *Ś. sāmiṇā*, Mg. *sāminā* = *svāminā* (Āv. 32,24; Kk. 260,29; Śak. 116,8; Mahāv. 120,12; Venis. 62,23; 64,5; 66,8; Mg. Mṛcch. 118,21; 162,17. 19; Venis. 35,12); JM. *visambhaghāiṇā* = *visrambhaghātīṇā* (Erz. 68,4), metrically also *manṭina* for *manṭinā* = *mantriṇā* (Āv. 13,13); *Ś. kaṇṇovaghādiṇā* = *kaṇṇopaghātīṇā* (Śak. 29,8); Mg. *kāliṇā* = *kāriṇā* (Mṛcch. 158,21; Prab. 54,6).—Abl. AMg. *siharīo* = *śikharīṇaḥ* (Thān. 177).—Gen. M. *piṇāiṇo* = *piṇākināḥ* (G. 41), *sasiṇo* (G. 60. 953. 1108. 1132; H. 319; R. 10,46), *guṇasāliṇo vi karīno* = *guṇasālino'pi karīṇaḥ* (H. 788); AMg. *jasasiṇo* = *yaśasvināḥ* (Sūyag. 304), *gihiṇo* = *grhīṇaḥ* (Uvās. § 83. 84); JM. *sāmiṇo* (T. 5,12) and AMg. JM. *sāmissa* (Vivāhap. 188; Āv. 32,27); JM. *egāgiṇo* = *ekākināḥ* (Erz. 9,16). In AMg. JM. more frequent is the ending *-issa*, that is yet otherwise traceable in JŚ. only: AMg. *māyissa*, *amāyissa* = *māyīnaḥ*, *amāyīnaḥ* (Thān. 150), *bambhāyāriṣsa* = *brahmacāriṇaḥ* (Nāyādh. § 87; Uttar. 917 f.), *vatthadhāriṣsa* = *vastradhāriṇaḥ* (Āyār. 2,5,2,1), *abhikaṅkhiṣsa* = *abhikaṅkṣiṇaḥ* (Uttar. 921), *tavassissa* (Vivāhap. 231. 233. 236), *hatthissa* (Rāyap. 270; Vivāhap. 491. 493); both forms stand beside one another in AMg. *egantacāriṣsa tavassiso* (Sūyag. 909); JM. *paṇāissa* = *praṇayīnaḥ*, *virahissa* = *virahīṇaḥ* (Kk. 270,23; 274,4), *kāmissa* = *kāmināḥ* (Erz. 71,4), *seṭṭhiṣsa* = *śreṣṭhiṇaḥ* (Āv. 37,26); JŚ. *kavalāṇāṇiṣsa* = *kevalajñānīnaḥ* (Pav. 381,20); *Ś. virohiṇo* = *virohīnaḥ*, *vāsiṇo*, *paribhoiṇo* = *parithogiṇaḥ* (Śak. 18,11; 23,8; 38,5), *ahiniṇivesiṇo* = *abhiniveśīnaḥ* (Mālav. 41,17), *sohiṇo* = *sobhīnaḥ* (Ratn. 292,12); Mg. *sāmiṇo* = *svāmināḥ* (Śak. 117,6), *aṇumagga-gāmiṇo* = *anumārgagāmiṇaḥ* (Venis. 35,6).—Loc. AMg. *ruppimmi* = *rukmiṇi siharanmi* = *śikharīṇi* (Thān. 75), *cakkavattimmi* = *cakravartini* (Nāyādh. § 46).—Vec. AMg. JM. *sāmi* (Kappas. § 49; Nāyādh. § 46. 73; Āv. 32,

26); JM. *sāmi* (Āv. 15,24; Erz. 6,34; 8,19); Ś. *kañcui* (Vikr. 45,15; Ratn. 327,7; Priyad. 50,8 [text °i]).—Plural: nom. M. *phañño*, *virāvño*, *sankhño* (G. 390. 611. 863. 880), *guñño* = *guñinah*, *cāño* = *tyāginah* (H. 673), also *sāmi* = *svāminah* in *sāmi ccia* (H. 91), *vañahatthi* = *vanahastinah* (R. 8,36); AMg. *duvālasaṅgiño* = *dvādaśaṅginah* (Ovav. § 26), *dañḍiño* *muñḍiño* *sihañḍiño* *jañḍiño* *picchiño* beside *dañḍi* *muñḍisihanḍi* *picchi* in the similar following verses (Ovav. § 49, V), *agāriño*, *dañsiño* = *darśinah* (Sūyag. 301. 368. 370), *tassankhño* = *tacchankhinaḥ* (Sūyag. 936), *abambhacāriño* = *abrahmacāriṇah* (Uttar. 351), *pāragāmiño*, *dhuvacāriño*, *sammattadañsiño* = *samyaktvadarśinah* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; 1,2,3,4; 1,2,6,3), beside the more frequent nom. in *-i*, as *nāñi* = *jñāminah*, *akkandakāri* = *ākrandakāriṇah*, *paḥkhī* = *paḥṣinah* (Āyār. 1,4,2,3; 1,6,1,6; 2,3,3,3), *hatthī* = *hastinah* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17; Sūyag. 172; Nāyādh. 348), *oḥamsi* *teyamsi* *vaccamsi* *jasamsi* = *oḥasvinas* *tejasvino* *varcasvino* *yaśasvinaḥ* (Vivāhap. 185), *rūvi* *ya arūvi* *ya* = *rūpiṇas* *ca cārūpiṇas* *ca* (Vivāhap. 207), *cakkavattī* = *cakravartinah*, *cakkajohi* = *cakrayodhinah* (Thāp. 197. 512). JM. too has both the forms beside one another: *mantīño* = *mantrinah* (Kk. 262,30), *dariddiño* = *daridriṇah* (Erz. 50,2), beside *mahātavassī* = *mahātapasvinaḥ* (Kk. 269,24), *hatthī* = *hastinah* (Erz. 32,6). In Ś. and presumably in Mg. too the form in *-i* is not used so little, as in the case of the *i*-stems (§ 380): Ś. *paḥkhīño* = *paḥṣinah*, *sippīño* = *śilpinah*, *avvatabhāsīño* = *avyaktabhāsīnah* (Mṛcch. 38,21; 71,2; 103,6), *kusumadāiño* = *kusumadāyīnah*, *dhammāriño* = *dharmacāriṇah* (Śak. 10,2; 20,1), *parivanthiño* = *paripanthīnah* (Vikr. 8,9), *kañcuiño* = *kañcukīnah* (Mallikām. 186,16). Very seldom and probably a false reading is the ending *-iño* in Ś.: *sāmīo* = *svāminah* (Kāmsav. 48,19; 50,1). Neuter: AMg. *akālapadibohiṇi* *akālapadibhoṇi* = *akālapratibodhini* *akālapratibhogini* (Āyār. 2,3,1,8), *rāyakulagāmīṇi* (Nirayāv. § 21).—Acc. AMg. *pāñiño* = *prāñinah* (Sūyag. 266), *maūli* = *mukulīnah* (Pañhāv. 119), *thāñi* = *sthāminah* (Sūyag.); JM. *bharahānivāsīño* (Sagara 9,8).—Ins. AMg. *paḥkhīhim* = *paḥṣibhiḥ* (Sūyag. 289), *savvadarisihim* = *sarvadarśibhiḥ* (Nandīs. 388), *paravāihim* = *paravādibhiḥ* (Ovav. § 26), *mehāvihim* = *medhāvibhiḥ* (Ovav. § 48; Kappas. § 60), *hatthīhi* (Nāyādh. 330. 344); JM. *mantīhi* = *mantribhiḥ* (Āv. 8,36; Kk. 262,17); Mg. *vañḍihim* = *vandibhiḥ* (Lalitav. 565,13).—Abl. AMg. *asaññihimto* = *asamyñibhyaḥ*, *paḥkhīhimto* = *paḥṣibhyaḥ* (Jiv. 263. 265); A. *sāmihū* = *svāmibhyaḥ* (Hc. 4,341,2).—Gen. M. *barahīna* = *barhīṇām* (G. 349); AMg. *mahāhimavantaruppiṇām* = *mahāhimavadrukmiṇoḥ* (Samāv. 114. 117), *paḥkhīṇām* = *paḥṣiṇām* (Jiv. 325), *gandhahatthīṇām*, *cakkavattīṇām*, *savvadarisīṇām* (Ovav. § 20; Kappas. § 16); JM. *kāmattīṇām* = *kāmāriṇīṇām*, *vāñṇām* = *vādinām* (Erz. 29,31; 69,20), *pañaiṇa* = *prañayinām* (KI. 15); JŚ *dehīṇām* (Kattig. 402. 363); Mg. *sāmīṇām* = *svāmīṇām* (Kāmsav. 48,17; 49,12; so to be read for °mi°).—Loc. M. *pañaiṇsu* = *prañayīṇsu* (G. 728); AMg. *hatthīsu* = *hastīsu*, *paḥkhīsu* = *paḥṣīsu* (Sūyag. 317), *tavassīsu* = *tapasvīsu* (Pañhāv. 430); Ś. *sāmīsu* (Mahāv. 119,14; so to be read).—Voc. Ś. *samkaragharādhivāsīno* (Mālatim. 128,7); Mg. *vañḍiño* (Lalitav. 565,17; 566,5. 15). Numerous forms built according to Skt. flexion are retained in verses, especially in AMg. (§ 99).

§ 406. Sometimes also in the case of nouns in *-in*, we find a stem extended by *a*: *sakkhiño* = *sākṣi* (Hc. 2,174), but JM. Ś. *sakkhī*, Mg. *sakkī* (Āv. 38,5; Mṛcch. 53,11; 164,25), Ś. *sakkhīkadua* = \**sākṣīkrtvā* (Vikr. 45,20), plur. nom. M. Ś. *sakkhiño* (Karp. 86,5; Ś. Uttarak. 77,4; Karp. 14,2); M. *sihīṇām* = *śikhi*, plural nom. *sihīṇā*, ins. *sihīṇehī* (bosom; Deśin. 8,31; Triv. 1,4,121; Karp. 31,7; 79,10; 95,10); AMg. *kimīṇa* = *kṛmin*, *sakimīṇa* = *sakṛmi* (Nāyādh. 995; Pañhāv. 525. 529); AMg. Ś.

*barahiṇa*, A. *barhiṇa* = *barhin* ( Pannav. 54; Ovav. § 4; Nāyādh. § 61. 62; p. 914; Uttarar. 21,9; A. Vikr. 58,8 ), A. *barhiṇa* ( Hc. 4, 422, 8 ), beside M. Ś. *barahi-* ( G.; Viddhaś. 51,7 ); M. JM. *gabbhiṇa* = *garbhin* ( Vr. 2,10; Hc. 1,208; Kī.2,31; Mk.fol.15; G.R.; Sagara 4,11; cf. § 246). — In PG. the following forms are found: °*yāji* ( 5,1 ), gen. °*ḥpadāyino* = *pradāyinaḥ* ( 6, 11 ), but also *khaṁdakōṁḁisa* = *skandakuṁḁinaḥ* ( 6, 19 ), *nāganamḁisa* = *nāganandinaḥ* ( 6,25 ), *golisa* = *goḁinaḥ* ( 6,25 ) from *goda* = *goṁḁa* 2 ) in B.-R. appropriately; ins. plur. °*sāmīhi* = °*svāmibhiḥ* ( 6,11 ). °*vāsīhi* = °*vāsibhiḥ* ( 6,35. 36 ).

## 7) STEMS IN -s.

§ 407. Like the nouns in -*t* and -*n*, those in -*s* too have three stems: 1) the old stem in -*s*, 2) after dropping off of *s*, a stem in -*a*, -*i*, -*u*, *i. e.* in the vowel that was immediately before the *s*, and 3) a stem in -*sa*, formed by extension with *a*. So: M. *siroampa* = *śiraḥkampa* ( R. 12, 31 ), *śirakavalana* = *śiraḥkavalana* ( G. 351 ); AMg. *devio...°raīyasirasāo* = *devyaḥ...°racitaśiraskāḥ* ( Ovav. § 55 ); Mg. *śilaścālana* ( Mṛcch. 126,7 ). Cf. § 347. AMg. *joīthāna* = *jyotiḥsthāna*, *joisama* = *jyotiḥsama* ( Uttar. 375. 1009 ); PG. *dhamāyubalayasoavadhanike* = *dharmaīyubalayasoavardhanakān* ( 6,9; cf. VG. 101,8 ); M. JM. *āukkhae* = *āyukḥḥaye* ( H. 321; Erz. 24,36 ), JM. *āudalāṇi* = *āyurdalāni* ( Kk. 268.22 ). In M. JM. AMg. the neuter nouns in -*as* are used as masculine as a rule ( § 356 ).

§ 408. Nouns in -*as*. — The forms built from the old *s*-stem are: sing. masc. nom. AMg. *dummanā*, *sumaṇā* ( Sūyag. 692 ), Ś. *duvāsā* = *durvāsāḥ* ( Śak. 72,10 ), the stem also in the compound *duvāsāsāvo* = *durvāsāḥsāpāḥ* ( 76, 5 ), with a long vowel according to § 64; Ś. *purūravā* = *purūravāḥ* ( Vikr. 40,21 ), Mg. *samaśśaśidamaṇā* = *samāśsvastamanāḥ* ( Mṛcch. 134,23 ). One must consider, M. JŚ. Ś. Mg. *ṇamo*, AMg. JM. *namo* = *namas*, as neuter, since Ś. Mg. do not turn the neuter in -*as* to masc. ( e. g. M.: G. H.; AMg.; Vivāhap. 172; Ovav.; Kappas.; JM.: Kk.; Rṣabhap.; JŚ.: Pav. 379,4; 389,4; Ś.: Mṛcch. 128,18.21; Śak. 120,5; Mg.: Mṛcch. 114,10. 22; 133,17; Prab. 46,11 ). Cf. § 175. 498. Neuter is also JŚ. *tao* = *tapāḥ* ( Pav. 387,26 ). Acc. Ś. *purūravasān* ( Vikr. 36,9 ); neut. AMg. JŚ. *maṇo* = *manas* ( Kappas. § 121; Pav. 386, 70 ). The old forms in the ins. are frequent in AMg. JM.: AMg. *maṇasā vajāsā* = *manasā vacasā* ( Thāṇ. 40 ), more often *maṇasā vajasā kājasā* ( § 364 ), *na cakkhusā na maṇasā na vajāsā* ( Paṇhāv. 461 ); AMg. JM. *tejasā* = *tejasā* ( Āyār. 2,16,5; Paṇhāv. 507; Thāṇ. 568; Ovav. § 22; Vivāhap. 169; Rāyap. 238; Kappas. § 39. 59. 118; Erz. 39, 8 ); AMg. JŚ. *tavasā* = *tapasā* ( Sūyag. 348; Uttar. 174; Uvās. § 76. 264; Ovav. § 21. 24. 38. 62; Pav. 388,27 ); AMg. *rajasā* = *rajasā* ( Āyār. 2,1,1,1. 3,4; Sūyag. 551 ), *sahasā* ( Thāṇ. 368 ), *cejasā*, *jasasā* ( Samav. 81. 83. 85 ), *sirasā* ( Kappas.; Ovav. ), also in Ś. ( Vikr. 27,17 ). On the ins. in -*sā* of *a*-stems see § 364. — Loc. *urasi*, *sirasi*, *sarasi* ( Hc. 4,448 ); AMg. *tamasi* ( Āyār. 1,6,1,3 ); Ś. *purūravasi* ( Vikr. 35,15 ), *tavasi* ( Śak. 21,5 ); Mg. *śilasi* ( Mṛcch. 17,1; 116,15 ).

§ 409. The usual flexion is with the *a*-stem: sing. nom. M. *vimaṇo* ( R. 5,16 ); AMg. *uggatavo* = *ugratapāḥ* ( Uttar. 362 ), *tanmaṇe* = *tanmanāḥ* ( Vivāhap. 114 ), *pūmaṇe* = *pūṭimanāḥ* ( Kappas. § 15,50; Ovav. § 17 ), *uggatave dittatave tattatave mahātave ghoratave* ( Ovav. § 62 ); °*raīyavacche* = °*racitavakḥḥāḥ* ( Ovav. § 19 ); JM. *tanmaṇo* = *tanmanāḥ*, *bhāsurasiro* = *bhāsurasīrāḥ* ( Erz. 12,6; 69,6 ); JŚ. *adhikatejo* = *adhikatejāḥ* ( Pav. 381,19 ); fem. M. *vimaṇa vva* ( R. 4,31 ), AMg. *pūmaṇā* ( Kappas. § 5 ); Ś. °*samkamtamaṇā* = °*samkrāntamanāḥ* ( Mṛcch. 29, 3 ); *ḥajjassuamaṇā* = *ḥatryutsukamaṇāḥ*

( Śak. 50,2 ); neut. M. *dummaṇaṁ* ( R. 11,14 ); AMg. JM. *sejāṁ* = *śreyāḥ* ( Uttar. 204. 672. 678; Vivāgas. 218; Vivāhap. 232; Nāyādh. 333. 482. 574. 609 616; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.). Mg. *śila* ( Mṛcch. 112,8,9 ) stands on account of metre for *śile* = *śiraḥ*. Cf. § 364. In the masc. the comparative in *-yas* in AMg. JM. partly have extended their strong stem with *a*, as *sejāṁse* = *śreyān*, *pāvīyāṁse* ( text *pāvāṁse* ) = *pāpīyān* ( Ṭhān. 314. 315 ), and partly have weakened them, as AMg. *kaṇḍiyāse* = *kaṇḍīyān* ( Kappas. Th. § 1; Antag. 32 ), JM. *kaṇḍiyāso* ( Dvār. 501,29 ), which, however, as the acc. AMg. JM. *kaṇḍiyāsaṁ* ( Uvās.; Dvār. 495, 30 ) too can be equated as = Skt. *kaṇḍīyasa*, which, however, is probably itself a first secondary. From the old comparative *bālīyas* has developed an adjective \**bālīya*, nom. Ś. *balīo* ( Śak. 50,5; 51,2 ), which has regularly shortened its *i* under the influence of the old accent: *balīa* ( strong, thick, dense; Deśin. 6,88; Mg. Mṛcch. 14,10; JM. Āv. 35,17; Erz. 9,17; Kk. 261,42 ) and of which the neuter *balīaṁ* is used adverbially in the meaning "very" ( Pāīyal. 90; M. Śak. 55,16; Ś. Vikr. 27,21; 51,15; Mālav. 68,11; Mg. Śak. 154,13; Venis. 34,3 ).— Acc. AMg. masc. *dummaṇaṁ* ( Kappas. § 38 ), *jāyaveyāṁ* = *jātavedasam* ( Uttar. 365 ), *jāyatejāṁ* = *jātatejasam* ( Samav. 81 ); femin. M. *viṁaṇaṁ* ( R. 11,49 ); very frequently in the neuter: M. AMg. *uraṁ* ( R. 1, 48; 4,20. 47; Āyār. 1,1,1,5; Vivāgas. 127 ); M. AMg. *jasam* = *yaśas* ( R. 2, 5; 4,47; Uttar. 170 ), Dh. *jaśam* ( Mṛcch. 30,9 ); M. *ṇaṇaṁ*, AMg. *naṇaṁ* ( R. 1,7; 5,2. 64; Ovav. ); AMg. *tamaṁ* ( Sūyag. 31. 170 ); M. *siraṁ* ( R. 11,35. 64. 73. 90. 94 ); AMg. Mg. *maṇaṁ* ( Uttar. 198; Mṛcch. 30,24 ); AMg. *vayāṁ* = *vayas* ( Āyār. 1,2,1,2. 5 beside nom. *vao* in 1,2,1,3 ); JM. *tejāṁ* = *tejas* ( Erz. 3,10; 8 24 ); AMg. JS. *rajaṁ* = *rajas* ( Sūyag. 113; Pav. 385,61 ); A. *taḷ*, *tavu* = *tapas* ( Hc. 4,441,1. 2 ).— Ins. M. *vaccheṇa* = *vakṣasā* ( G. 301 ); *sireṇa* = *śirasā* ( Hc. 916 ), also in A. ( Hc. 4,367,4 ) and Ś. ( Bālar. 246,6 ), AMg. *sireṇaṁ* ( Ṭhān. 401 ); M. *tameṇa* = *tamasā* ( R. 2, 33 ); AMg. *teeṇa* ( Uttar. 363 ), *teeṇaṁ* = *tejasā* ( Uttar. 341; Vivāhap. 1250; Uvās. § 94 ); M. AMg. *raeṇa*, AMg. *raeṇaṁ* = *rajasā* ( H. 176; Uttar. 109; Ovav. § 112 ); M. *maṇeṇa*, AMg. *maṇeṇaṁ* = *manasā* ( G. 347; Sūyag. 841 f. 844; Panhāv. 134 ); JM. *paritūṭṭhamaṇeṇaṁ* = *paritūṭṭhāmanasā* ( masc.; Erz. 39,9 ); Ś. *purūravēṇa* ( Vikr. 8,14 ); A. *chandeṇa* = *chandasā* ( Piṅgala 1,15 ); femin. M. *viṁaṇāi* ( H. 118 ); Ś. *taggadamaṇāe* = *tadgatamanaskayā* ( Viddhaś. 43,8 ).— Abl. M. *sirāhi* ( G. 58 ), *ṇahāhi* ( G. 1164; R. 13,51 ); AMg. *tamaō* and metrical *tamao* = *tamasah* ( Sūyag. 31. 170 ), *pejḷāo* = *preyasaḥ* ( Ovav. § 123 ).— Gen. M. *asuddhamaṇassa* = *asuddhāmanasaḥ* ( masc.; H. 35 ); Ś. *purūravassa* ( Vikr. 22,16 ), *tamassa*, *rajaṇassa* ( Prab. 48, 1; 56, 14 ); JM. *jasassa* ( KJ. 21 ), A. *jasaha* = *yaśasaḥ* ( Erz. 86,19 ).— Loc. M. AMg. *ure* ( G. 773; H. 31. 276. 299. 671; R. 11,76; 12,56. 62; 15,50. 53. 64; Vivāgas. 168 ), M. also *urammi* ( G. 1022; R. 11, 100; 15, 46 ) and AMg. *uraṁsi* ( Kappas. S. § 29; Uvās. ); M. *ṇahammi* ( G. 135. 476. 819. 829; R. 13,53; 14,23. 83 ), *ṇahe* ( R. 13,58 ), AMg. *ṇabhe* ( Sūyag. 310 ); AMg. *tamaṁsi* ( Āyār. 1, 4, 4, 2 ); Ś. *sōtte* = *srotasi* ( Karp. 71, 1 ); AMg. *tave* = *tapasi* ( Vivāhap. 194 ); AMg. M. *sire* ( R. 4,4; Uttar. 664 ); JM. *sirammi* ( Erz. 58,1; Kk. 268,39 ); M. *sarammi* = *sarasi* ( H. 491. 624 ); M. JM. D. *maṇe* = *manasi* ( R. 5,20; Erz. 79,34; Mṛcch. 104,2 ); AMg. A. *chande* = *chandasi* ( Vivāhap. 149; Piṅgala 1,93 ); A. *maṇi*, *siri* ( Hc. 4,422,15. 423,4 ).— Plural: nom. M. *sarā* = *sarāṁsi* ( masc.; G. 524 ); AMg. *ahosirā* = *adhahśiraḥ*, *mahāyāsā* = *mahāyāsasaḥ*, *hāravirāyīvacchā* = *hāravirāyītavakṣasaḥ* ( Ovav. § 31. 33 ), *thūlavayā* = *sthūlavacasah* ( Uttar. 15 ), *pāvacejā* = *pāpacetasah* ( Sūyag. 289 ); A. *āsattamaṇa* = *āsaktāmanasaḥ* ( Kk. 261,4 ); femin. M. *gaavaōo* = *gatavayaskāḥ* ( H. 232 ); AMg. *raiyaśirasāo* = *°racitaśiraskāḥ* ( Ovav. § 55 ), *mūyāsirāo* = *mṛgaśirasī* ( Ṭhān. 81 ).— Acc. femin. Ś. *sumaṇāo* = *sumanasaḥ* ( Mṛcch. 3, 1. 21 ); neut. AMg. *sarāṇi* ( Āyār. 2, 3, 3, 2 ).

—Ins. M. *sarehi* (H. 953), *sirehi*, *sirehiṃ* (H. 682; R. 6,60), °*maṇehi* (masc.; G. 88), *urehi* (R. 6,60); femin. M. *vimaṇāhiṃ* (R. 11,17), *maṅgalamaṇāhi* (R. 15,43).—Gen. M. *sarāṇa* (H. 953); JM. *gayavajāṇa* (KI. 14), femin. M. *gaavaāṇa* (H. 233).—Loc. AMg. *tavesu* (Sūyag. 318), *saresu* (Nāyādh. 412). Like *āpas* becoming *āu* and *tejas* becoming *teū* (§ 355), *vacas* too becomes AMg. *vaū* (femin.): *itihvaū* = *strivacaḥ* (Paṇṇav. 363. 368. 369); *puṃvaū* (Paṇṇav. 363), *puṃavaū* (Paṇṇav. 363. 368. 369), *napuṃsagavaū* (Paṇṇav. 363. 369), *egavaū*, *bahuvaū* (Paṇṇav. 367).—In the case of words in -*sa* the stem -*sa* is rare: AMg. *adīṇamaṇaso* = *adīṇamanāḥ* (Uttar. 51); JM. *viuso* = \**viduṣaḥ* = Vedic *viduḥ* = *viduān* (Erz. 69,18).

§ 410. *apsaras* is declined in all the dialects as an \**ā*-stem, which is found in Skt. toṃ: sing. nom. AMg. JM. *Ś. accharā* (Paṇhāv. 229; Thān. 269. 489; Nāyādh. 1525; Erz. 64,26; Śak. 21,6; Vikr. 16,15; Karnas. 15,2); *Ś. anaccharā* = *anapsarāḥ* (Vikr. 7,18); plur. nom. AMg. *Ś. accharāo* (Ovav. [§ 38], Paṇhāv. 288; Vivāhap. 245. 254; Bālar. 218, 11); ins. AMg. *Ś. accharāhiṃ* (Vivāhap. 245; Ratn. 322,30; Bālar. 202, 13), and so to be read also at Vikr. 40,11 for *accharohiṃ*. On the suggested form *accharehiṃ*, that is correct at R. 7, 45, at the end of a bahuvrihi relative to *dharāharehiṃ*, see § 328. 376, on the stem *accharā°*, AMg. *accharā°* see § 97. 347. According to Hc. 1,20; Sr. fol. 25 the stem *accharasā* is also formed: nom. sing. *accharasā*, nom. plur. *accharasāo*. To it belongs the acc. M. *accharasāṃ* R. 13,47.

§ 411. 2) Nouns in -*is* and -*us*. The old forms are : sing. ins. AMg. *cakḥḥusā* = *cakṣuṣā* (Paṇhāv. 461; Uttar. 726. 734. 779); AMg. *viusā* = *viduṣā* (Hc. 2,174 p. 68).—Gen. *Ś. āusso* = *āyusaḥ* (Vikr. 80,4), *dhanuho* = *dhanuṣaḥ* (§ 263; Bālar. 113,17; rightly?).—Plur. gen. AMg. *joisām* = *jyotiṣam* (Ovav. § 36; so to be read with the MSS. ABβD), also *joisām* in the combination *joisām ayaṇe* (Vivāhap. 149; Kappas. § 10; Ovav. § 77). The nominative sing. in -*ū* may be tugged either with it or with the *ū*-stem: AMg. *viū* = Vedic *viduḥ*<sup>1</sup> (Sūyag. 89. 147. 342. 560. 665; Uttar. 644. 691; Āyār. 2,16,5<sup>a</sup>), *dhammaviū* = *dharmaviduḥ* (Āyār. 1,3,1,2), *egaviū* = *ekaviduḥ*, *dhammaviū* = *dharmaviduḥ*, *maggaviū* = *mārgaviduḥ*, *pāravīū* = *pāraviduḥ* (Sūyag. 560. 565. 665), *eḥkārasaṅgaviū* = *ekādaśaṅgaviduḥ* (Nāyādh. 967), *bārasaṅgaviū* = *dvādaśaṅgaviduḥ* (Uttar. 691), *cakḥḥū*, *ega°*, *bi°*, *i°* = *cakṣuḥ*, *eka°*, *dvi°*, *tri°* (Thān. 188); *dhanū* = *dhanuḥ* (Hc. 1,22); *Ś. āū* = *āyuh* (Vikr. 81,20; cf. *āuo* = \**āyukaḥ* 82, 13); *Ś. dīhāū* = *dirghāyuh* (Hc. 1,20; Mṛcch. 141,16; 154,15; Śak. 165,12; Vikr. 80,12; 84,9; Uttarar. 71,8 etc.).—From the *ī*- or *u*-stem are derived: sing. nom. AMg. *sappi* = *sarpiḥ* (Sūyag. 291; neuter), *joi* = *jyotiḥ* (Uttar. 374 f.; mascul.).; cf. 358<sup>s</sup>; M. *haviṃ* = *haviḥ* (Bh. 5,25); M. *dhanuṃ* = *dhanuḥ* (H. 603. 620; R. 1,18. 24. 45); AMg. *āum* = *āyuh* (Āyār. 1,2,1,2). — Acc. AMg. *joim* = *jyotiḥ* (Uttar. 375. 677. 1009; Nandis. 146), *sajoi* = *sajyotiṣam* (Sūyag. 270), *sappim* = *sarpiḥ* (Āyār. 2,1,8,8; Kappas. S. § 17; Ovav. § 73), *cakḥḥum* = *cakṣuḥ* (Āyār. 1,8,1,4), also *cakḥḥu* (Sūyag. 223), as in the nom. (Uvās. § 5; so to be read), *paramāum* (Ovav. § 53; Samav. 112); M. AMg. *Ś. dhanuṃ* = *dhanuḥ* (H. 177. 631; Nirayāv. § 5; Venis. 62,17); *Ś. dīhāum* = *dirghāyusaṃ* (Uttarar. 132,9).—Ins. AMg. *joinā* = *jyotiṣā* (Āyār. 2,16,8; Sūyag. 460. 731), *accīe* = *arciṣā* from *arcis* has become feminine (Ovav. § 33. 56); *Ś. dīhāunā* (Śak. 44,6; so to be read).—Abl. AMg. *cakḥḥūo* (Āyār. 2,15,5,2). — Gen. AMg. *āussa* (Sūyag. 504), *cakḥḥussa* (Uttar. 924 f.).—Loc. AMg. *āummi* (Sūyag. 212); JM. *cakḥḥummi* (Āv. 15,17).—Plur. nom. masc. AMg. *vejaviū joisaṅgaviū*, *viū* (Uttar. 743. 756), *dhammavidū* (Āyār. 1,4,3,1), *anāū* = *anāyusaḥ* (Sūyag. 322); neuter *cakḥḥūim* (Hc. 1,33); AMg. *cakḥḥū* (Sūyag. 549. 639).—Ins. *dhanūhiṃ* (Nirayāv. § 27).—The stem in -*sa* occurs: nom. *Ś. dīhāuso* = *dirghāyuh* (Hc. 1,20;

Mālav. 55,13); M. *adīharāuso* (H. 950); *dhaṇuham* = *dhanuḥ* for \**dhanuṣam* (§ 263; Hc. 1,22), from which the loc. M. *dhaṇuḥe* (Karp. 38,11), the stem M. *dhaṇuḥa*° (Prab. 65,5); JM. *cirāusā* (T. 7,8; femin.). *āsīs* forms, according to Triv. 1,1,3,3, the nom. *āsī* = *āsīḥ*, or the form *āsīsā*, derived from it, that Hc. 2, 174 too teaches. There are found in JM. the acc. *āsīsam* (Erz. 80,11) and *laddhāsīso* = *labdhāsīḥ* (Erz. 84,25); Ś. ins. *āsīsā* (Venīṣ. 23,17), ins. plur. *āsīsāhim* (Mallikām. 79,3). Beside them is assured the extended form *āsīsā* built from the weak stem: Ś. nom. (Śak. 83,1); acc. *āsīsam* (Mālatim. 351,7); gen. *āsīsāe* (Nāgān. 84,15; so to be read with the v. l. for *āsīsām* of the text); gen. plur. *āsīsānam* (Mālatim. ed. Bomb. 107,12; cf. v. l. ed. BHĀNDĀRKAR p. 363; Mahāv. 133,5).

1. FISCHER, Ved. Stud. 2,236.—2. The words *viū* [text *vidū*] *nae dhammapajāth aputtaram* belong to verse 4. The conjecture of JACOBI with regard to the use of *vidūnate* in the meaning of *vidunvataḥ* (SBE. XII, 212, note 2) is linguistically impossible. *nate* is a false form used for *nae* (§ 203) = *nayet* (§ 493, note 4).—3. Where *sappī* is to be erased.

§ 412. From *puṁs* are found four stems: 1) *puṁ-* from *puṁs-* in M. AMg. JM. *puṁgava* (G. 87; Uttar. 666; Nāyadh. 1262. 1272; Erz. 4,25); AMg. *puṁveja* (Samav. 62 [text °*veda*]; Bhag.), *puṁvaū* = \**puṁvacah* (Paṇṇav. 363), *puṁmāns-*, which occurs in the nom. sing. AMg. *puṁam* = *puṁān* (Dasav. 628,9); 3) the stem *puṁa-* deduced from it, AMg. nom. sing. *puṁe* (Ṭhān. 479. 482), AMg. acc. sing. *puṁam* (Āyār. 2,4,1,8. 9; Dasav. 637,8), and in the derivatives and compounds like AMg. *puṁavaū* = \**puṁvacah* (Paṇṇav. 363 [text °*veū*]. 368. 369), *puṁāṇamaṇi* = \**puṁājāṇāpani* (Paṇṇav. 363 ff. 369), *puṁapannavaṇi* = \**puṁprajāṇāpani* (Paṇṇav. 364), *puṁitihiveja* = *puṁstrīveda* (Uttar. 960), *puṁattam* = *puṁstvam* (Uttar. 421), *puṁattāe* = *puṁstvāya* (Ovav. § 102; Ṭhān. 479. 482. 523), *puṁavajāṇa* = *puṁvacana* (Paṇṇav. 370. 388; Ṭhān. 174 [text *puṁma*°]), 4) the stem *puṁsa-* extended from *puṁs-* in AMg. *puṁsakoilaga* = *puṁsakoilaka* (Ṭhān. 568), *naṁpuṁsaveja* (Uttar. 960). In PG., from the *s*-stem, is found only *bhūyo* (7,41).

#### 8) THE REMAINING CONSONANTAL STEMS.

§ 413. In addition to those from *t-*, *n-*, and *s*-stems, numerous forms built according to the old flexion from the *ś*-stems only, particularly from *diś*, and that mostly in formulaic phrases, as AMg. *diśo diśam* (Āyār. 2,16. 6); AMg. JM. *diśo diśim* (Panhāv. 197; Uttar. 793; Nāyadh. 348; Erz. 13,6. 38,26; 63,25), M. JM. *diśi diśi* (Viddhaś. 90,5; Erz. 7,29); AMg. *paḍiso diśasu* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2); otherwise seldom, as gen. M. *puvādīso* = *pūrvadīśah* (Bālar. 179,2); Mg. *niśi* (Mṛcch. 10,14; Verse) are retained. Otherwise only isolated forms are found (§ 355), as ins. sing. AMg. *vāyā* = *vācā* (Uttar. 28; Dasav. 630,32), *kāyaggirā* = *kāyagirā* (§ 196; Dasav. 634,24). All the remaining consonantal stems almost always are taken over to the *a-*, the feminine ones to the *ā-* or *ī-* declension. Thus *vāc*, through \**vācā* becomes M. *vāā* (Bh. 4,7; G. 69), AMg. *vāyā* (Sūyag. 931. 936); acc. *vāam*, AMg. *vāyam* (G. 67; Sūyag. 932), ins. M. Ś. Mg. *vāāe* (G. 63; Pras. 46,14; 47,1; Mg. Mṛcch. 152,22), M. *vāāi* (H. 572), AMg. *vāyāe* (Dasav. 631,34; Paṇhāv. 134); gen. Mg. *vāāe* (Mṛcch. 163, 21); loc. M. *vāāi* (H. 32); plur. nom. M. *vāā* and *vāāo* (G. 93); acc. AMg. *vāyāo* (Āyār. 1,7,1,3); ins. AMg. *vāyāhi* (Āyār. 2,16,2); loc. M. *vāāsu* (G. 62). Beside them AMg. frequently has *vāi* = \**vācī* from \**vācī* with *a* according to § 81<sup>1</sup>: sing. nom. *vāi* (Āyār. p. 132,16. 17; Vivāhap. 70), acc. *vāim* (Āyār. 1,5,3,1 [so to be read]; 2,3,1,21; 2,3,3,16; p. 132, 15. 17; Sūyag. 169 [read *vāī*]. 866), *vāi*° (Āyār. 1,5,5,4; 1,7,2,4; 2,13,22; p. 133,2; Sūyag. 128; Uttar. 646; Jīv. 25. 276; Vivāhap. 1431.1453.1462;

Kappas. § 118 [so to be read]).—*tvac* forms sing. nom. AMg. *tayā* = \**tvacā* ( Sūyag. 639; Vivāhap. 1308.1529 ); abl. AMg. *tajāo* ( Sūyag. 639 ); plur. gen. AMg. *tayānam* ( Sūyag. 806 ); nom. AMg. *tayāni* ( § 358 ). The stem often appears in compounds, as AMg. *tayāppavāla*<sup>o</sup> = *tvakprabāla* ( Paṅhāv.408 ), *tayāsuha* = *tvaksukha* ( Nāyādh. § 34; Ovav. § 48; Kappas. § 60 ), *tajāmanta* ( Ovav. § 4. 15 ), *sarittayā* = *sadr̥ktvacah* ( Vivāhap. 123; nom. plur. ). From *rc* is found the acc. plur. Ś. *ricāim* ( § 358 ). From *bhisaj* follows the nom. sing. *bhisao* ( Hc. 1,18 ), from *yakrt*, the gen. sing. AMg. *jagayassa* = \**yakrtasya* ( Vivāhap. 869 ), from *śarad* the nom. sing. *sarao* ( § 355 ). — From *vid* AMg. forms nom. sing. *śadaṅgavi* ( Vivāhap. 149; Kappas. § 10; Ovav. § 77 ), *vejyavi* = *vedavit* ( Āyār. 1,4,4,3; 1,5,4,3; 1,5,5,2; Uttar. 742 ), from *parisād*, sing. nom. AMg. *parisā* from \**parisādā* ( Vivāgas. 4. 13. 15. 58. 138. 242; Ovav.; Uvās.; and very often, also in JM. Erz. 33,10 ), ir s. gen. loc. AMg. *parisāe* ( Kappas. § 113; Ovav. § 56 ); plur. nom. AMg. *parisāo* ( Vivāhap. 303 ), ins. *parisāhim* ( Nāyādh. 1026 ), gen. *parisānam* ( Vivāgas. 201 ). From *sampad* the nom. is *sampāā*, from *pratipad*, nom. *padivāā* ( Hc. 1,15 ), JM. *sampajā*, *āvayā* ( Erz. 81,35 ); A. *sampāi* = \**sampādī*, likewise *āvai* = *āpad*, *vivai* = *vīpad* ( Hc. 4,335. 372. 400 ); cf. AMg. *āvāikālam* = *āpatkālam* ( Ovav. § 86 ); acc. A. *sampāa* ( Piṅgala 1,81<sup>a</sup>; GOLDSCHMIDT *maṅgala* ), plur. nom. M. *sampāā*, AMg. *sampajā* ( H. 518; Kappas. § 134 ff. ), *āvāio* ( G. 988 ). From *hyd* the acc. is AMg. *hiyam* ( Āyār. 1,1,2,5 ).—*kṣudh* forms nom. *chuhā*, *khuhā* ( § 318 ).—On *āu* see § 355. — *kakubh* builds nom. *kaühā* ( Hc. 1,21 ), *gir* forms nom. *girā*, likewise *dhur*, nom. *dhurā*, *pur*, nom. *purā* ( Hc. 1,16 ); acc. D. *dhurām* ( Mr̥cch. 102, 2 ); plur. nom. AMg. *girāo* ( Paṅhāv. 287 ), ins. *girāhim* ( Vivāhap. 944; Kappas. § 47; Nāyādh. § 23 ), gen. *girānam* ( Uttar. 358 ). — In AMg. *aho* is the acc. from *ahar* ( day; § 342 ), frequently in the combination *aho ja rāo* or *aho ja rāo ja* ( § 386 ).—The very frequent *dis* forms mostly in all the dialects *disā*, Mg. *disā* in compounds as in flexion: nom. *disā*, acc. *disam*, ins. gen. loc. *disāe*, abl. *disāo*, AMg. also *ahedisāo*, *aṇudisāo* ( Āyār. 1,1,1,2; Sūyag. 574 ), Ś. *puvādisādo* ( Ratn. 313,7 ); plur. nom. acc. *disāo*, ins. *disāhim*, gen. *disānam*, loc. *disāsu*, AMg. also *vidisāsu* ( Ṭhāṇ. 259 ff. ). From \**disi*, we frequently have in AMg. JM. the acc. *disim*, particularly in the combination *diso disim* ( see above ), but elsewhere too ( Vivāgas. 4. 38; Kappas. § 28. S. § 61 [v. l. *disam*], *aṇudisim* ( Kappas. S. § 61 ), *chaddisim* ( Vivāhap. 145 ), *padidisim* ( Ṭhāṇ. 135; commentary: *ikāras tu prakṛtaivāt* ), and in the composition *disi*<sup>o</sup> ( Vivāhap. 161; Ovav. § 2; Kappas. § 27. 63; Uvās. § 3. 7; Āv. 14,10 ) and *disi*<sup>o</sup> ( Uvās. § 50 ); so also gen. plur. JŚ. *disīnam* ( Kattig. 402,367 ) beside *disāna* ( 401, 342 ), loc. JŚ. *disisu* ( Kattig. 401,341 ), A. *disihī* ( Hc. 4,340,2 ).—*prāvṛṣ* becomes *pāuso* ( § 358 ); from *upānah* the stem is Ś. *uvāṇaha* ( Mr̥cch. 72,9 ), nom. acc. plur. in AMg. *pāhaṇāo*, *vāhaṇāo* ( § 141 ).

1. WEBER (Bhag. 1,404) wrongly traces *vai*<sup>o</sup> back to *vacas*.

### B. COMPARISON

§ 414. Pkt. employs *-tara*, *-tama*, *-īyas*, *-iṣṭha*, as suffixes of the comparative and superlative wholly as Skt.: M. *tikkhaara* = *tikṣṇatara* ( H. 505 ); JM. *ujjalatara* = *ujjvalatara* ( Āv. 40,6 ), *daḍḍhayāra* = *dḍḍhatara* ( Erz. 9,35 ); AMg. *paḅḅahiyāra* = *praḅḅhātara* ( Āyār. 1,7,8,11 ), *thovātara* = *stokātara* ( Jiyak. 92 ); Ś. *adhiādāra* = *adhikātara* ( Mr̥cch. 72,3; 79,1; Mālatim. 214,1; Vṛṣābh. 10,21; Nāgān. 24,5 ), *nihudādāra* = *nibhṛtātara* ( Vikr. 28,8 ), fem. *diṇḍadārā* = *diviḅḅatārā* ( Mr̥cch. 22,13 ), *ori* ( Priyad. 25,7 ); JM. Ś. *mahattara* ( Erz.; Uttarar. 118,5 ), Mg. *mahattala* ( Śak. 118, 5 ); *pīama* ( H. R. ), JM. *pīja ama* ( Dvār. 498,26; Erz. ), Ś. *piadama* ( Vikr.



28,9; 52,20; 58,5; Prab. 39,2), A. *piama* (Vikr. 66,16) = *priyatama*; AMg. *taratama* (Kappas.); AMg. JM. *kañiyasa* (§ 409), Ś. *kañiasī* (femin.; Mālav. 78, 9); Ś. *kañiṭṭha* = *kañiṣṭha* (Mahāv. 3, 14; Kāleyak. 26, 20; Subhadra. 3,18), AMg. *kañiṭṭhaga* (Uttar. 622); AMg. *seyam* = *śreyas* (§ 94), *seyama* (§ 409); PG. *bhūyo* (7,41), AMg. JM. *bhujjo* (§ 91; Āyār. 1,5, 4,2; 1,6,3,2; 2,2,2,7; Sūyag. 361. 579. 787. 789. 979; Uttar. 212.232.238. 239. 365. 434. 842; Vivāhap. 18. 27. 30 ff. 145. 238 f. 387 etc.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.), Ś. *bhūo* (Śak. 27,6; 90,14; 123,13; Mālav. 48,7), Ś. *bhūiṭṭha* (Śak. 27,5; Mālav. 71,8) = *bhūyas*, *bhūyiṣṭha*, beside Ś. *bahudara* (Mṛcch. 37,23; Śak. 73,3; Uttarak. 66,1; Cait. 42,2; 43,5; 45,11); AMg. *pejja* = *preyas* (§ 91; Āyār. 1,3,4,4; Sūyag. 885; Paṇnav. 638; Vivāhap. 125. 1026; Uttar. 199; Uvās.), also *pijja*- (Uttar. 822. 876); AMg. *pāvijamse* = *pāpiyān* (§ 409), JM. *pāvīṭṭha* = *pāpiṣṭha* (Kk.); AMg. JM. Ś. *jeṭṭha* = *jyeṣṭha* (Āyār. 2,25,15; Vivāhap. 333. 511; Uttar. 622 [j]); Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Dvār. 495,26; Erz.; Vikr. 88,16; Uttarak. 128,12; Anarghar. 297,13); AMg. *dhammiṭṭha* = *dhamiṣṭha* (Sūyag. 757); JM. *dappiṭṭha* = *darpīṣṭha* (Kk. 270,9); Ś. *adibalīṭṭha* (Pras. 83,10). On AMg. *keṭṭhima* see § 107. Double formations are: AMg. *uttaratara* (Ovav.), *baliyataram* (Vivāhap. 839); *jeṭṭhajara*, *kañiṭṭhajara* (Hc. 2, 172). Noteworthy hybrid formations are the adverbs AMg. *bhujjataro* and *bhujjayaro*, in which the comparative suffix *-tara* has been added to the comparative stem *bhujja* = *bhūyas*, and which have retained the ending *-o* of *bhujjo* = *bhūyas*. On their pattern<sup>1</sup>, as in numerous other cases<sup>2</sup>, are regulated *appataro*, *oppayaro* = *alpataram* in the combination *appataro vā bhujjataro vā* or *appayaro vā bhujjayaro vā* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13; Sūyag. 628. 699. 751. 986; Vivāhap. 40; Ovav. § 69). — Sometimes the positive is used in the sense of the comparative: M. *ovaṇāhi vi lahuam* “quicker than downward rush” (R. 6,77), *sebandhalahuam* “smaller than a bridge” (R. 8, 15); Ś. *tatto vi...pia tti* “dearer than thou” (Śak. 9,10), *padhuma-damsaṇādo vi savisesam piadaṁsaṇo* “more charming than at the first view” (Vikr. 24,1).

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. *appataro*. — 2. § 355 on *āu*.

### C. THE PRONOUN.

§ 415. Pronoun of the first person.

#### Singular.

- Nom. *ahaṁ*, *ahaṁ*, JM. *ahajam*, *haṁ*, [ *amhi*, *ammi*, *mmi*, *ahammi* ]; Mg. *hage*, *hagge*, [ *hake*, *ahake* ]; A. *hañ*.  
 Acc. *maṁ*, *mamaṁ*, *mahaṁ*, *me*, [ *mi*, *mimaṁ*, *ammi*, *amhaṁ*, *amha*, *mamha*, *ahaṁ*, *ahammi*, *ṇe*, *ṇaṁ* ]; A. *mañ*.  
 Ins. *mae*, *mañ*, [ *mamae*, *mamāi*, *mañi* ], *me*, [ *mi*, *mamaṁ*, *ṇe* ]; A. *mañ*.  
 Abl. [ *matto*, *mamatto*, *mahatto*, *majjhatto*, *mañtto* ], *mamaṇo*, [ *mamañu*, *mamañhi* ], *mamañiṁto* etc. (§ 416); P. [ *mamañto*, *mamañtu* ]; A. [ *mahu*, *majjhu* ].  
 Gen. *mama*, *maha*, *majjha*, *mamaṁ*, *mahaṁ*, *majjhaṁ*, *me*, *mi* [ *mañ*, *amha*, *amhaṁ* ]; A. *mahu*, *majjhu*.  
 Loc. [ *mae* ]; *mañ*, [ *me*, *mi*, *mamañi* ], *mamammi*, [ *mahammi*, *majjhammi*, *amhammi* ]; A. *mañ*.

#### Plural.

- Nom. *amhe*, [ *amha*, *amho*, *mo*, *bhe* ]; D. *vaṁ*; AMg. JM. *vajam* too; Mg. [ *hage* ] too; P. *vajam*, *ampha*, *amhe*; A. *amhe*, *amhañ*.  
 Acc. *amhe*, *amha*, [ *amho* ], *ṇo*, *ṇe*; A. *amhe*, [ *amhañ* ].

- Ins. *amhehiṁ*, [*amhāhiṁ*, *amhe*, *amha*], *ṛe*; A. *amhehi*.  
 Abl. [*amhatto*, *amhāhiṁto*, *amhāsumto*, *amhesumto*, *mamatto*, *mamāhiṁto*, *mamāsumto*, *mamesumto*; A. *amhahā*]; JM. *amhehiṁto*.  
 Gen. *amhāṇaṁ*, °*ṇa*, *amhaṁ*, *amha*, *mha*, [*amhāhā*], *amhe*, [*amho*, *mamāṇaṁ*, °*ṇa*, *mahāṇaṁ*, °*ṇa*, *majjhāṇaṁ*, °*ṇa*, *majjha*, *ṛe*], *ṇo*, *ṛe*; A. *amhātā*.  
 Loc. *amhesu*, *amhāsu*, [*amhasu*, *mamesu*, *mamasu*, *mahesu*, *māhasu*, *majjhesu*, *majjhasu*]; A. *amhāsu*.

Cf. Vr. 6,40—53; 11,9; 12,25; C. 1,26—31; 2,27; 3,105—117; 4,301. 375—381; Ki. 3,72—83; 5,40—48.97.114; Mk. fol. 49. 70; Sr. fol. 30—32

§ 416. A very great number of forms taught by the grammarians have not as yet been attested in the texts, and without that, therefore, their correctness still remains doubtful<sup>1</sup>. From amongst the forms, which perhaps are inferred only according to the schema, given by Sr., one can be in doubt about only some of them. Sr. teaches, of course not merely, as Hc., in the abl. sing. of all the stems given above the forms: *mamatto*, *mamāo*; *mamāu*, *mamāhi*, *mamāhiṁto*; *mahatto*, *mahāo*, *mahāu*, *mahāhi*, *mahāhiṁto*, *majjhatto*, *majjhāo*, *majjhāu*, *majjhāhi*, *majjhāhiṁto*; *maṭṭto*, *maṭṭo*, *maṭṭu*, *maṭṭhi*. *maṭṭhiṁto*; *mamā*, *mahā*, *majjhā*; but also the special feminine forms *mamā*, *mamāā*, *mamāi*, *mamāe*, likewise from the stems *maha*, *majjha*, *maṭṭ*, so that he mentions 39 forms for the abl. In the loc. sing. he teaches in addition *amhattha*, *amhassim*, *amhammi*, *amhahim*, *amhe*, further the feminine forms *amhā*, *amhāā*, *amhāi*, *amhāe*, and all these forms also from the stems *mama*, *maha*, *majjha*, altogether 41 forms. Likewise in the case of the pronoun of the second person from the stems *tuma*, *tuva*, *tuha*. *tumha*, *tubbha*, *tujjha*, *tui*, *tāi*. How far would such forms be used in literature, only the future can tell.

I. BLOCH goes too far, Vr. und Hc. 36. Cf. KONOW, GGA. 1894. 478.

§ 417. Singular. In the nom. all the dialects, including Dh. (Mṛcch. 32,7; 34,25; 35,1), Ā. (Mṛcch. 101,17; 103,10; 105,1) and D. Mṛcch. 102, 23; 104, 19; 106,1) employ *aham* = *aham*, Mg. *hage* (e. g. Mṛcch. 12,14; 136,16; 175,15; Lalitav. 565,17; 566,6. 16; Śak. 113,5. 9; 114,2; Mudrār. 193,8; 194,2 etc.). So teach also Vr. 11,9, who has also *hake* and *ahake*, Hc. 4,301; Sr. fol. 63; Ki. 5,97, who has *hake* too; Mk. fol. 75, who has also *hakke*, *hake*, *hagge*. In Mṛcch., with the exception of the three particular places, which are all in verse, STENZLER has *hage* elsewhere throughout (12,5; 13,4. 8; 16,18; 20,14; 21,20; 37,4 etc.), as also at Hāsy. 31,3; Prab. 32,6. 14 stands, and at Prab. 55,15; 58,17 (K. *hakke*) is to be read for *haggo*; so has the ed. P. 58, 17; whilst at 55,15 it has *ham*; the ed. Bomb. has *aham* (55,15) and *hage* (58,17); the ed. M. has *aham* in both the places, as also Mudrār. 178,2 (v. l. *hage*); 187,1; 193,1 (v. l. *hage*), 267,2; Vaṇis. 35.4 and elsewhere stands in uncritical editions. The MSS. of Mṛcch. in GODABOLE almost throughout have *hage*, as is to be read there. Both the forms are correct, since they go back to one *\*ahakāh* (§ 142. 194) i. e. *ahakām* (Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya I, 91,11), Aśoka *hakaṁ* with so frequent change of gender in Mg. (§ 357). A. *haṇ* (Hc. s. v. *haim*; Piṅgala 1,104<sup>a</sup>; 2,121; Vikr. 65,3 [so to be read for *hāi*, *hamim*; cf. v. l. A]) and M. *ahaṁ* (H. R.), JM. *ahaṇam* (Āv. 7,34; 36,49; Erz.) go back to *ahakām*. Sometimes after vowels (§ 175) appears M. AMg. JM. Mg. *ham* (R. 15,18; Karp. 75,2; Uttar. 575. 623; Samav. 83; Erz. 12,22; 53,34; Mṛcch. 136,11). Of the remaining four forms Vr. and Mk. have *ahammi* only, Ki. has *amhi*, Hc. alone has *mmi* too. All the four forms are rejected by BLOCH<sup>1</sup>, as mistakes of the

grammarians. However, it is certain that already in Skt. *asmi* is used in the sense of "I"<sup>2</sup>, a meaning, that has developed from the original parenthetical *asmi* "I am", as is shown appropriately by the much quoted *rāmo'smi sarvaṁ sahe*. One may compare this with the use of *asti* in B-R. s.v.1 as p. 535, which is found in Pkt too: AMg. *atthi naṁ bhante gihṇo...ohināne naṁ samupphajjāi* (Uvās. § 83); *atthi naṁ bhante jṇavajjane...ālojjāi* (Uvās. § 85); *atthi naṁ bhante...siddhā parivasanti* (Ovav. § 162); *taṁ atthi jāim te kaḥim pi* [ed. vi] *devāruppiyā erisae orohe diṭṭhapuvve* (Nāyādh. 1284); *taṁ atthi jāim* [ed. jā] *ittha kei bhe* [ed. te] *kaḥim pi* [ed. vi] *accherāe diṭṭhapuvve* (Nāyādh. 1376); Ś. *atthi e'ttha naare...tiṇṇi purisā...siriṁ na sahaṁti* (Mudrār. 39,2). Likewise *santi* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Sūyag. 585) and more often *siyā* = *syāt* (as in Pāli *siyā* and *assa*) are used (Āyār. 1,1,2,1; 1,1,6,3; 1,2,6,1; 1,5,5,2; 2,5,1,11; 2,6,2,2; Dasav. 613,22), and so certainly *amhi* = *asmi* too is to be used. *ammi* and *mmi* are not made up forms, as AMg. *mi*, *mo*, *mu* (§ 498) show, when even the examples given by Hc. 3,105 rest on false readings.<sup>3</sup> *ahammi* should be = *ahaṁ mi*.

1. Vr. und Hc. p. 37.—2. KONOW, GGA. 1894, 478; JACOBI, Compositum und Nebensatz. (Bonn 1897), p. 62, note 2.—3. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 37. In Hc. 3,105 we should with ed. Bomb. read *jeṇa haṁ viddhā* for *teṇa haṁ diṭṭhā* (WEBER on H. 441). Correct, however, is the analysis *jeṇ' ahaṁ* (§ 173). Cf. § 34.

§ 418. Except in A., the form that can be used in all the dialects in the acc. is *maṁ* = *mām* (H. R.; Uvās. s. v. *ma-*; Erz. Kk. s. v. *ahaṁ*; Rṣabhap. s. v. *ma*<sup>1</sup>; Ś. e. g. Mṛcch. 2,22. 25; Śak. 16. 10; Vikr. 16,6; Mg. Mṛcch. 11,1; 29,23; 32,5. 15). A. has *maṁ* (Hc. 4,377. 414,4; Vikr. 69, 2). In M. AMg. JM. is found also *mamaṁ* (H. 16; R. 11,84; Thāp. 477; Nāyādh. s. v.; p. 932; Uttar. 791; Vivāhap. 257. 1215; Uvās. § 68 [so to be read with the MSS. for *mama*]. 140. 219; Dvār. 500,8; Erz. 43,29). For Mg. *mama* (Mṛcch. 129, 4) we should, in the verse, read *mamaṁ*. After *mamaṁ*, AMg. has formed also a feminine *mamiṁ*; *mamaṁ vā mamiṁ vā* (Sūyag. 680). We should read *amhi ahammi* for *asmi asammi* in Kī. 3, 73. Rare is M. AMg. *mahaṁ* (R. 15. 90; Vivāgas. 221), which escaped the notice of the grammarians, more often *me* in AMg., as in the Veda<sup>2</sup>, (Āyār. 1,1,6,5; Uttar. 362. 710; Thāp. 158. 360. 361; Kappas. § 16).—The ins. is *mae* in all the dialects, except in A., which has *maṁ* (Hc. 4,330, 2. 346. 356 etc.; Vikr. 55, 1). *me* stands in the sense of the ins. in JM. (Erz. 72,12; 83,32); Mg. Mṛcch. 40,5; *maṁ* in Mg. (Mṛcch. 11,1) in a verse.—In the abl. *mamāhimito* alone is traceable in AMg. JM. (Vivāhap. 1245; Nāyādh. 1329; Erz. 54,20) and *mamāo* in JM. (Āv. 27,25; Dvār. 495,23).—In the gen. *mama* is rare in M. At H. 123 we should read *mamaṁ ti* with the v. l. (§ 182), so that G. H. R. do not have *mama*, except in H. 617; it stands in M. (Śak. 55,15). M. uses *maha*, *mahaṁ*, *majjha*, *majjhaṁ*, *me*, JM. AMg. often in addition to *mama* also *mamaṁ* (Vivāgas. 121 f.; Uvās.; Bhag.; Āv. 12,28), Ś. *mama* (Mṛcch. 9,7; Śak. 9,13; Vikr. 16,5), *maha* (Lalitav. 554,7; Pras. 83,6; 123,3; Venis. 11,25), *me* (Mṛcch. 15,25; Śak. 27,9. 10; Vikr. 8,15); *majjha*, that is forbidden by Mk. fol. 70 for Ś., stands at Karp. 10,10; 58,1 against the dialect for *mama* or *maha*; Mg. *mama* (Mṛcch. 14,1; 21,8. 12; 30,25), *maha* (Mṛcch. 114,18; Venis. 33,13), *me* (Mṛcch. 9,25; 10,3. 5; Venis. 34,22; 35,2. 8.14); Dh. *mama* (Mṛcch. 31,1; 34,17); Ā. *maha* (Mṛcch. 102,25; 103,22), likewise D. (Mṛcch. 104,2. 11); A. *mahu* (Hc. 4,333. 370,2. 379,1; Vikr. 59, 13. 14), *majjhu* (Hc. 4,367,1. 379,2); under the pressure of the rhyme with *paṁ* also *maṁ* at Vikr. 63,4. — *maha* goes back likewise as *majjha*, to *mahyam*. For *me* stands *mi* metri causa in AMg. Uttar. 489. False readings are JM. *mujjha*, *muha* (Erz.). We should read *yad imam* in the place of P.

*yai mam* (Hc. 4,323).—Loc. M. JM. *mamammi* (R.; Erz.); Ś. *māi* (Mālav. 41,18); A. *māi* (Hc. 4,377).

1. These references hold good also for the rest of the cases in the sing.; besides one should also see Nāyādh. ed. STEINTHAL s.v. s.v. In places, where nothing has been noted, the old texts, like Āyār., Sūyag., Uttar., Āv., have the same forms. Only a few examples have been given from Ś. Mg., as most of the forms are very frequent. This holds good also for the remaining pronouns.—2. FISCHEL, ZDMG. 35,714.

§ 419. Plural. Nom. The form that can be used in all the dialects, including PG.(6,41), is *amhe*, for which in Mg. *asme* is to be written (§ 314) = Vedic *asme*<sup>1</sup>: M. ( G. 1072; H. s. v. *amha* ); AMg. ( Āyār. 2,6,1,10; Nāyādh. § 137; Vivāgas. 229; Sūyag. 1016; Vivāhap. 134 ); JM. ( Erz. 3,28; 12,13. 19; Kk. 271,7 ); Ś. ( Mṛcch. 20,18; Śak. 16,12; Vikr. 6,13 ); Mg. ( Mṛcch. 158,23; 161,14. 17; 168,11; Venīs. 35,21 ); A. (Hc. 4,376,1). In AMg. *vayam* = *vayam* too is frequent (Āyār. 1,4,2,5; 1,7,1,5; 2,1,9,11; 2,2,2,10; 2,3,1,17; 2,5,1,10; 2,6,1,10; Sūyag. 585. 603. 633. 935. 948.972; Uttar. 432. 446. 748; Vivāhap. 1180; Dasav. 613,11 ), which occurs in JM. too (Kk. 270,1). For Ś. too Vr. 12,25 and Mk. fol. 70 permit *vaam*. It stands in Mṛcch. 103,5 in D., in Ś. only in bad texts ( also Mālav. 46,12; 48,18)<sup>2</sup>. For Mg. Hc. 4,301 teaches in the plural too *hage*, as is attested by 4,302 ( p. 148 ) in a quotation from Vikrāntabhīma; A. has also *amhaī* (Hc. 4,376). For P. Kī. 5,114 teaches *vayam*, *ampha* and *amhe*.—According to C. 2,27 *bhe* may be used in the plural in all the cases.—Acc. M. AMg. *ne* = *nas* with the ending *-e* of the nouns in *-a* ( § 367a ) ( R. 3,16; 5,4; Āyār. 1,6,1,5 [ *ne* ]; Sūyag. 174. 176. 239 ), but Ś. *no* ( Śak. 26,12 ); JM. Ś. also *amhe* ( T. 5, 3; Mālatim. 361,2; Uttarar. 7,5; Venīs. 70,5), Mg. *asme* ( Venīs. 36,5), M. *amha* ( H. 356), A. *amhe* (Hc. 4,422,10), according to Hc. 4,376 also *amhaī*.—Ins. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *amhehim* ( H. 509; Nāyādh. § 137; Āv. 16,6; Erz. 5,10; Mṛcch. 23,23; Viddhaś. 27,4; Mālatim. 283,2), M. also *amhehi* ( H. R. ), as also PG. has ( 6,29 ); Mg. *asmehim* ( Mṛcch. 11,19; 21,11 ); in AMg. also *ne* ( Āyār. 1,4,2,3 ); A. *amhehi* (Hc. 4,371).—Abl. JM. *amhehinto* ( Āv. 47,20).—Gen. M. JM. Ś. *amhānam* ( H. 951 [ *na* ]; Erz. 2,17; Kk.; Mṛcch. 2,18. 19. 24), Mg. *asmānam* [ *text amhānam* ]; Lalitav. 565,14; Mṛcch. 31,15; 139,13; Śak. 116,2 ); M. AMg. JM. *amham* ( H.; Uttar. 356. 358; Vivāgas. 217. 218; Nāyādh. § 26. 116; p. 482. 609. 616; Vivāhap. 233. 511; Āv. 8,17; 14,16; 17,17; Erz. 6,35; 12,34 ), M. JM. also *amha* ( H.; Āv. 11,9; 17,7; Erz.; Kk. ), that falsely stands in Ś. in Vikr. 73,12, for which with P should be read either *amhe* and which is to be considered as in the acc. ( cf. *mam* of the Dvāvid. recen. ), or with the ed. Bomb. 119,7 *amhānam*. In M. *mha* too ( H. ). *amham* is in AMg. JM. the prevalent form, which PG. too has ( 5,3; 7,42 ). It corresponds to one Skt. *\*asmām*, i. e. a gen. built from the stem *asma-* with the ending of the consonantal declension, whilst *amhānam* presupposes one *\*asmānām*, and M. *amhāhā*, A. *amhāhā* ( Hc. 4,379. 380. 439 ) mentioned by Hc. 4,300 presuppose one *\*asmāsām*, therefore, with the ending of the pronominal declension. On AMg. *asmākam* see § 314. AMg. JM. have also *amhe* ( Sūyag. 969; T. 5,6 ), Ś. very frequently has *no* = *naḥ* ( Śak. 17,11; 18,8; 26,12; Vikr. 5,11; 6,16; 10,3 ), AMg. *ne* ( Vivāhap. 132 f. ).—Loc. Ś. *amhesu* ( Śak. 30,1; Mālav. 75,1; Venīs. 70,2). *amhāsu*, quoted from an unnamed author in Hc. 3,117, mentioned in Sr. fol. 32, and taught by Hc. 4,381 himself for A., stands in M. R. 3,32.

1. FISCHEL, ZDMG. 35,716 —2. FISCHEL, KB. S. 142 f.

§ 420. The Pronoun of the Second Person.

Singular.

Nom. *tumam*, *tum*, *tam*, [ *tuha*, *tuvam* ]; Dh. *tuham*; A. *tuhū*.

- Acc. *tumañ*, [ *tum̄*, *tañ* ], *te*, [ *tuha*, *tuvañ*, *tume*, *tue* ]; Ś. Mg. *de* too; Dh. *tuham̄*; A. *taĩ*, *paĩ*.
- Ins. *tae*, *taĩ*, *tue*, *tui*, [ *tumañ* ], *tumae*, [ *tumai* ], *tumāi*, *tume*, *te*, *de*, [ *di*, *bhe* ]; A. *taĩ*, *paĩ*.
- Abl. *tatto*, *tumāhi*, *tumāhinto*, *tumāo*, [ *tumāu*, *tumā*, *tumatto*, *taitto*, *tuitto* ], *tuvatto*, [ *tuhatto*, *tubbhatto*, *tumhatto*, *tujjhatto*, further from all these stems with the endings -o, -u, ( Ś. Mg. -do, -du ), -hi, -hinto, then *tumā*, *tuvā*, *tuhā*, *tubbhā*, *tumhā*, *tujjhā*, *tumha*, *tuyha*, *tubbha*, *tujjha*, *tahinto* ]; P. [ *tumāto*, *tumātu* ]; A. *tujjhu*, *taĩ*, *tudhra* ].
- Gen. *tava*, *tujjha*, *tuha*, *tuham̄*, *tubbha*, *tubbham̄*, *tumha*, *tumham̄*, *te*, *de*, [ *taĩ* ], *tu*, [ *tava*, *tuma* ], *tumañ*, *tumma*, [ *tume*, *tumo*, *tumāi*, *di*, *i*, *e*, *ubbha*, *uyha*, *umha*, *ujjha* ]; Ś. *tuha*, *de*; Mg. *tava*, *tuha*, *de*; A. *taĩ*, *tujjhu*, *tujjhaha*, *tudhra*, *tuha*.
- Loc. *taĩ*, *tumammi*, *tume*, *tuvi*, *tui*, [ *tue*, *tae*, *tumae*, *tumāi*, *tummi*, *tuvammi*, *tuhammi*, *tubbhammi*, *tumhammi*, *tujjhammi* ]; AMg. *tumam̄si*; Ś. *taĩ*, *tui*; A. *taĩ*, *paĩ*.

## Plural.

- Nom. *tumhe*, *tubbhe*, [ *tubbha*, *tumha*, *tujjhe*, *tujjha*, *tuyhe*, *uyhe*, *bhe* ]; AMg. *tubbhe*; JM. *tumhe*, *tubbhe*; Ś. Mg. (?) *tumhe*; A. [ *tumhe*, *tumhaĩ* ].
- Acc. as the nom., and *vo*, AMg. *bhe*.
- Ins. *tumhehim̄*, *tubbhehim̄*, [ *tujjhehim̄*, *tuyhehim̄*, *tummehim̄*, *umhehim̄*, *ubbhehim̄*, *ujjhehim̄*, *uyhehim̄* ], *bhe*; AMg. *tubbhehim̄*, *tumehim̄*, *tubbhe*, *bhe*; JM. *tumhehim̄*, *tubbhehim̄*; Ś. *tumhehim̄*; A. *tumheh̄*.
- Abl. [ *tumhatto*, *tubbhatto*, *tujjhatto*, *tuyhatto*, *umhatto*, *ubbhatto*, *ujjhatto*, *uyhatto*; from the same stems with the endings -e, -u ( Ś. Mg. -do -du ), -hi, -hinto, -suñto ]; A. *tumhañā*.
- Gen. *tumhāñam̄*,<sup>o</sup> *ñā*, [ *tubbhāñam̄*,<sup>o</sup> *ñā*, *tujjhāñam̄*,<sup>o</sup> *ñā*, *tuhāñam̄*,<sup>o</sup> *ñā*, *tuvāñam̄*,<sup>o</sup> *ñā*, *tumāñam̄*,<sup>o</sup> *ñā* ], *tumham̄*, *tumha*, *tubbham̄*, [ *tubbha*, *tujjham̄*, *tujjha*, *tu* ], *bhe*, *vo*; AMg. *tubbham̄*, *tumhāñam̄*, *tubbhe*, *bhe*; JM. *tumhāñam̄*, *tubbham̄*, *tumha*, *tumham̄*; Ś. Mg. *tumhāñam̄*; A. *tumhañā*.
- Loc. [ *tumhesu*, *tubbhesu*, *tujjhesu*, *tuhesu*, *tuvesu*, *tumhasu* etc., *tumhāsu* etc., *tujjihisum̄*, *tumbhisum̄*; A. *tumhāsu* ].

Cf. Vr. 6,26—39; C. 1,18—25; 2,26; Hc. 3,90—104; 4,368—374; Ki. 3,59—71; 5,113; Mk. fol. 47—49. 70. 75; Sr. fol. 26—30 and take notice of § 416.

§ 421. Singular. Nom. The prevalent form is *tumañ* from the stem *tuma* in all the dialects, except Dh. A.: ( M. G. H. R.; AMg. e. g. Āyār. 1,5,5,4 [read *tumañ si*]; Uvās.; Kappas.; JM. e. g. Āv. 8,33; 14,29; Erz.; Kk.; Ś. e. g. Lalitav. 561, 5. 11. 15; Mrcch. 4. 5; Śak. 12, 8; Mg. e. g. Lalitav. 565, 15; Mrcch. 19, 8; Prab. ~58, 1; Mudrār. 267, 1; Ā. Mrcch. 99, 18. 19; 101, 23; 103, 2; D. Mrcch. 101, 10. 21; 103, 17. 18)<sup>1</sup>. In AMg. the nom. *tume* too appears to occur (Nāyādh. § 68 against *tumañ* § 70; p. 448. 450 ), which would be related to *tumañ*, like Mg. *hage* to *ahakām* (§ 417 ). In M. *tañ* too ( G. H. R. ), which AMg. ( Uttar. 637. 670. 678. 712 ) and JM. ( Rṣabhap.; Erz. ) too have in verses, is very frequent; beside it seldom appears *tum̄* ( H.; Śak. 78, 11 ed. BÖHTL. ). Dh. *tuham̄* ( Mrcch. 34,24; 35, 1. 3; 39, 8 ), A. *tuhū* ( Hc. s. v. *tu*; Piṅgala 1,4<sup>b</sup> ) go back to *tvakām* (§ 206 )<sup>2</sup>. At Piṅgala 1,5<sup>b</sup> *taĩ* ( GOLDSCHMIDT *taim̄*, text *taĩ*; cf. BOLLENSON on Vikr. p. 530 ) has been used as nom.—Acc. *tumañ* as in the nom. in the same dialects ( Ś. Mrcch. 4,9; Śak. 51,6; Vikr. 23,1; Mg. Mrcch. 12,10; Mudrār. 183,6 ); Dh. *tuham̄* ( Mrcch. 31, 12 ); A. *taĩ* ( Hc. 4, 370 ) and *paĩ* ( Hc. 4, 370; Vikr. 58,8; 65, 3 ).

On *pa* see § 300. *te* is acc. in AMg. (Uvās. § 95. 102; Uttar. 368.677.696), likewise in Ś. (Mṛcch. 3,13) and *de* in Ś. (Mṛcch. 54,8) and Mg. (Mṛcch. 128,12. 14)<sup>3</sup>.—Ins. M. *taī*, *tae*, *tui*, *tue*, *tumae*, *tumāe tumāi*, *tume* (G. H. R.); JM. *tae*, *tumae*, *tume*; AMg. *tume* (so also Uvās. § 139. 167 to be read with the v. l.); Ś. *tae* (Lalitav. 554,6; 555,5; Śak. 12,12; Ratn. 299,1,2), *tue* (Mṛcch. 7,5; Vikr. 25,5; Mahāv. 56,3); Mg. *tae* (Lalitav. 566,4), *tue* (Mṛcch. 31,23. 25; Venīs. 34,3; Prab. 50,9). The dramas waver; Mṛcch. Vikr. Venīs., and most others have *tue* (Vikr. 42,6 is to be corrected as *tue* with A), Śak. Ratn. have *tae*. Often the MSS. waver at the same place in M. Ā. has *tue* (Mṛcch. 102,1; 103,2; 105,1), D. *tue* (Mṛcch. 101,25) and *tae* (105,4), where, however, GODABOLE p. 299,5 reads more correctly *tue*.—*te*, *de*, even where they stand in the past passive participle, may be considered as gen. But the interpretation as the ins. is sometimes necessary, as Ś. Mṛcch. 60,24 *na hu de...sāhasam karēntēna...ācaridam = na khalu tvayā...sāhasam kurvātā...ācaritam*, or very probably, as Ś. Mṛcch. 29,14 *suṭṭhu de jānidam = suṭṭhu tvayā jñātam*, compare with 27,21; 28,24 *suṭṭhu tue jānidam*. A. *taī*, *paī* (Hc. 4,370; 422,18; Vikr. 55,18; 58,9), as in the acc.—Abl. M. *tumāhi*, *tumāhinto*, *tumāo* (G. H.); Ś. *tatto = tvattah* (Śak. 9,10), *tuatto* (Mallikām. 219,8) and undoubtedly in the meaning of the sing., but against the dialect, *tumhāhinto* (Karp. 53,6; Viddhaś. 71,6; 113,6); P. *tumāto*, °*tu* (Hc. 4,307. 321).—Gen. M. *tuha*, *tuham*, *tujjha*, *tujjham*, *tumham*, *tumma*, *tu*, *te*, *de* (G. H. R.); AMg. *tava*, *te*, *tubbham*<sup>4</sup>, *tuham* (Uttar. 444. 597 f.), *tumam* (Āyār. 1,3,3,4; Uttar. 358); JM. *tuha*, *tumha*, *tujjha*, *tava*, *tujjham* (Āv. 7,11; 22,5), *tuham* (Āv. 7,33; 12,14); Ś. *tuha* (Lalitav. 554,5; Mṛcch. 22,25; Śak. 15,1; Vikr. 26,9); *te* in Ś. only Mṛcch. 3,16 (v. l. *de*); 80,20; Vikr. 24,7, elsewhere always *de* (§ 185), hence *te* apparently false.<sup>5</sup> Against the dialect are also *tava* and *tujjha*. In Vikr. *tava* stands at 27,21 only, where the MSS. BP have *tuha*, as also the ed. Bomb. 48,5 reads, in Mṛcch. only at 17,21; 24,3 in the repetition of words of the Śakāra; 138,23 in the reproduction of the Skt. words; 151,21. In Ratn., in places where *tava* or *tua* stood earlier, CAPPELLER reads *tuha*, so that Ratn. has only *tuha* (294,21; 299,3; 305,8; 309,6; 313, 12. 27; 318,26) and *de*. We should read *tuha*, as at 39,5 of the ed. Bomb. has, for *tava*, *tua* in Prab. 37,14:39,5 of the editions. *tujjha* correctly stands in the dramas, Mṛcch. 100,11 (Ā.); 104,1 (D). 17 (Ā.); Śak. 55,15 (M.), Nāgān. 45,7 (M.); in Ś. it occurs only in Śak. 43,9, and is, therefore, false, since Lalitav. 554,4; Karp. 10,9; 17,5; Nāgān. 71,11; Karṇas. 52, 13 and other Indian editions do not come into consideration. Against this Mg., like AMg. JM., has *tava* (Mṛcch. 12,19; 13,9; 14,1; 21,3; 22,4 etc.; Śak. 116,11), *te* (Mṛcch. 31,17; 113,1); for which the observation made above holds good, elsewhere very often *de* (e.g. Mṛcch. 21,22; Śak. 113, 7; Mudrār. 184,2), false *tujjha* (Mṛcch. 176,6, for which we should read *tue* with GODABOLE 478,1; Nāgān. 67,1 for which we should we should read *te* [*de*] with the ed. Calc. 63,1; Prab. 58,17 where BROCKHAUS perhaps has *ujjha*, and for which, with the v.l., we should read *tuha*; Dh. *tuha* (Mṛcch. 39,5); A. *taū*, *tujjhu* (Hc. 4,367,1. 370,4. 372. 425), the noteworthy *tudhra* (Hc. 4,372), *tujjhaha* (Vikr. 72,10; in addition to BOLLENSEN), *tuha* (Hc. 4,361. 370,1. 383,1; Piṅgala 1,123<sup>a</sup>), *tumha* (Piṅgala 1,60<sup>a</sup>), *tujjhe* in rhyme with *jujjhe = yudhi* (Piṅgala 2, 5). AMg. *tubbham* is = *tubhyam*; *tuha*, *tujjha*, *tuyha* presuppose one \**tuyam* (cf. *mahyam*). From this are deduced the stems *tubbha*, *tuyha*, *uyha*, which appear in the plural.<sup>6</sup> The stems *tuyha*, *uyha* must have originated either from Mg. or from a dialect allied to Mg. (§ 236. 331).—Loc. M. *taī*, *tui*, *tumammi*, *tume* (G. H. R.); AMg. *tumamsi* (Nirayāv. § 15); JM. *taī*, *tumammi*; Ś. *taī* (Vikr. 30,3; 84,4), *tui* (Mālav. 41,19; Venīs. 13,8 [so to be read with the ed. Calc. 1870, p. 26,5]);

A. *taĩ*, *paĩ*, as in the acc. ins. (Hc.4,370). In JM. too *paĩ* and *paĩm* have been used by Dhanapāla<sup>7</sup>.

1. See note 1 to § 418. — 2. BOLLENSON on Vikr. p. 528 reads *tūhū* and wants to derive it from *tumhān* at p. 529. — 3. FISCHER, GGA. 1877, 1066; BB. 3,250 note; ZDMG. 35, 714. — 4. HOERNLE on Uvās., Transl., note 262. — 5. Certainly false is *de* in the beginning of the sentence in Śak. ed. BÖHTL, 107,13, as already noted by BOLLENSON on Vikr. 176. — 6. Others KERN Jaartelling 102; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge 55, note 1. — 7. KLATT, ZDMG. 33,448.

§ 422. Plural. Nom. Except in AMg. the usable form, in all the dialects, is *tumhe* = \**tusme*: M. (H. R.); JM. (Erz.); Ś. (Mṛcch. 24,15; 20,15; Śak. 106,2; 109,7); Mg. (Mṛcch. 16,19; 149,17); A. (Hc. 4,369). For Mg. the correct form will be \**tusme* or even *tuyhe*; cf. *tusmā*<sup>o</sup>, EI. 3,313,4, which KIELHORN has correctly equated as = *yusmat*. The same stems are to be presupposed also for the plural forms of the other cases for this dialect, in which now *°mh*<sup>o</sup> stands in the editions. AMg. has throughout *tubbhe* = Aśoka *tuphe* (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; 2,3,3,5. 7; Sūyag. 192. 194. 783. 972; Vivāhap. 132. 332; Nāyādh. [also § 138 to be read so with v. l. for *tumhe*]; Uvās.; Kappas; Nirayāv.). In contemptuous sense is used *tumāim* (Āyār. 2,4,1,8). JM. has, beside *tumhe*, also *tubbhe* (Āv. 14,28. 30; 41,22; Erz.; Kk.); according to Hc. 4,369 A. has also *tumhaĩ*, according to Kī. 5,113; P. has *tumphā*, *tuppha*, *tumhe*. — Acc. *tumhe*: M. (R. 3,27); Ś. (Mṛcch. 24,17; Nāgān. 48,13); JM. *tubbhe* (Dvār. 497,18; 498,38) and *tumhe* (T. 5,3); AMg. *tubbhe* (Uvās.) and *bhe*<sup>1</sup>, which originated from it under the influence of loss of accent (Nāyādh. 938. 939; Uttar. 363); A. has *tumhe*, *tumhaĩ* according to Hc. 4,369. — Ins. M. *tumhehi* (H.420); AMg. *tubbhehim* (Vivāgas.17; Uttar.579 [°*bhbhe*<sup>o</sup>]; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh. s. v. p. 359. 361. 363. 419 etc.), also *tumehim* (Nāyādh. 454, if the reading is correct), *tubbhe* (Sūyag. 932) and *bhe* (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; Nāyādh. 1284.1376 [text te]); JM. *tumhehim* (Erz.), *tubbhehim* (Āv. 11,26; 18,27; Erz.); Ś. *tumhehim* (Mahāv. 29,4; Viddhaś. 48,5); *tumhehi* (Hc. 4,371). — Gen. in all the dialects *tumhānam*: M. (H. 676, °*na*); AMg. (Sūyag. 964); JM. (Erz.; Kk.); Ś. (Lalitav. 568,5; Mṛcch. 17,22; Vikr. 48,4; Mālatim. 285, 2); Mg. (Lalitav. 566,9; Śak. 118,4; Mudrār. 178,4; 258,4). In M. more frequent is *tumha* (R.), in AMg. the prevalent form is *tubbham* (Sūyag. 967. 1017; Nāyādh. § 79; p. 452. 590; Uttar. 355; Vivāhap. 1214; Vivāgas.20.21; Uvās.; so to be read with the v. l. for *tumhān* in also Kappas. § 79). Besides there is found in AMg. *tubbhe* (Uvās. § 68,153 [so to be read]) and often *bhe* (Āyār. 1,4,2,6; 2,1,5,5. 9,6; Sūyag. 284. 734. 972; Nāyādh. 907; Uttar. 50; Vivāhap. 132), which JM. too has (Āv. 24,8. 12). M. Ś. frequently have also *vo* = *vaḥ* (G. H. R.; Śak. 20,7; 52,15; Vikr. 51,16), likewise PĠ. (7,46), which I cannot find in other dialects and in Mṛcch. At Āv. 41,18 we should read *keṇa bhe kim gahiyam*. A. has *tumhāhā*. (Hc. 4,373). According to Hc. 4,300 there is found in M. *tumhāhā* too. I cannot quote any form of the loc. Śakalya,<sup>2</sup> according to Mk. fol. 48 f., taught, without any strong justification, the forms *tujjhisum*, *tumbhisum*; A. has *tumhāsu* according to Hc. 4,374. According to G. 2,26 *bhe* is used in all the cases in the plural. It is found in the texts in the acc., the ins. and the gen. On the ecriture *hha* for *bbha* (*bhbha*) in the MSS. of Sr. see FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 3.

1. E. MÜLLER (Beiträge p. 55) has already noted that *bhe* is not = Skt. *bho* (WEBER, Bhag. 1,404, note 4; LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v.). — 2. FISCHER, De gr. Pr. p. 2 f.

§ 423. Not only are the nom. singular masculine and the fem. of the stem *sa-*, as in Classical Skt., been retained, but dialectically also other cases, partly in agreement with the Iranian dialects<sup>1</sup>. Sing.: nom. masc. M. JM. JŚ. S. Ā. D. P. *so* (H. s. v. *sa-*; G. R. Erz. Rṣabhap. s. v.

*ta-*; Kk. s. v. *tad*; JŚ. Pav. 380,7; 381,16. 21; Kattig. 398,302; 399,312; Ś. Lalitav. 555,1; 560,19; Mṛcch. 6,8; Śak. 52,5; Vikr. 10,2; Ā. Mṛcch. 99,16; 101,6; D. Mṛcch. 100,5. 9; P. Hc. 4,322. 323 ), seldom *sa* ( Hc. 3,3; PG. 7,47; M. R. 11,21 [ where, however, with C. we should read *a = ca* ] ); AMg. ( Āyār. 1,5,5,4 [ where *sa cceva* is to read ]; Uttar. 361 [ *sa eso* beside *eso hu so* 362 ]; JM. ( Erz. 6, 36; Kk. 258, 4 ); Ś. Mṛcch. 42,11 [ in A. only ]; 63,18 ); AMg. *se* ( Āyār. 1,1,1,4 ff.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. s. v. *ta*<sup>2</sup> ); Mg. *še* ( Lalitav. 565,6; Mṛcch. 19,17; Śak. 114,2; A. *su* and *so* ( Hc. s. v. s. v. ). Falsely stands *so* in AMg. in Āyār. 1,1,1,4 and elsewhere in prose ( cf. § 17 ). In conformity with the alteration of gender ( § 356 ff. ) one says AMg. *se dīṭṭham ca ne = tad dṛṣṭam ca naḥ*; *se duddīṭṭham ca bhe = tad durdṛṣṭam ca vah* ( Āyār. 1,4,2,3. 4 ); Mg. *eṣe śe daśanāmake = etad tad daśanāmakam* ( Mṛcch. 11,1 ), *še munde = tun munḍam* ( Mṛcch. 122,7 ), *eṣe śe śuvarṇake = etat tat suvarṇakam* ( Mṛcch. 165,7 ), *še kamma = tat karma* ( Śak. 114,6 ); A. *so sukku = tat saukhyam* ( Hc. 4,340, 1 ). — Acc. AMg. *se* corresponding to *me* ( § 418 ) and *te* ( § 421 ) in *se ś evaṃ vajantam = sa tam evaṃ vadantam* ( Āyār. 2,1,7,8. 9,6 ), whilst in *se ś evaṃ vajantassa* ( Āyār. 2,1,2,4,6,4. 7,5. 9,2; 2,5,1,11; 2,6,1,10 ) the second *se* gen. is = *sa tasyaivaṃ vadataḥ*; A. *su* ( Hc. 4,383,3; masc. ), *so* ( Piṅgala 1,5<sup>a</sup>; neuter. ). — Inst. AMg. *se* ( Sūyag. 838. 848. 854. 860 ). — Gen. M. AMg. JM. Ś. *se*, Mg. *še*, very frequently as masc. and fem., corresponding to *me* and *te* ( Vr. 6,11; C. 1,17; Hc. 3,81; Kī. 3,48; Sr. fol. 22; Ś. masc. Mṛcch. 12,24; Śak. 37,10; Vikr. 15,10; fem. Lalitav. 561,9; Mṛcch. 25, 8; Śak. 21, 2; Vikr. 46, 1; Mg. masc. Mṛcch. 36, 10; 161, 7; fem. Mṛcch. 134,8; Venī. 34,12 ); AMg. JM. metri causa also *se* ( Dasav. 633,17; 635,4; Āv. 8,2.16 ) and AMg. *si* ( Sūyag. 282 )<sup>3</sup>. — Plural. nom. AMg. *se* ( Āyār. 1,4,2,1 [ ed. Calc. *te* ]; Sūyag. 859 ); Mg. *še* ( Mṛcch. 167,1 )<sup>4</sup>. — Acc. JŚ. *se* ( Pav. 388,4; beside nom. *te* ). — Gen. JM. *se* ( C. 1,17; Hc. 3,81; Sr. fol. 22; Kk. 273,29; cf. § 34 ) and *sim* ( Vr. 6,12; Hc. 3,81; Sr. fol. 22 ). — Voc. AMg. *se* ( Āyār. 1,7,2,1 ). As in the Atharvaveda 17, 1,20 f.<sup>5</sup>, in the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa ( B.-R. s. v. *sa* p. 452 ), in Pāli *sace* ( when ) *sa*, in Pāli *seyyathā se*, so in AMg. *se* is placed before pronouns and pronominal adverbs without any effect on the meaning. Initial *t* of the pronoun *ta-* and *j* of the pronoun *ya-* are in most cases reduplicated after it. So AMg. *se tam* ( Āyār. 2,1,1,2. 4,4. 5,2. 5; 2,3,1,14; 2,4,2,7. 8; Jiv. 36ff. 316ff.; Vivāhap. 160.596; Pannav. 7 ff. 63.480 ); *se tam* ( Āyār. 1,2, 5,5; Kappas. Th. § 7—9 ); *se teṇ' attheṇam* ( Vivāhap. 34 ff. 47 ff. ); *se jjam* ( Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 2,1,1,1. 4. 11; 2,1,2,3. 3,4 ff.; 2,3,1,2 ff.; 2,7,2,2 ff. ); *se jjam* ( Āyār. 2,1,1,14. 2,2. 3,10; 2,5,1,4 ); *se jjan' imāni* ( Āyār. 2,2,2,10 ); *se jje ime* ( Ovav. § 70. 71. 73 ff. ); *se jjaō* ( Āyār. 2,1,1,3; Ovav. § 72 ); *se jam* ( Āyār. 1,1,1,4 ); *se kim tam* ( Aṇuog. 356; Nandis. 471; Pannav. 62. 480; Ovav. § 30; Kappas. Th. § 7—9 ); *se ke nam* ( Nāyādh. § 138 ); *se kahan' ejam* ( Vivāhap. 142 ); *se kei* ( Sūyag. 301 ); *se kim tu hu* ( Sūyag. 846 ). In contrast to Pāli *seyyathā* in AMg. *j* of *jahā* is never reduplicated after *se*: *se jahā* ( Āyār. 1,6,1,2; Sūyag. 593 f. 613. 747; Vivāhap. 134. 161 f. 270. 929; Uvās. § 12. 210; Ovav. § 54; Nāyādh. § 133 ). The scholiasts explain *se* with *tad*; e. g. Śilānka on Āyār. 230 *se tti tacchabdārthe*; p. 300 *śeśabdas tacchabdārthe sa ca vākyaḥ panyāsārthah*, an explanation, that is more correct than that by CHILDERS<sup>6</sup> and WEBER<sup>7</sup>. The reduplication of *t* and *j* in Pkt. and of *y* in Pāli *seyyathā* shows that *se* should not be taken as the AMg. nom. *se*, which Pāli too makes improbable, if not impossible<sup>8</sup>. *se* is rather = Vedic *se'd* i. e. *sá = id*, that is used almost as *sá*. It is proved through the RV. 4,37,6 : *se'd bhavo yam dvatha yūyam indraśca māryam | sa' dhībhr̥ astu sáníṭh medhásātā so' drvatā*, where *se'd yam...sa'*<sup>5</sup>



almost is = AMg. *ś jjan̄ se*. Hence one writes in a better way *śēttam̄*, *śējjam̄*, etc., like Pāli *śēyyathā* and *sace*<sup>9</sup>.

1. WACKERNAGEL, KZ. 24,600 ff. In the Veda there occurs also the loc. *sasmin*.

— 2. The remark made under § 418, note 1 holds good. — 3. *se* is merely an enclitic, hence a false reading at Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGER 25,6, as also *de* (§ 421, note 5). — 4. *se* cannot be gen. sing., since after p. 166,24 both the Cāṇḍālas speak. The Calc. editions (316,10 ed. Calc. 1829; 357,1 ed. Calc. Śak. 1792) and GOPABOLE p. 452,6 read *se*, that is translated in the old Calc. edition and in GOPABOLE as *ete*, rightly with the scholiasts. — 5. Hitherto overlooked, even by DELBRÜCK, Altind. Syntax § 140. — 6. Dictionary s. v. *sa*. — 7. Bhag. 1, 421 f., where also additional examples from Vivāhap. are given. — 8. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 9. — 9. The Vedic accent prohibits assumption of proclisis of *se* and reduplication according to § 196.

§ 424. The impersonal pronouns partly have the special endings of the pronouns as in Skt., and partly they are inflected like nouns. Only the loc. sing. masc. and neut. and the nom. plur. masc. have the pronominal endings. In the abl. sing. masc. and neut., abl. gen. loc. sing. fem. and gen. plur. masc. fem. neut., both the endings are found to be used, partly for the sake of dialectical distinction. The stem of the fem. ends in the case of *tad*, *etad*, *yad*, *kim*, *idam* in *-ā* or *-ī* (Hc. 3,32; Kī. 3,45): *tā-*, *tī-*; *eā-*, *eī-*; *jā-*, *jī-*; *kā-*, *kī-*; *imā-*, *imī-*. *yad*, *tad*, and *kim*, however, have only *ā* in the nom. acc. sing. and gen. plur. (Hc. 3,33), Ś. Mg. in the case of all the pronouns have only *ā*. Cf. Vr. 6,1 ff.; Hc. 3,58 ff.; Kī. 3,42 ff.; Mk. fol. 45 ff.; Sr. fol. 19 ff.

§ 425. The pronoun *ta-*. Sing. nom. acc. neutr. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh. Ā. D. A. *taṁ* (JŚ. Pav. 381,20; 385,61; Ś. Lalitav. 561,13; 562,23; Mṛcch. 2,18; Śak. 27,6; Mg. Lalitav. 565,19; Mṛcch. 40,5; Dh. Mṛcch. 31,4; 32,3, 8; 35,7; Ā. Mṛcch. 102,1; D. Mṛcch. 102,19; A. Hc. 4,360); A. in the sense of "therefore" also *traṁ* (Hc. 4,360; see § 268 and cf. § 427) and *tu* in the combination *taṁ tu* (Vikr. 55,19) corresponding to *ju* (§ 427). — Acc. masc. and fem. in all the dialects *taṁ*. — Ins. *teṇa*, AMg. *teṇaṁ*, A. *teṁ* (Hc. s. v. *ta-*); according to Hc. 3,69 also *tinā*; femin. M. *tīe*, *tīa*; AMg. JM. *tīe*, *tāe*; Ś. *tāe* (Lalitav. 555,1; Mṛcch. 79,3; Śak. 40,4 [so to be read for *tae*, as also Mṛcch. 77,10 with D]; Vikr. 45,21); Mg. *tāe* (Mṛcch. 133,21); P. *tīe* (Hc. 4,323); A. *tāe* (Hc. 4,370,2). — As pure abl. AMg. JM. have *tāo* (e. g. Ovav. § 101; Uvās. § 90. 125; Āv. 8,48; Sagara 6,4), AMg. also as femin. (Dasav. 613,24). The forms *tatto*, *tao*, Ś. Mg. *tado* (Kī. 3,50; where also *tadao*), *to*, *tamhā*, taught by the grammarians (Vr. 6,9,10; Hc. 2,160; 3,66,67; Mk. fol. 46), are adverbially used, *tamhā* in AMg. and JŚ. only (Pav. 380,8; 381,20; 382,23, 27; 384,36); *to*, that stands, except in M. AMg. JM. A. (Hc. s. v.), also in the verse in Mg. (Mṛcch. 11,11), is apparently = *ātas* (§ 142). In addition there comes AMg. *taohimto* (Vivāhap. 1047. 1189. 1240 f. 1283. 1288 f.; Nāyādh. 1178) and *tā M. JM. JŚ.* (Pav. 398,303); Ś. (Lalitav. 555,2; 561,15; Mṛcch. 2,16. 18. 22; 3,20); Mg. (Lalitav. 565,8. 15; 567,1; Mṛcch. 20,21; 21,12); Dh. (Mṛcch. 29,15; 30,13; 32,8); Ā. (Mṛcch. 101,23; 105,2); D. Mṛcch. 101,1. 9; 102,18; 103,16; 104,19); A. (Hc. 4,370,1). *tā*=Vedic *tāt*<sup>1</sup>, is wrongly translated as = *tāvat*. From A. Hc. gives also *tāhām* (Hc. 4,355).—Gen. masc. neut. M. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Dh. *tassa*, also PG. *tasa* (7,41. 45); Mg. *taśśa* (Mṛcch. 14,1. 7; 19,10; 37,25) and *tāha* (Mṛcch. 13,25; 36,13; 112,9; 164,2); M. also *tāsa* (Vr. 6, 5. 11; Hc. 3,63; Vetālap. p. 218 Nr. 15); A. *tassu*, *tasu*, *tāsu*, *taḥ* (Hc. s. v. *ta-*); femin. M. *tissā*, *tīe*, *tīa*, according to Vr. 6,6; Hc. 3,64 also *tīā*, *tīī*; AMg. JM. *tīse* (also in Vr. Hc.), *tāe*, *tīe*; Ś. *tāe* (Mṛcch. 79,3; 88,20; Śak. 21,8; Vikr. 16,9. 15); Mg. *tāe* (Mṛcch. 133,19; 152,5); P. *tīe* (Hc. 4,323); A. *taḥ* (Hc. s. v. *ta*), *tāsu* (acc. in rhyme with *jāsu*; Piṅgala I,109. 115).—Loc. masc. neut. M. JM. *tammi*; AMg. *taṁsi*, *tammi*, *taṁmi* (also Āyār. 1,2,3,6); Ś. *tassim* (Mṛcch. 61,24; Śak. 73,3; 74,1; Vikr. 15,12); Mg.

*taśīm* ( Mṛcch. 38,16; 121,19; Prab. 32,7 ); according to Hc. 3,11 also *taṁ*. False is JŚ. *tamhi* ( Kattig. 400,322 ) beside the correct *tammi*. A. h as, according to Kī. 5,50, also *tadru*, as in relation with *yadru* (§ 427). In the sense of "there", "thither" very frequent is *tahim* ( Vr. 6,7; Hc. 3,60 ) in all the dialects. As *tatra* in Skt., so *taitha* in Pkt. is used in the sense of the loc. too ( Vr. 6,7; Hc. 2,161, who has also *taha*, *tahi* ). Femin. *tīe*, *tīa*, according to 3,60 also *tāhim*, *tāe*; AMg. *tīse* ( Ovav. § 83; Nāyādh. 1148 ). As loc. feminine, we should probably consider also M. AMg. JM. *tāhe* for \**tāse* ( corresponding to *tīse*, that mostly stands in correlation with *jāhe* and has the meaning "then" = *tadā* ( Vr. 6,8; Hc. 3,65; G. R. Erz.; s. v. *tāhe* and *jāhe*; Uvās. s. v. *ta-* and *ja-*; Nāyādh. § 143; p. 768. 944. 1052. 1420. 1435 etc. ). — Plural. Nom. *te*, femin. *tāo*, neuter. *tāim*, in all the dialects, AMg. JM. also *tāni*. Ś. Mg. have, beside *te*, also *de* behind other pronouns<sup>2</sup>: Ś. *ede de* ( Mṛcch. 39,3; Uttarar. 68,8; Mālatim. 243,3 [ *edē kkhū de* ]; 273,4 ); Mg. *ede de* ( Mṛcch. 38,19 ), *ye de* ( Mudrār. 183,2 ), elsewhere also Ś. *te* ( Uttarar. 77,4,5; Mudrār. 260,1 ), as *tāo* ( Mṛcch. 25,20; 29,7; Mālatim. 80,1; Prab. 17,8 ) and *tāim* ( Uttarar. 60,5 ). — Acc. *te*, also JŚ. ( Pav. 379,3; 381,21 ) and A. ( Hc. 4,336 ); falsely Ś. *de* in the beginning of the sentence ( Uttarar. 72,5 ); femin. AMg. *tāo* ( Nirayāv. 59 ). — Ins. *tehim*, femin. *tāhim*, in M. AMg. JM. also *tehi*, *tāhi* ( Ś. masc. Mṛcch. 25,14; Prab. 10,9; 12,11 ). — Abl. AMg. *tēbbho* ( Sūyag. 19; correct? ); AMg. JM. *tehimto* ( Paṇṇav. 308 f.; Āv. 48,14 ) and JM. *tehim* ( Erz. 22,5 ). — Gen. M. *tāṇam*, *tāṇa*; Ś. *tāṇam* ( Uttarar. 73,10 ), also femin. ( Prab. 39,1 ); AMg. *tesim*, *teṣi*, femin. *tāsim*, *tāsi*; JM. *tesim*; femin. *tāsim* and *tāṇam* for masc. and femin.; JŚ. masc. *tesim* ( Pav. 379,5; 383,44 ); A. *tāṇa*, *tāhā*, *tāhā* ( Hc. s. v. *ta-* ); according to Hc. 4,300 *tāhā* in M. too, according to 3,62 *tāsa* in the plural too. — Loc. *tesu* ( Hc. 3,135; M. R. 14,13; JM. Erz. 4,3 ); Ś. *tesu* ( Vikr. 35,6; Mudrār. 38,10; 160,2 ) and *tesum* ( Śak. 162,13 ); femin. JM. Ś. *tāsu* ( Erz. 15,14; Mālatim. 105,1 ); A. *tahī* ( Hc. 4,422,18 ). On AMg. *tām*, *teṇām* see § 68, on AMg. *se tām* § 423.

1. HOFER, De Prakrita dialecto p. 171; PISCHEL, BB. 16,171 ff.—2. BOLLENSSEN on Vikr. 1. 176 too strictly limits *de*, when he permits it to stand only after *je*; it is not used even as a correlative. The form makes it certain, that *de* was enclitic in such cases.

426. The pronoun *eta-* is essentially inflected like *ta-* ( G. s. v. *etat*; H. R. s. v. *ea-*; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.; Kk. s. v. *eya-* ). The nom. sing. masc. is M. JM. JŚ. Ś. Ā. D. *eso* ( JŚ. Kattig. 398,314; Ś. Mṛcch. 6,10; Śak. 17,4; Vikr. 7,2; Ā. Mṛcch. 99,19; 100,23; D. Mṛcch. 102,16 ), AMg. *ese*, in verses also *eso* ( Uttar. 361 f. ) Mg. *ése* ( Lalitav. 565,6. 8; 567,2; Mṛcch. 11,1; Prab. 32,10; Śak. 113,3; Venīs. 33,15 ), Dh. *esu* ( Mṛcch. 31,12; 34,17; 35,15 ), A. *ehō* ( Hc. s. v. *eha* ). Unlike *sa* (§ 423), beside it there occurs very frequently, however, *esa* ( Hc. 3,3 ), which, according to Hc. 3,85 is used also for the femin. and neut.: *esa*, *mahī*, *esa sirām*. *esa* does not stand merely as an adjective before substantives, but also as a substantive, in verse, as in prose, e. g. JŚ. Pav. 379,1; Ś. Mṛcch. 54,13; Vikr. 82,14. In Mg. *esa* is seldom ( Mṛcch. 139,17 ); in Dh. stands *esa* ( Mṛcch. 36,23 ). The femin. is *esā* ( Ś. Lalitav. 555,2; Mṛcch. 15,24; Vikr. 7,13; Śak. 14,6; also P. Hc. 4,320 and D. ( Mṛcch. 102,23 ), Mg. *esā* 10,23.25; 13,7,24; Prab. 32,9 ), A. *eha* ( Hc. s. v. ; Piṅgala 2,64 ), the neut. PG. *etaṁ* ( 6,30 ), M. *eam*, AMg. JM. *eyam*, Ś. Mg. Ā. D. *edam* Ś. ( Lalitav. 555,18; Mṛcch. 2,18; Vikr. 6,1; also acc. Mṛcch. 49,8. 14; Śak. 25,1; Vikr. 13,4; Mg. nom. Mṛcch. 45,21; 168,18; 169,7; acc. Mṛcch. 29,24; 132,21; Ā. nom. Mṛcch. 100,18; D. acc. Mṛcch. 100,16 ); A. *ehu* = \**esam* ( Hc. s. v. *eha* ), also acc. *ehāṁ* = \**esakam* ( Hc. 4,362 ). — Acc. masc. femin. neut. M. *eam*, AMg. JM. *eyam*. Ś. Mg. *edam*; A. masc. *ehu* ( Piṅgala 1,81 ). — In the

ins. M. has *eena* ( H. R. ), AMg. *eeṇam*, JM. beside *eēṇa* also *einā*, Ś. Mg. beside *edena* ( Ś. Mṛcch. 42,12; Vikr. 31,14; Uttarak. 78,3; 163,3; Mg. Mṛcch. 118,11; 133,19; 154,9 ) much more frequently *edinā* ( Ś. Mṛcch. 5,5; 18,3; Śak. 10,12; Vikr. 53,1; Uttarak. 13,11; Mālatim. 31,4; 73,3; 100,3; Ratn. 293,21; Mg. Mṛcch. 39,25; 40,11; Venis. 36,1 ). See § 128. In the femin. beside *ejāye* JM. has also the form *ēe*, from the femin. stem *ēi-* = \**ēi-*, mentioned by Hc. 3,32; both the forms are valid for the abl. gen. loc. too. In Ś. Mg. the ins. gen. loc. is spelt as *edāe*: ins. ( Ś. Mṛcch. 94,16; 95,8; Vikr. 27,15; 41,7; Ratn. 299,8; Mg. Mṛcch. 173,8; Prab. 61,7 ); gen. ( Mg. Mṛcch. 123,3 ); loc. ( Ś. Mṛcch. 9,9; 42,11 ). — For the abl. Vr. 6,20 gives *ētto*, *edādo*, *edādu*, *edāhi*; Hc. 3,82: *ētto*, *ēttāhe*, *eāo*, *eāu*, *eāhi*, *eāhinto*, *eā*; Kī. 3,51: *etto*, *edo* [ sic ], *edādu*, *edāhi*, *ēttā*. From it is *ētto* = \**etatah* ( § 197 ); it is used in AMg. M JM. in the sense of “hence”, “thence”, “now”, in AMg. as pure abl. too: *ētto uvasaggāo* = *etasmād upasargāt* ( Nāyādh. 761 ); *ētto annayaram* = *etasmād anyataram* ( Āyār. 2,1,2,4. 6,4. 7,8; 2,2,3,18; 2,6,1,5 ). This use is wrong in Ś. In Indian editions in places where it occurs, such as in Mālatim, ed. Bomb. 69,9; 255,1, we should read *imādo*, as in the first place, the ed. Calc. 1866 p. 37,13 and the ed. BHĀNDĀRKAR 92,3 have. In AMg. *itto* too ( Sūyag. 360; Uttar 599 ). *ēttāhe*, however, is derived from the stem *ēttā-* = *etā*<sup>1</sup>, and like *tāhe* ( § 425 ) is to be taken as the loc. sing. of the feminine. It is used in M. adverbially in the sense of “now” ( Hc. 2,134; G. H. R. ), in A. as *ēttahē* in the meaning “hence” ( Hc. 4,419,6. 420,6 ) and of “hither” ( Hc. 4,436 ). According to it is built A. *ēttahē* “thither” ( Hc. 4,436 ). JM. *ejāo* ( Dvār. 495,27 ). — Gen. M. *eassa*; AMg. JM. *ejassa*; Ś. *edassa* ( Śak. 29,2; Vikr. 32,3; Uttarak. 67,6 ); Mg. *edaśsa* ( Lalitav. 565,8; Mṛcch. 19,5; 79,19 ) and *edāha* ( Mṛcch. 145,4; 164,4 ). — Loc. according to Hc. 3,60 *eassim*, according to 3,84 *eammi*; AMg. JM. *ejammi*, *ejammi*; in AMg. also *ejamsi* ( Sūyag. 790; Vivāhap. 116. 513 [ text *eesi*, correctly in the commentary ]. 1119 ); Ś. *edassim* ( Śak. 78,12; Vikr. 6,3; 23,17; Ratn. 301,5; Priyad. 13,16; Prab. 36,1 ); Mg. *edaśsim* ( Lalitav. 565,6; Mṛcch. 134,22; 137,4; Mudrār. 185,1 ). On *aammi*, *iammi* see § 429. — Plural. Nom. M. AMg. JM. *ee*; JŚ. Ś. *edē* ( Pav. 386,8; 389,1; Mṛcch. 8,2; Śak. 41,1; Mālatim. 243,3; 284,10 ); Mg. *ede* ( Mṛcch. 29,23; 38,19; 71,22 ); striking *ede akkhalu* Mṛcch. 40,2 ( all editions ) = *etāni akṣarāni*; A. *ei* ( Hc. 4,330,4. 363 ); femin. M. *eāo*; AMg. JM. *ejāo*, Ś. *edāo* ( Caṇḍak. 28,10; Mallikām. 336, 8. 13 ), JM. also *ejā*; nei t. M. *eāi*; AMg. JM. *ejāim*, AMg. JM. also *ejāni* ( Sūyag. 321; Erz. ), Ś. *edāim* ( Mṛcch. 128,4; 153,9. 13 ); Mg. *edāim* ( Mṛcch. 132,16; 169,6 ). — Acc. masc. AMg. JM. *ee*, A. *ei* ( Hc. 4,363 ). — Ins. masc. neuter. M. JM. *eehim*, *cehi*; Ś. Mg. *edehim* ( Ś. Mṛcch. 24,1; Prab. 12,10; 14,10; Mg. Lalitav. 565,13; Mṛcch. 11,12; 122,19; 132,15 ); femin. AMg. JM. *ejāhim*. — Gen. masc. neuter. M. *eāṇa* ( Hc. 3,61; G.H. ); PG. *etasi* ( 6,27 ); AMg. JM. *eesim*, *eesi*, JM. also *ejāṇam*; Ś. *edāṇam* ( Mṛcch. 38,22; Uttarak. 11,4; 165,3; 197,10 ); femin. M. *eāṇa* ( H. 89 ), according to Hc. 3,32 also *eiṇam*, *eāṇam*; AMg. JM. *ejāsim*, JM. also *ejāṇam*; Ś. *edāṇam* ( Ratn. 293,13; Karp. 34,3.4 ). — Loc. M. AMg. ( e.g. Āyār. 1,2,5,3 ); JM. *eesu*, *eesum*; Ś. *edesum* ( Śak. 9,12.14 ) and *edesu* ( Mudrār. 72,3 ).

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛtica p. 22.

§ 427. The relative pronoun *ja-*, Mg. *ya-* is inflected almost wholly like the demonstrative *ta-*. In the nom. acc. sing. neut. A. has *ju* too ( Hc. 4,350,1; 418,2 ), beside the frequent *jam* ( Hc. s. v. *jo* ); both the forms stand beside one another in *jam ju* ( Vikr. 55,19; cf. *taṁ tu* § 425 ). Besides A. uses *dhrum* too ( Hc. 4,360; cf. *traṁ* § 425 ). According to Kī. 5,49 *jrum* is used in the acc. sing. for the demonstrative *drum*. The example is: *jrum*

*cintesi drum pāvasi = yac cintayasi tat prāpnoṣi.* The old form *yad* has been retained in AMg. *jad atthi* and Mg. *yad iścaśe* (§ 341).— In the ins. sing. is found, according to Hc. 3,69 also *jinā*; A. has *jem* (Hc. 4,350,1) beside *jeṇa* (Hc. s. v. *jo*); in Piṅgala 2,272. 280 stands *jiṇi*, for which probably we have to read *jiṇa = jinā*.— In the abl. is found also *jā = Vedic yāt* (BB. 16,172), in A. also *jahām* according to Hc. 4,355, beside *jāo, jao, jado, jatto, jamhā* (Vr. 6,9; Hc. 2,160; 3,66), about which the remark made in § 425 holds good.— In the gen. Mg. has also *yāha* (Mṛcch. 112,9), beside *yaśśa* (Mṛcch. 19,10; 165,7) also *yāha* (Mṛcch. 112,9); A. *jāsu, jasū* (Hc. s. v. *jo*; Piṅgala 1,68.81<sup>a</sup>.89<sup>a</sup> etc.), also in the fem. Hc. 4,368; Piṅgala 1,109.111 ff.), for which are used *jīa, jīe* (G.H. s.v. *ja-*), *jissā* (Vr. 6,6; Hc. 3,64; Karp. 49,4.7; 84,11), according to Vr. Hc. also *jīā, jīi, jīse* in M.; A. has *jahē* for \**jāse* (Hc. 4,359); Ś. *jāe* (Mṛcch. 170,25; 172,5; Prab. 39,6).— In the loc. is used in AMg. *jamṣi = yasmin*, in verses also *jamṣī* (§ 75), sometimes for the fem. too: *jamṣī guhāe* (Sūyag. 273) and in relation to *nāi = nadī* (Sūyag. 297), in relation to *nāvā = nauḥ* (Uttar. 716); in A. stands *jassammī = yasyām* (Piṅgala 1,52), in AMg. *jassammī* in the sense of the gen. (Vivāhap. 264). According to Hc. 3,60 beside *jāe, jīe*, also *jāhiṃ* is used in the fem., as *jāhiṃ* in the masc. neut., which is frequent in all the dialects in the sense of “where”, “whither”. A. has also *jahī, jāhi* (§ 75), according to Kī. 5,50 also *yadru*, as in the demonstrative *tadru* (§ 425). Presumably *yadru* is to be written. On *jāhe* see § 425. According to Vr. 6,7 even *jattha* is used in the sense of the locative; beside it Hc. 2,161 teaches also *jahi, jaha* in the sense of *yatra*. In the nom. plur. beside the usual *je* (Hc. s. v. *jo*) A. has also *jī* (Hc. 4,387,1), in the neut. AMg. has *yāim* too (Āyār. 2,1,3,4. 5,5. 9,1; 2,2,2,10; 2,3,3,8; 2,4,1,8; 2,5,1,10. 2,4; 2,7,1,1; Nāyādh. 450. 1248; cf. 1376), beside *jāim*; the adverbial *yāim = yad* stands, and may be comprehended as *āim* with the scholiasts in Nāyādh. 450, since it appears only after *i* (*pi, avi, ii, atthi*), and *y* would be explained as that in *yāvi* (§ 335).— In the abl. plur. AMg. has *jehimto* (Paṇṇav. 308 f.), in the gen. plur. M. JM. *jāṇa, jāṇam*, JM. also, as always AMg. *jesim, jesi, Ś. jāṇam* (Uttarar. 68,9), A. *jāhā* (Hc. 4,353.409); in the fem. AMg. has *jāsim* (Vivāgas. 189). On AMg. *jām, jeṇām* see § 68, on AMg. *se jjan, se jāhā* § 423. In PG. we find only the nom. sing. *jo* (7,44).

§ 428. In the interrogative in Skt. there are found two stems: *ka-* and *ki-*.— The stem *ka-* is inflected like the stems *ta-* and *ja-* (§ 425. 427). The abl. *kāo, kao, kado, katto, kamhā* (Vr. 6,9; Hc. 2,160; 3,71; Kī. 3,49) are analysed in the same way as those in the case of *ta-* and *ja-*. A. has also *kaū* (Hc. 4,416—418) and *kahām* (Hc. 4,355), AMg. also *kaohimto* (Jiv. 34. 263; Paṇṇav. 304; Vivāhap. 1050 ff. 1340. 1433. 1522. 1526. 1528. 1603 ff.). In the gen. Vr. 6,5; Hc. 3,63; Kī. 3,47; Mk. fol. 46 give, beside *kassa*, also *kāsa* (Kī. ed. *kāso*), that occurs as *kāsu* in A. (Hc. 4,358,2) and as *kāha* in Mg. (Mṛcch. 38,12), and according to Hc. 3,63 is also feminine. The loc. is M. *kammi*, AMg. *kaṃsi* (Āyār. 1,2,3,1), and *kamhi* (Uttar. 454; Paṇṇav. 637), Ś. *kassim* (Mṛcch. 81,2; Mahāv. 98,14), Mg. *kaśśim* (Mṛcch. 80,21; Prab. 50,13); in all the dialects *kahim, kattha* (§ 293) in the sense of “whither?”, “where?”, beside which Hc. 2,161 mentions also *kahi, kaha*, as *kāe kāhim* for the fem. 3,60. are frequent. AMg. *kāhe* “when?” (Vr. 6,8; Hc. 3,65; Kī. 3,44; Mk. fol. 46; Vivāhap. 153) is to be considered as *tāhe jāhe* (§ 425. 427). As the gen. there occurs in A. *kaḥ* (Hc. 4,359). In the nom. plur. fem. is found many times in Ś. *kā* instead of *kāo* in the phrase *kā amhe [kā vaam]* with the gen. loc. or inf. (Śak. 16,12; Mālav. 46,12; 65,3). Probably it is to be corrected as *kāo* (§ 376)<sup>1</sup>. The neuter A. *kāi* (Hc. s.v.) Prabandhac. 109,5) is used like *kim*, also adverbially in the sense of “why”, “on what reason?”; likewise *kaī* (Hc. 4,426; Vikr. 62,11). The gen.

is M. *kāṇam*, *kāṇa* (G. s. v. *kim*); AMg. JM. *kesim*. In PG. is found only the nom. sing. *ko* in *ko ci* (6,40).—In all the dialects is formed the nom. acc. sing. neut. *kim* = *kim* from the stem *ki-*. Ś. *kitti* (Lalitav. 555,4), that occurs as a v. l. also in Śak. 15,4 and elsewhere, is not with JOHANSSON<sup>2</sup> and KONOW<sup>3</sup> to be considered as \**kidti*, but as an erroneous ecriture for *kim ti*<sup>4</sup>. The ins. *kiṇā* (Hc. 3,69; Kī. 3,55; Mk. fol. 45) occurs in M. *kiṇā vi* (G 413), and as adverb "in which manner?", "by what means?" in AMg. (Uvās. § 167). *tiṇā*, *jiṇā* might be formed accordingly. — *kiṇo* and *kisa* are referred to as abl. by Hc. 3,68, *kiṇo* as an interrogative particle also by Hc. 2,216; Kī. 4,83, as it is in M. (G. 182; H. s. v.), is used<sup>5</sup>. *kisa*, Mg. *kīsa* occur in M. (H. R., but not G.), JM. (Āv. 18,14; Erz.), AMg. (Nirayāv. § 13; Dasav. N. 648,23. 33), especially frequent in Ś. and Mg. (Ś. Mṛcch. 29,8; 95,18; 151,12; 152,12; 161,16; Ratn. 290,30; 295,19; 299,1.15; 301,25; 302,5; 303,23.30; 305,24; 310,29; 314,32; 316,23; 317,33; Mallikām. 253,5; 266,6 etc.; Mg. Mṛcch. 113,17; 114,8; 121,2; 151,24; 170,16; Veṇis. 33,16), but not in Kālidāsa (PISCHEL on Hc. 3,68). Although it is undoubtedly used later as abl., as Mg. *kīsa kālanādo* = *kaśmāt kāraṇāt* (Kāmsav. 49,6), nevertheless according to its origin gen., is corresponding to Pāli *kissa*, as also Kī. 3,46 mentions, and it has, like it, almost always the adverbial meaning "why?", as Kī. 4,83 mentions. Striking is the meaning "what?" in Mg. Mṛcch. 112, 8. *kiṇo* too is to be interpreted accordingly. For the gen. sing. fem. V. 6,6; Hc. 3,64; Kī. 3,46; Mk. fol. 46 give the forms *kissā*, *kīse*, *kīa*, *kīā*, *kīi*, *kīe*, Hc. 3,60 the last one also for the loc. *kīa* stands at H. 604 and so we have to read for *kīe* in G. 1123. 1152, also, that is correct at G. 1145.— A. has as interrogative also *kavaṇa*, from which are found the nom. sing. masc. *kavaṇu*, feminine *kavaṇa*, ins. sing. neut. *kavaṇena*, gen. sing. masc. *kavaṇahe* (H. s. v. *kavaṇa*), acc. sing. neutr. *kavaṇu* (Prabandhac. 70,11.13). Cf. therewith also Skt. *kavapatha*, *kavāgni*, *kavoṣṇa* and Pkt. *kavaṭṭi* (§ 246).

I. So rightly LASSEN, Inst. p. 326; wrongly BOLLENSEN on Mālav, p. 191. — WEBER, IS. 14,262 ff. has overlooked that in the Devanāgarī-recension of Śakuntalā too, in all the places referred to by him at p. 263, the MSS. have only *-ā*, and that *-āo* is just a conjecture of BÖHTLINGER.—2. Shāhbāzgarhī 1,176. — 3. GGA. 1894, 480. — 4. So rightly BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. 35. — 5. Cf. also Haripāla on G. 182: *kiṇo iti kaśmādarthe deśinipāṭah*.

§ 429. The stems combined together under the pronoun *idam* in Skt. have been retained as a whole in Pkt. The *a*-stem is very much restricted in its use, the stem *ima-*, except in A., where it is almost completely wanting became prevalent. From the *a*- and *i*- stems are found to have been formed: nom. sing. masc. AMg. JM. *ayaṃ* (Uvās. Nāyādh. Nirayāv. s. v.; Kappas. Kk. s. v. *ima*); Ś. Dh. *aam* (Ś. Mṛcch. 3,24; Śak. 13,3; Vikr. 29,12; Dh. Mṛcch. 34,9. 12). Whilst *aam* is very frequent in Ś., it has almost entirely vanished from M. It stands only in R. 14, 44 *ahavāam kaakajjo* = *athavāyam kṛtakāryah*, a passage, that is cited as example by Hc. 3,73 too; elsewhere *imo* occurs for it. It is completely wanting in Mg., where *eśe* is used. In fact Hc. 4,302 cites *ayaṃ dāva śe āgame* = Śak. 114,11; but here only the Dravidian and Devanāgarī recensions read *aam*, as throughout, offending against the dialect. The Bengali recension has *ēttake*, the Kashmirian *ittake*. In AMg. *ayaṃ* in the combination *ayaṃ eṣārūve* = *ayam etadrūpaḥ* has become completely indeclinable, so that one says also *ayameṣārūvam*, *ayameṣārūvassa*, *ayameṣārūvamsi* too<sup>1</sup>. As in Pāli, so in AMg. too, *ayaṃ* is used as femin. at the same time: *ayaṃ koṣi* = *iyam koṣi*, *ayaṃ araṇi* = *iyam araṇiḥ* (Sūyag. 593. 594), and so on, or it is to be taken as the masc. (§ 358), also *ayaṃ atṭhi* =

*idam asthi*; *ajam dahī* = *idam dadhi* (Sūyag. 594). As neuter it stands in AMg. *ajam tēllam* = *idam tailam* (Sūyag. 594), therefore, formed from the *aya*-stem. The femin. *ijam* has been attested by Ś. only: *iam* (Mṛcch. 3,5,21; Śak. 14,1; Vikr. 48,12). Since Mg. employs elsewhere only *esā*, *iam* is a false reading in Mṛcch. 39,20 (all editions), brought in through the similar following Ś. *iam* in the same combination with *kalā*. The neut. *idam* has been retained in AMg. M. and Ś. only, and that in fact as nom. only (Karp. 92,6 [rightly?]; Sūyag. 847 [rightly?]; Mṛcch. 3,20 [so to be read with C for *iamam*]; 7,8; 42,8; Śak. 15,1; Vikr. 19,15; 45,15; 86,6); as acc. is used *iamam* (Mṛcch. 24,21; 38,23; 39,14; 42,3; 61,24; 105,9; 147,18; Śak. 57,8; 58,13). For *idam* (Vikr. 40,20) we should read, with A *edam*, and for *idam* at Vikr. 47,10, where it would have been used as masc., we should, with ed. Bomb. 79,3 and ed. Sh. P. PANDIT 94,7, read *iamam*. In Mg. *idam* appears in *tam nidam* at Lalitav. 566,20, falsely for *tam nedam*; Mg. has as nom. and acc. neut. only *iamam* (Mṛcch. 108,11; 166,24; 169,22), as also P. as acc. (Hc. 4,323). — Ins. M. *epa* (R. 14,47); A. *em* (Vikr. 58,11). — Abl. M. *ā* = Vedic *āt* in the sense of *tāvat*<sup>2</sup>. — Gen. M. JM. *assa* = *asya* (Hc. 3,74; Kī. 3,56; Mk. fol. 47; Karp. 6,5; Pārvatīp. 30,15; Kī. 4,5); falsely assumed for *jassa* of the editions and best MSS. by WEBER on H. 979; falsely in Ś. too at Vikr. 21,1, where we have to read °*sūidassa* for °*sūidam assa* with the MSS. BP and the ed. Calc. 1833, and at Prab. 8,7, where we should read *jado se for jado ssa* (so all the four editions). — Loc. *asim* = *asmin* (Vr. 6,15; Hc. 3,74; Kī. 3,56; Mk. fol. 47), in AMg. in verses (Āyār. 1,4,1,2; Sūyag. 328, 537, 938, 941, 950; Uttar. 22), and in prose (Āyār. 1,1,2,1; 1,5,3,3; 2,2,1,2; 2,2,9; Sūyag. 695; Vivāhap. 163; Jīv. 797,801), as already *casi* = *cāsmīn* in PG. 7,46<sup>3</sup>. For Ś. *kaniṣṭhamādāmaha asim* (Mahāv. 98,4) we should, with the ed. Bomb. 219,8, read °*mādāmahassa*. It stands in Ś. in the text in Pārvatīp. 5,10; Mallikām. 219,23. — Ins. plur. *ehi*, AMg. Dh. *ehim* (Rāyap. 249; Mṛcch. 32,7), femin. *āhi*, loc. JM. *esu* (Hc. 3,74; T. 7,16), gen. M. *esim* (H. 771). — Probably *aammi* and *iammi* are the loc. from it, and with the grammarians (Hc. 3,48; Sr. fol. 22), are not to be derived from *etad*. For *iammi* Triv. 2,2,87 and Sr. fol. give, probably more correctly, *iammi*, as likewise Hc. 3,89, gives from *adas* both *aammi* and *iammi*. Therefore *aammi* is to be derived from *ada* = *adas*, but also from *aa* = *aya* (§ 121), as undoubtedly the loc. sing. AMg. *ajamsi* (Uttar. 498), the nom. sing. neut. AMg. *ajam* (Sūyag. 594; see above), and at least according to the meaning A. *āa*, whereof have been found in the text, the ins. *āepa* = *anena*, *āahō* = *asya*, *āahim* = *asmin*, *āāi* = *imāni* (Hc. 4,365, 383,3). *iammi*, however, belongs to *idam*, hence to the stem *ia* = *ida*-. Loc. from one *i*-stem are *iha* “here”, “hither” = \**itha* (§ 266; Vr. 6,17; Hc. 3,75, 76), A. as masc. and femin. = *asmin* and *asyām*, *ihī*, in all the dialects *ēthta* = Vedic *itthā* (§ 107), and M. AMg. JM. *ēñhim* “now” (Bh. 4,33; Hc. 2,134), for which the MSS. give more often as v. l. *iñhim* (G. H. R. s. v.), likewise false as *ittha*, which Vr. 6,17 and Hc. 3,76 expressly forbid, so that in Ś. too at Prab. 46,8 and in P. with v. l. and Hc. 4,323 too we have to read *ēthta*. In Mg. is used *ēñhim* in verses only (Mṛcch. 29, 22; 40,6), in Ś. not absolutely, but *idānim*, *dānim* (Hc. 4,277; § 144). Hence falsely in Hāsy. 36,11; Karp. 62,10 and more often in Indian editions. Likewise the word has not been as yet traced in A., where *ēvāhī* stands in the sense of “now” (Hc. 4,420). Deśin. 1,50 mentions the pronoun *ajjho* (according to Droṇa), femin. *ajjhā*, by which the audience is to be pointed to, can be derived from the gen. *asya* through \**ahya*.

1. STEINTHAL, Specimen Anm. 77. — 2. FISCHER, BB. 16,172. — 3. FISCHER, GN.

1895, 211 ff.

§ 430. The stem *ana*- has been retained in the ins. only and indeed

only in prose of AMg. ( Āyār. 1,6,4,3 ), JM. ( Erz. 30,14 ), in Ś. ( Mṛcch. 95,2; Śak. 163,8; Vikr. 41,11 ) and in Mg. ( Mṛcch. 149,24; Mudrār. 192,3 ); AMg. also *aṇṇaṃ* ( Uttar. 487 ).—The most usual stem is *ima-*, femin. *imā-* or *imi-* ( Hc. 3,32 ), in Ś. Mg. only *imā-*, as in all the dialects in the nom. acc. sing. and plur. It is used in all the cases of the sing. and plur. ( G. s. v. *idam*; H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nāyādh. s. v. *ima-*; Hc. s. v. *imaṃ* ). Sing.: nom. *imo*, AMg. *ime*, in verses also *imo* ( Uttar. 247; Dasav. N. 654,26; Nandis.84 ), femin. *imā*, also *imiā* = \**imikā* ( Hc. 3,73 ), neut. *imaṃ*. In Ś. Mg., these forms, not even the neuter ( § 429 ), are not used by good writers. In many of the later-day dramas *imo* is found in Ś. so frequently, that it can hardly be considered to be a contribution of the edition, as Pras. 11,12. 18; 12,5. 9. 13; 14,9; 17,9; 34,6; 35,1; 45,1. 12. 14; 46, 1. 2 etc.; Mukund. 14,15. 17; 19,14; 70,15; Unmattar. 4,12; Vṛṣabh. 23,9; 26,5; 48,3 etc. Here we have cases of error against the dialect. A. has only the neut. *imu*. In AMg. *ime*, like *aṇṇam* ( § 429 ), in the combination *im' eṅārūva*, has wholly weakened, so that one says also *im' eṅārūvā* ( nom. sing. fem.; Uvās. § 113. 167 [ so to be read; see v. l. ] 168 ), *im' eṅārūveṇaṃ* ( v. l. to Uvās. § 72 ). In addition, the usage described in § 173 has indeed made its contribution after the weakening of the nasal sound.—Acc. masc. fem. neut. *imaṃ* ( masc. Ś. Mṛcch. 24,21; Śak. 18,10; Vikr. 72,18; Mg. Mṛcch. 169,17; Śak. 115,11; femin. Ś. Mṛcch. 54,18; Śak. 14,2; Ratn. 297,23; neut. § 429 ); A. neut. *imu* ( Hc.; Ki. 5,10 ).—Ins. masc. fem. neut. M. *imeṇa*; AMg. *imeṇaṃ*, *imeṇa*; JM. *imeṇa*, *imeṇā*; Ś. Mg. only *imiṇā* ( Ś. Mṛcch. 24,16; Śak. 16,10; Vikr. 24,10; Mg. Venis. 35,1 ); femin. M. *imīe*, *imīa* ( also Śak. 101,13 ), Ś. *imāe* ( Mṛcch. 90,15; Śak. 81,10; Ratn. 291,2 ). At Viddhaś. 96,8, where *imiā* stands, falsely, we should with the v. l. read *iam*, as *nijjhādi* = *nirdhyāyati* shows.—Abl. AMg. ( Sūyag. 630. 635 ), JM. *imāo*, Ś. Mg. *imādo* ( Ś. Mṛcch. 12,25; 74,25; Mudrār. 57,3; Ratn. 299,11; Mg. Lalitav. 565,8 ), also femin. ( AMg. Āyār. 1,1,1,4; Ś. Ratn. 315,12; Mg. Mṛcch. 162,23 ).—The remark made under § 375 on Ś. *imāe* ( Vikr. 17,1 ) holds good in this place too.—Gen. *imassa* ( Ś. Mṛcch. 148,12; Śak. 108,1; Vikr. 45,4 ); Mg. *imaśsa* ( Mṛcch. 32,17; 152,6; Śak. 118,2 ); femin. M. *imīe*, *imīa* ( Karp. 27,12 ); AMg. *imīse*; JM. *imīe*, *imāe*; Ś. *imāe* ( Śak. 168,14 ).—Loc. masc. neutr. M. *imammi*; AMg. *imammi* ( in verses; Uttar. 180; Āyār. 2,16,12 ), *imaṃsi* ( prose; Āyār. 2,3,1,2; 2,5,2,7; Vivāhap. 1275; Ovav. § 105 ); Ś. *imassim* ( Mṛcch. 65,5; Śak. 36,16; 53,8; Vikr. 15,4 ); Mg. *imaśsim* ( Venis. 33,7 ); femin. AMg. *imīse* ( Vivāhap. 81 ff.; Uvās. § 74. 253. 255. 257; Thān. 31. 79; Samav. 66 ); JM. *imāi* ( Ṛṣabhap. 7; so to be read with ed. Bomb. for *imāim*, as at Erz. 35,18 for *imāe* ); Ś. *imassim-* ( Śak. 18,5 ), for which *imāe* would be expected.—Plural nom. masc. *ime* ( Ś. Mṛcch. 69,18; Vikr. 41,19; Mālatīm. 125,5; Mg. Mṛcch. 99,8 ); femin. *imāo* ( Ś. Mṛcch. 70,1 and also at 71,8 so to be read for *imā* ); M. also *imā* ( Karp. 101,4 ) and *imiu* ( Karp. 100,6 ); neut. *imāim* ( Ś. Mṛcch. 69,16; Mālatīm. 125,3 ), AMg. JM. also *imāṇi* ( Āyār. 2,2,2,10; Āv. 31,21 ).—Acc. masc. *ime*; femin. JM. *imīo*; ins. masc. neutr. M. *imehi*; AMg. Ś. *imehim* ( Sūyag. 778; Śak. 62,6; Vikr. 45,9; Ratn. 296, 23 ), fem. AMg. *imāhiṃ* ( Āyār. 2,2,3,18; 2,7,2,7 ).—Gen. masc. neutr. *imāṇa*; AMg. *imesim* ( Hc. 3,61 ); femin. M. *imāṇaṃ*, *imāṇam* ( Hc. 3,32 ); AMg. *imāsīm* ( Uvās. § 238 ); Ś. *imāṇaṃ* ( Śak. 119, 3; Vṛṣabh. 15, 8 ).—Loc. M. *imesu*; Ś. *imesuṃ* ( Śak. 53, 9; Vikr. 52, 1 ) and *imesu* Mālatīm. 125,1 ).

§ 431. The stem *ena-* exists in the acc. sing. only, and indeed only in M.Ś. Mg., but even here it is seldom: masc. M. *enaṃ* ( R. 5,6 ); Ś. ( Mṛcch. 51,9 ); Mg. ( Mudrār. 265,1 ); femin. *eṇaṃ* Ś. ( Mṛcch. 24,2, in repetition

of the word of Śākāra in Mg.); Mg. ( Mṛcch. 21,12; 124,17) Mk. fol. 47 teaches them also in the ins. sing., but both the forms are restricted to the neuter. In M AMg. JM. either under the influence of accent (*ená-*) or that of the early loss of accent *ena-* has become *ina-*, from which frequently is formed the nom. acc. sing. neut. *īnam* (Vr. 6,18; Hc. 3,79; Kī. 3,57), especially in AMg. ( G. s. v. *idam*; H. Erz.; Kk. s. v. *īnam*; Āyār. 1,1,2,2. 4; 1,1,3,4. 5,4. 6,3,7,2; 1,2,4,3; 1,2,5,5; 1,3,3,1; 1,4,2,2 etc.; Uttar. 281 ff. 351. 355; Ovav. § 94 ). Cf. § 81. 173. In AMg. *īnam* is also acc. masc. ( Sūyag. 142. 307 ). Perhaps *īnam* is to be read. In M. AMg. JM. *īnamo* too is used as the nom. acc. neut. ( Vr. 6,18; Hc. 3,79; Kī. 3,57; Mk. fol. 47; G. s. v. *idam* and *etat*; Sūyag. 259; Dasav. N. 658,30; 661,27; Ovav. § 124; Āv. 7,21. 29; 13,11 ). At Dasav. N. 647,12 it is used as plural too: *īnamo udāharaṇā*. LEUMANN writes in Āv. *īnam-o*, hardly rightly. The explanation of the form is uncertain. Through *ina-* the stem has been weakened further to *na-*, P. *na*, which is used in the acc. sing. masc. fem. neut., acc. plur. masc., ins. sing. and plur. masc. fem. neut. ( Hc. 3,70. 77 ). Sing. acc. masc. *nam* ( M. G. 1071; H. 131; R. s. v. *na*; AMg. Uttar. 601. 670; Ś. Mṛcch. 68,5; Śak. 12,2; Vikr. 15,13; Mg. Mṛcch. 164,11; Prab. 32,11; 53,12; A. Hc. 4,396 ); femin. *nam* ( M. H. R. s. v. *na*; Ś. Śak. 77,9; Vikr. 12,19; Mg. Mṛcch. 123,4; 132,23 ); neut. *nam* ( M. R. s. v.; Ś. Mṛcch. 45, 25; Śak. 11,1; Vikr. 31,9; Mg. 96,12; Dh. Mṛcch. 31,9 ). — Ins. masc. neut. M. JM. A. *neṇa* ( R. Erz. s. v. *na*; Āv. 11,21; 15,31; 16,15; 28,10; Dvār. 501,3; Piṅgala 1,17 ), P. *nena* ( Hc. 4,322 )<sup>1</sup>; fem. *nāe* ( Hc. 3,70; Erz. s. v. *na* ); P. *nāe* ( Hc. 4, 322 ). — Plur. acc. *ṇe* ( Hc. 3, 77 ). — Ins. masc. neut. JM. *nehim* ( Āv. 18,4; Erz. 3,28; Dvār. 500,31. 35; 505, 27 ); femin. *nāhim* ( Hc. 3,70 ). In P. Hc. 4,322 restricts the stem to the ins. sing. In Ś. Mg. it is noticeable in acc. sing. only in critical texts; false reading is *neṇa* Śak. BÖHTL. 68,10; 108,8.

1. For *tattha ca nena* | *katasinā nena* we should read *tattha ca nena katasinānena* = *tatra ca tena kṛtasinānena*. Cf. § 133.

§ 432. The pronoun *adas* according to Vr. 6,23; Hc. 3,88; Kī. 3, 58; Mk. f.l. 47 is inflected: sing. nom. masc. fem. *amū*, neut. *amum*; acc. *amum*; ins. *amuṇā*; abl. *amūo*, *amūu*, *amūhimto*; gen. *amuṇo*, *amussa*; loc. *amummi*; plur.: nom. *amuṇo*, as also Vr. 6,23 we should read for *amūo* (cf. v. l.); femin. *amūu*, *amūo*; neutr. *amūṇi*, *amūim*; ins. *amūhi*; abl. *amūhimto*, *amūsumto*, gen. *amūṇa*; loc. *amūsu*. A few forms only have as yet been found in the text. Sing. nom. AMg. *aso* = *asau* ( Sūyag. 74 ) and *amuge* = *\*amukah* ( Āyār. 2,4,1,9; Nandīs. 361.363.364 ), JM. *amugo* ( Āv. 34,30 ); acc. masc. A. *amum* ( Hc. 4,439,3 ); neutr. Ś. *amum* ( Mṛcch. 70,24 ); ins. M. *amuṇā* ( Karp. 27,4 ); loc. AMg. *amugammi* = *\*amukasmīn* ( Panhāv. 130 ); plur. nom. masc. M. *amī* ( G. 246 ). According to Vr. 6,24; Hc. 3,87 the nom. sing. for all the three genders would be *aha*: *aha puriso*, *aha mahilā*, *aha vaṇam*. In the first two examples from the literature, which Hc. quotes as proof and which can be attested (= G. 892 and R. 3,16) *aha* is = *atha*, likewise in all the places in G. (s.v. *etat*) and H. (s.v. *aha*), where the scholiasts assume it as = *ayam*, *iyam*, *eṣaḥ*, *eṣā*, *asau*, so that upto the present day the assumption for a pronoun *aha* is nowhere necessary. Kī. 3,58 has the nom. sing. *aho*, which may be = *asau* according to § 264. In A. the nom. acc. plur. is spelt as *oi* ( Hc. 4,364 ); it is = *\*ave* from the stem *ava-*, which is current in the Iranian dialect. — On loc. sing. *aammi*, *iampi* see § 429.

§ 433. All the remaining pronouns are inflected according to § 424. 425. One says, therefore, for example in the sing. abl. *parāhimto* = *parasmāt* ( G. 973 ), AMg. *savāo* = *sarvasmāt* ( Sūyag. 743 ), and also in the



femin. ( Āyār. 1,1,1,4 ); femin. AMg. *annajariō* (Āyār. 1,1,1,2. 4); in the loc. JM. *annammi* (Āv. 25,5; Sagara 10,15), *annassim* = *anyasmīn* (Mahāv. 98, 14; Mālatīm. 111, 7; Ratn. 298, 24 ); JŚ. *kadarassim* = *katarasmin* ( Anarghar. 271,9 ), but AMg. *kajaramsi* (Vivāhap. 227 ) and *kajarammi* (Ovav. § 156 ff. ); Ś. *kadamassim* = *katamasmin* (Vikr. 35,13); Ś. *avarassim* = *aparasmīn* (Cait. 40,10); Ś. *parassim* = *parasmīn* (Lalitav. 567,18), but AMg. *paramsi* (Sūyag. 750 ), JŚ. *parammi* (Pav. 387,25 ); AMg. *samsi* = *svasmin* (Vivāhap. 1257 ) beside abl. *sāo* = *svāt* (Vivāgas. 84 ); AMg. also *annajare* = *anyatarasmin* (Ovav. § 157). Plural: acc. PG. AMg. *anne*, JŚ. Ś. *anne* = *anyān* (PG. 5,6; 7,43; Āyār. 1,1,6,3; 1,1,7,2; Pav. 383,24; Bālar. 229,9 ); abl. AMg. *kajarehūnto* = *katarebhyah* ( Paṇnav. 160 ff.; Vivāhap. 260. 262. 460. 1057 f.), *saehim* = *svakebhyah*, *savvehim* = *sarvebhyah* ( § 369 ); gen. AMg. JM. *annesim* = *anyesām* ( Āyār. 1,1,4. 7,1; 1,5,6,1; 1,7,2,3; 1,8,1,16; Sūyag. 387. 663; Nāyādh. 1138. 1140; Kappas. § 14; Āv. 14,7); AMg. JM. *savvesim* = *sarvesām* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2; 1,2,3,4; 1,4,2,6; 1,6,5,3; Uttar. 625. 797; Āv. 14,18); AMg. JŚ. *paresim* = *pareśām* (Uttar. 625. 797; Pav. 385,65), but M. *aṇṇānaṃ* (Mudrār. 83,3; Karp. 1,2), also femin. Ś. (Priyad. 24,8); Ś. *savvānaṃ* ( Vikr. 83,8); *avarānaṃ* = *aparesām* (Mṛcch. 69,10). According to Hc. 3,61 *aṇṇesim* and *savvesim* are used for the femin. too, and so JŚ. has *savvesim* *itthānaṃ* = *sarvāsām* *strīnaṃ* (Kattig. 408,384). The regular forms in AMg. JM. are *aṇṇāsim*, *savvāsim*. I oc. plur. in A. is *aṇṇahī* (Hc. 4,422,9). On *kati* see § 449.

§ 434. Of the nouns *ātman* ( § 401 ) and *bhavat-* ( § 396 ) are used as in Skt. Of the pronominal derivatives *-iya*, Hc. 2,147 mentions *māia mādiya*. Besides, for it are used *kera*, *kerāa*, *keraka* ( § 176 ). Without epenthesis *kārya* would become *\*kara*, and from it have originated in A. *mahāra*, *mahāraū* = *\*mahakāra* from the gen. *maha* ( § 418 ) + *kāra* (Hc. 4,351. 358,1. 434) in the sense of *mādiya*, likewise *tuhāra* = *tvādiya* ( Hc. 4,434 ), *amhāra* = *asmādiya* ( Hc. 4,345. 434 ). A. *hamāra* (Piṅgala 2,121), metri causa also *hammāra* ( Piṅgala 2,43 ) has originated through the line of development *\*mhāra* ( § 141 ), *\*mahāra* ( § 132 ), *hamāra* ( § 354 ). A. *tohāra* = *yusmākam* ( Piṅgala 2,25 stands metrically for *\*tohāra*, and has arisen from *tumhāra*, *\*toṃhāra* ( § 125 ), *\*t̄hāra*, *tohāra* ( § 76. 89. 127 ), exactly as *kohaṇḍī* from *kūsmāṇḍī* ( § 127 ). On the derivatives in *-dr̄s̄*, *-dr̄sa*, *-dr̄ksa* see § 121.122.245.262, on *ettia*, *ittia*, *ētila*, *ēttula*, *tēttia*, *tittia*, *ettilla*, *tēttula*, *iēttia*, *jittia*, *jēttilla*, *jēttia*, *jēttula*, *kēttia*, *kittia*, *kēttilla*, *kēttula* see § 153, on A. *sāha* = *sāsvat* § 64. 262, on AMg. *evāiyya*, *kevaīyya* § 149. A. *evaḍu* in the sense of *iyat* ( Hc. 4,408 ) is = *\*ayavaḍra* = JM. *evadḍa* ( § 149 ), as *kevaḍu* (Hc. 4,408) = *\*kayavaḍra*. Analogical formations are *jevaḍu*, *tevaḍu* (Hc. 4,395,7. 407 ). At Mṛcch. 164,5 we should read *evadḍe* for Mg. *evadḍhe*.

#### D. THE NUMERALS.

435. 1 is *ē'kka* = *eka* in all the dialects ( § 91 ), femin. *ē'kkā*, in AMg. JM. frequently *ega*. It is inflected according to the pronominal inflection. So sing. loc. M. *ē'kkammi* (G. 153. 441; H. 827), very seldom *ē'kke* according to the nominal declension (H. 846), AMg. *egamsi* (Vivāhap. 1394 ff.); AMg. JM. *egamnu* (Paṇnav. 521; Erz. 2,21), AMg. JM. *egammi* (Vivāhap. 922f. 928. 931. 1658. f. 1736. 1752; Āv. 10,22; 11,12.18; 17,22; 19,9.18; 22,10; etc.); JM. *ē'kkammī* (Āv. 27,19); Ś. *ē'kkassim* (Karp. 19,17); Mg. *ē'kkāssim* (Mṛcch. 81,13); A. *ē'kkahī* ( Hc. 4,357,2 ), also as femin. ( Hc. 4,422,9 ); plur. nom. masc. M. JM. *ē'kke* (G. 721. 866. 909; Kk. 273,23); AMg. *ega*

(Āyār. 1,1,2,2, 3,4, 4,6; Sūyag. 74. 204. 240. 438. 597; Uttar. 219; cf. § 174); gen. masc. AMg. *egesim* (Āyār. 1,1,1,1. 2; 1,1,2,4; 1,2,1,2. 4; 1,2, 3,3 etc.); Sūyag. 46. 81) and *egesi* (Sūyag. 19. 35. 74). Of the less frequent forms mention should be of sing. ins. AMg. *ēkkēnam* (Vivāhap. 258 ff.), JM. *egeṇam* (Āv. 33,24); gen. Mg. *ēkkāha* (Mrcch. 32,4). In JŚ. Dh. the following has been found in the text: *ēkkam* (Kattig. 403. 370. 377; Mrcch. 30,5). Before other numerals *ēkka°*, AMg. JM. also *ega°* appear as stems; but *ēkkā°*, AMg. JM. also *egā°*; A. *eā°*, *eggā°* in *ēkkārasa*, AMg. JM. *egārasa* A. *eāraha*, *ēggāraha* (11), *ēkkārasama* (the eleventh) (§ 443. 449); AMg. *ēkkāṇāim* (91) (§ 446). The *ā* is to be explained according to § 70. In PG. is found *aneka* (6,10), in which *k* is never duplicated: M. Ś. *aneā* (G. H.; Mrcch. 28,8; 71,16; 73,8). AMg. JM. *anega* (Vivāhap. 145. 1285; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); JM. *aneja* (Erz.); AMg. *ṇega* (§ 171); Ś. *aneaso* = *anekaśah* (Śak. 160,3); AMg. *ṇegaso* (§ 171).

436. 2 in the nominative and accusative is *do*, *duve*, *be*, neuter *dōṇṇi* *duṇṇi*, *bēṇṇi*, *biṇṇi* ( Vr. 6,57, where *doṇṇi*; C. 1,10<sup>a</sup> p. 41; Hc. 3,119. 120; Kī. 3,85. 86; Mk. fol. 49 )<sup>1</sup>. *do* = *dva* and *duve*, *be* = *dve* ( neuter ) are old duals, and are declined and used as plurals. Nom. acc. *do* is frequent in M. (G.H.R.), AMg. Uvās. s. v. *du*; Kappas. s. v.; WEBER, Bhag. 1,424), JM. (Erz.)<sup>1</sup>; traceable in A. too (Piṅgala 1,5), and in D. (Mrcch. 101,13), and it has as yet not been found in the text in Ś. Mg. Ś. *do vi* ( Pras. 84, 4; Bālar. 216,20; 246,5) is an error for *duve vi*, as at Śak. 106,1 stands. *do* is used for all the genders. As femin., it stands e. g. in M. *do tiṇṇi* [mahilāo] ( H. 587), *do tiṇṇi rehā* = *dvitrā rekhāh* ( H. 206 ) in AMg. *do guhāo* = *dve*, *guhe*, *do devayāo* = *dve devate*, *do mahāṇāo* = *dve mahānadyau*, *do kattijāo*, *do rohiṇāo*, *do migasirāo*, *do addāo* = *dve kārṭṭikayau dve rohiṇyau dve mrgasīrasī dve ārdre* ( Thān. 73. 75. 76. 77. 79. 81 ); *do disāo* = *dve disau* ( acc.; Thān. 55 ); as neuter.: M. *do vi dukkhāi* = *dve api dukkhe* ( H. 24 ); AMg. *do do pa jāṇi* = *dve dve pade* ( Thān. 27 ), *do sa jāim* = *dve sate* ( Samav. 157 ), *do khuddāim bhavaggahaṇāim sama jāṇāim* = *dve kṣudre bhavagrahaṇe samayone* ( Jiv. 1027. 1110 ), *do nāmadhējjā* = *dve nāmadheye* ( Āyār. 2,15. 15 ). It appears also in the beginning of compounds: M. *doṅgūlaa* = *dvaṅgūlaka* ( H. 622 ); AMg. JM. *domāsiya* = *dvimāsika* ( Āyār. 2,1,2,1; Sūyag. 758; Vivāhap. 166; T. 4,6 ); AMg. *dokiriyā* = *dvikriyā* ( Vivāhap. 52; Ovav. § 122 ); M. JM. *dojha* = *dvijihva* ( Prabandhac. 289,1; Erz. 82,17 ), *domuha* = *dvimukha* ( Erz. 39,21 ), *dovajāna* = *dvivadana* ( Hc. 1,94; Erz. 39,13 ). So also *dogaṭṭa* ( elephant; Pāiyal. 9; Prākṛtamañjarī on Vr. 4,33; Erz. 35,28; Bālar. 50,1; 86,12 ), that is read as *dōggaṭṭa* in Mallikām. at 55,7 in Ś. and at 144,10 in Mg., as *dugguṭṭa* in Deśin. 4,44 and as *duggōṭṭa* in Triv. 2,1,30 from *ghaṭṭa-*, *ghuṭṭa-*, *ghōṭṭa-* ( to drink )<sup>2</sup>; *dohada*, *dohaḷa* ( § 222. 244 ) = \**doihrd*<sup>3</sup>. Beside *do*, there occurs frequently in this case *du*, which has gone off the compounds, in which the accent did not fall on the first syllable. So M. *duva* = *dviguṇa* ( R. 11,47 ); AMg. *dugūna* ( Āyār. 2,2,2,7; Sūyag. 241; Vivāhap. 969 ); *duāi* = *dvijātiḥ* ( Hc. 1,94; 2,79 ); AMg. JM. *dupaya* = *dvipada* ( Āyār. 2,1,11,9; Uvās. § 49; Kk. 265,4. 5; III, 511,32 ); AMg. *duviha* = *dvividha* ( Thān. 44; Āyār. 1,7,8,2; 1,8,1,15; Uvās. ), *dukhura* = *dvikhura* ( Uttar. 1075; see commentary; Jiv. 75 ), *dupakkha* = *dupakṣa* ( Sūyag. 456 ), *du-y-āheṇa* = *dvyaheṇa* ( Āyār. 2,5, 2,3. 4 ), *du-y-āham* = *dvyaham* ( Jiv. 261. 286. 295 ), *duhattha* = *dvihasta* ( Thān. 208 ); JM. *dugāyā* = *dvigavyūta*, *du-y-āṅgula* = *dvaṅgūla* ( Erz. s. v. *du* ). Beside M. *dohāia*, *dohāijjāi* = *dvidhākṛta*, *dvidhākriyate* ( R. s. v. *duhā* ), AMg. *dodhāra* = *dvidhākāra* ( Thān. 401 ) stands AMg. *duhā* = *dvidhā* ( Sūyag. 351. 358 ); M. *duhāia* ( R. 8,106 ); AMg. *duhākijjamāṇa* ( Vivāhap. 137 ); AMg. *duhao* = \**dvidhātaḥ* ( twice; twofold; in two parts; Āyār. 1,3,3,5;

1,7,8,4; Uttar. 234; Sūyag. 35,640; Thān. 186; Vivāhap. 181.282 ) etc. The regular successor of *dvi* are *bi* ( § 300 ) and *di*, which always occurs in certain words like *dia*, JM. *diyā* = *divija*, *diraa* = *divrada* ( § 298 ), and always in Ś. Mg. except in the ordinals ( § 449 ). Ś. *dudhā* ( Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 78,8 ) is false, in the same way *duṇṇia* ( Mallikām. 224,5 ) for *diṇṇida*.—The neut. *dōṇṇi*, sometimes also *duṇṇi*, is formed according to *tiṇṇi*<sup>4</sup>. It is combined with the masculine and feminine too, as masc. M. *dōṇṇi vi bhinnasarūā* = *dvāvapi bhinnasvarūpau* ( G.450 ), *dōṇṇi vi bāhū* = *dvāv api bāhū* ( Hc. 3,142 ); AMg. *dōṇṇi vi rājāṇo* = *dvāvapi rājāṇau*, *doṇṇi vi rāṇam aṇīyā* = *dvāv api rājñām anikau* ( Nirayāv. § 26. 27 ), *dōṇṇi purisajāe* = *dvau \*puruṣajātāu* ( Sūyag. 575 ); JM. *duṇṇi munisihā* = *dvau munisimhau* ( T. 4,4 ), *te dōṇṇi vi* ( Erz. 78,35 ); Ś. *dōṇṇi khattikumārā* = *dvau ksatriyakumārāu* ( Pras. 47,7; cf. 48,4 ); femin. AMg. *dōṇṇi saṃgahanagāhāo* = *dve saṃgahanagāthe* ( Kappas. § 118 ); Ś. *dōṇṇi kumārio* = *dve kumāryau* ( Pras. 48,5 ).—Of *do*, the ins. is *dohim*, *dohi* ( in C. 1,7 p. 40 ), in the fem. too, as in M. *paṇṭihī dohim* = *paṇṭibhyām dvābhyām* ( Karp. 101,1 ); AMg. *dohim ukkhāhīm* = *dvābhyām ukkhābhyām* ( Āyār. 2,1,2,1 ); JM. *dohi vi bāhīm* = *dvābhyām bāhābhyām* ( Dvār. 507,33 ).—The abl. is, according to Hc. 3,119. 130, *dohimto*, *dosurinto*, according to C. 1,3 p. 39 *dohimto*, according to Mk. fol. 49 *dosurinto*.—In the gen. the numerals for 2-19 according to Vr. 6,59; Hc. 3,123, according to Hc. also *kati*, according to C. 1,6 the numerals generally, according and to Kī. 3,89 the numerals 2—4 have the endings *-ṇha*, *-ṇham*. So M. AMg. JM. *dōṇha*, *dōṇham* ( also Āyār. 2,7,2,12; Thān. 47. 67. 68; Kī. 10 ), also in the fem. AMg. *tāsim dōṇham* ( so rightly in the commentary; text *duṇhim* ) = *tayor dvayoh* ( Uttar. 661 ). In Ś. and apparently in Mg. too, on the contrary, the ending is *-ṇnam*, corresponding to the Lena-dialect and Pālī<sup>5</sup>: *dōṇnam* ( Śak. 56,15; 74,7 [femin.]; 85,15 [fem.]; Venis. 60,16 [so to be read with v. l. for *dohinam*]; 62,8; Mālav. v. l. to 77,20 [fem.], as also in M. is found more often as v. l. ( H. s. v. *do* ), and in Mk. fol. 49 the MSS. give. Whilst *dōṇnam* has followed the analogy of *tiṇnam* = *triṇam*, the ending *-ṇnam* seems to have originated from an intermixture of the nominal and the pronominal forms *\*doṇam* and *\*dosam* respectively, since it presupposes one *\*dvausṇam*.—The loc. is *dosum*, *dosu* ( in C. 1,3 p. 39 ), also JŚ. ( Kattig. 402,359 ), and in the femin., as M. *dosum dokandalisum* = *dvayor doḥkandalyoḥ* ( Karp. 95, 12 ), A. *duḥū* ( Hc. 4,340,2 ).

1. These quotations hold good for all cases, although not noted. In the text of Kī. there stands *doṇhi* ( 3,85 ), *doṇi* ( 3,86 ); *be* is wanting.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 4,10; also Kī. 4,46.—3. LÜDERS, GN. 1893,2 ff.—4. FISCHER, KZ. 35,144.—5. FISCHER, KZ. 35,144 f.

§ 437. *dve* = *dve* is used as the nom. and the acc. for all the three genders in all the dialects: M. ( H. 846; neut. ); AMg. ( Āyār. 1,8,4,6 (acc. ); Sūyag. 293 (acc. ). 620.853.972; Uttar. 200; Samav. 238; Kappas. Th. § 4; Uvās. s. v. *du* ), as femin. *bhajāḍ dve* = *bhāryā dve* ( Uttar. 660 ); JM. *dve vi* ( Āv. 8,49 ); *dve vi* ( Erz. 21,6 ); *dve jaṇā* ( Āv. 19,10 ); *dve corasenāvaṇo* = *dvau corasenāpatī* ( Erz. 13,4 ); A. *dui* ( Piṅgala 1,31. 42 ). Whilst in comparison with *do*, it is not frequent in these dialects, particularly in M. and A., it is the only form in Ś. Mg. So Ś. masc. ( Mṛcch. 24,15; Śak. 24,1; 41,1; Vikr. 21,19; Mālav. 17,8; 18,22; 30,1; Malatīm. 358,1; Viddhaś. 66,1; Mallikām. 223,5; 227,12; 250,1; Kāleyak. 25,20 ), femin. ( Viddhaś. 44,7 ), neut. ( Mṛcch. 61,10; Mālav. 54,7 ), masc. or neut. ( Mṛcch. 153,18; Vikr. 10,3 ); Mg. ( Mṛcch. 81,13; acc., neut. ). From it builds Ś. also the ins. *duveḥim* ( Mṛcch. 44,1; 51,23; 327,3; Mudrār. 232, 7 ) = *\*dvebhiḥ*, the gen. *duveṇam* ( Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 38,5; 45,23; 53,19 [the Kashmiri rec., however, has *dōṇham*, the Bengali recension has *doṇnam*];

Mallikām. 102,6; Kāleyak. 21,1; 23,11), the loc. *duvesu* (Mallikām. 335, 10).—*be* is found in PG. 6.14. 20. 31. 39 seldom in M. (H. 752), in AMg. in the beginning of compounds as *beindiya*, *bēndiya* = *dvīndriya* (§ 162), *bedoṇiya* = *dvidroṇika* (Uvās. § 235); in JŚ. (Kattig. 399,310; acc.); in A. (Hc. 4,439; Piṅgala 1,9. 68); in A. shortened to *bi* (Piṅgala 1,153). From it, the neuter is *biṇṇi* (C. 1,10<sup>a</sup> p. 41; Hc. 3,120; A. Hc. 4,418,1; Piṅgala 1,95). According to C. 1,3 p. 39; 1,6 p.40; 1,7 p.40; Hc. 3,119 *be* is inflected as: ins. *behi*, abl. *behimto*, gen. *bēṇham*, loc. *besu*, *besuṃ*. A. has ins. *bihī* (Hc. 4,367,5), gen. *bihū* (Hc. 4,383,1), loc. *behī* (Hc. 4,370,3). Corresponding to Skt. *dvā*<sup>o</sup> stands *bā*<sup>o</sup> before other numerals, e.g. in AMg. *bārasa* (12), *bāvīsam* (22), *bāyālīsam* (42), *bāvattarim* (72). Cf. § 443 ff.

§ 438. 3, in the nom. and the acc. masc. and femin. is *tao* = *trayaḥ*, neut. *tiṇṇi* = *trīni*, with *ṇ* according to the gen. *tiṇṇam*. The forms are used in all the three genders without distinction; *tao* is not mentioned by the grammarians ( Vr. 6, 56; Hc. 3, 121; Kī. 3, 85 [ text *tiṇṇi* ]; Mk. fol. 49) and is seen in AMg. only: AMg. masc. (Ṭhāṇ. 110. 112. 118. 197; Kappas. s. v. *ti*; Sūyag. 293 [ acc. ] and often ); metrically *taū* too in *taū āyānā* = *trīṇy ādānāni* ( Sūyag. 65 ); femin. *tao pariṣāo* = *tisrah pariṣadaḥ* ( Ṭhāṇ. 138; Jiv. 905. 912. 914. 917 ); *tao kammabhūmīo* = *trīṇ kammabhūmayah* ( Ṭhāṇ. 165; cf. 176 ); *tao anīraṇaio* = *tisro 'nīranadyah* ( Ṭhāṇ. 177 ); *tao uccāraḥāsavaṇabhūmīo* ( Kappas. S. § 55; acc. ); neut. *tao ṭhāṇāni* = *trīṇi ṭhāṇāni* ( Ṭhāṇ. 143 ), beside *tao ṭhāṇīm* (158) and *tao ṭhāṇā* ( 163. 165 ); *tao pāṇagāim* = *trīṇi pānakāni* ( Ṭhāṇ. 161. 162; Kappas. S. § 25 ); *tao vatthāim* = *trīṇi vastrāṇi*, *tao pāyāim* = *trīṇi pātrāṇi* ( Ṭhāṇ. 162 ). Likewise *tiṇṇi* is used in all the dialects: M. *tiṇṇi reḥā* = *tisro rekhāḥ*, *tiṇṇi* [ *mahlāo* ] ( H. 206. 587 ); neut. ( R. 9,91 ); AMg. masc. *tiṇṇi purisajāe* = *trīṇ \*purisajātān* ( Sūyag. 575 ); *jāmā tinnī* = *yāmās trayah* ( Āyār. 1,7,1,4 ); *tinnī ālāvagā* = *traya ālāpakāḥ* ( Sūyag. 814. 815 [ °ṇṇ° ] ); *ime tinnī nāmadhējjā* = *imānī trīṇi nāmadheyāni* ( Āyār. 2,15,15 ); *tiṇṇi vi uvasaggā* = *trayo 'py upasargāḥ* ( Uvās. § 118 ); *tiṇṇi vaṇijā* = *trayo vaṇijah* ( Uttar. 233 ); femin. *eyāo tinnī paḍaḍio* = *eṭās tisrah prakrtayah* ( Uttar. 970 ); *tinnī lēssāo* = *tisro leśyāḥ* ( Ṭhāṇ. 26 ), *tinnī sāgarovamakodākoḍio* = *tisrah sāgaropamakodākoḍiyah* ( Ṭhāṇ. 133 ); neut. ( Āyār. 1,8,4,5; p. 125,26; Sūyag. 778; Samav. 157; Vivāhap. 90; Kappas. § 138. Th. § 1 ); JM. femin. *tinnī dhūjyāo* = *tisro duhitaraḥ* ( Āv. 12,1 ); *tinnī bherio* = *tisro bheryah*, *tinnī vi gosīśacandanamāto devayāpariggahiyāo* = *tisro 'pi gosīśacandanamāyō devatāparigṛhātāḥ* ( Āv. 34,7,8 ); neut. *tāni tiṇṇi vi* = *tāni trīṇy api* ( Erz. 37,11 ); Ś. masc. *tiṇṇi purisā* = *trayaḥ puruṣāḥ*, *ede tiṇṇi vi* = *ete trayo 'pi*, *ede kkhū tiṇṇi alamkārasaṇyō* = *ete khalu trayo 'lamkārasaṇyogāḥ*, *tiṇṇi rāḍno* = *trayo rājānah* ( Mudrār. 39,3; 72,1; 108,9; 204,4 ), *ime tiṇṇi miāṅgā* = *ete trayo mīdaṅgāḥ*, *bālataruṇo tiṇṇi* = *bālataravas trayah* ( Karp. 3,2; 62,3 ); femin. *tiṇṇi āidīo* = *tisra ākrtayah* ( Śak. 132,6 ); JŚ. neut. ( Kattig. 402,363 ); A. *do tiṇṇi vi* = *dvau trayo 'pi*, *tiṇṇi reḥāim* = *tisro rekhāḥ* ( Piṅgala 1,5. 52 ).—The ins. is *tīhim* ( Vr. 6,55; C. 1, 7 p. 40; Hc.3,118; Kī. 3,84; Mk.fol. 49; G. 265; Kappas. § 227; Nāyādh. 1026; Uttar. 987 ), more often in AMg. JM. printed as *tīhim* ( Sūyag. 97; Āyār. 2,1,2,1; Ṭhāṇ. 114. 116. 117; Samav. 232; Ovav. § 136; Erz. 49, 22 ), a form that probably is correct in verses only on account of prosodical requirement, as in A. ( Hc. 4,347 ); cf., however, *caūhim* § 439. — Ablative *tīhimto* ( C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,118; Mk. fol. 49 ); according to Kī. 3,84; Mk. fol. 49 also *tīsumto*.—For the genitive Vr. 6,59; C. 1,6 p. 40; Hc. 3, 118. 123 teach *tīham*, *tīṇha*, and so *tīham* in AMg. JM. ( Ṭhāṇ. 125; Āyār. 2,7,2,12; Vivāhap. 53. 140; Kappas. § 114; Erz.28,21 ); also as femin. AMg. *pasatthalesāṇa tīṇham pi* = *prasastalesyānām tīsṇām api* ( Uttar. 986 f. ); JM. *tīṇham pariṣāṇa* = *tīsṇām pariṣadām* ( Kk. 275,31 ).

Mk. fol. 49 teaches, as it appears, *tiṇṇam* = *trīṇḍm*, a form that is to be expected Ś. Mg. (§ 436).—Loc. M. *tisu* ( Vr. 6,55; C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3, 118; R. 8,58), also *tisum* (C. 1,3 p. 39), and metri causa *tisu* (Hc. 3,135).—At the beginning of compounds there appears in all the dialects *ti°*, in AMg. also *te°* = *traya-* in *teindiya*, *tēndiya* = *trīndriya* (§ 162), and before other numerals, as *teraha* = *trayodaśa*, *teṽsaṃ* = *trayovimsati*, *tēṽsa* = *trayastrīmśat*, *teālisā* = *trayaścatvāriṃśat* etc. (§ 153). AMg. has also *tāyattisā* (33; Kappas.; Ṭhāṇ. 125) and *tāvattisā* (Vivāhap. 218), and the thirty three gods in AMg. JM. are called *tāyattisagā*, *tāvattisayā*, *tāvattisagā* = *trayastrīmśakāḥ* (Kappas. § 14; Vivāhap. 215.218.223; Kk.275,34). See § 254.

§ 439. 4 has the nom. masc. *cattāro* = *catvārah* ( Vr. 6,58; C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,122; Kī. 3,87; Mk. fol. 49; Ś. Uttarar. 12,7). The same form is valid for the acc. too according to the grammarians. Likewise the acc. *caūro* = *caturah* ( C. 1,3 p. 39; Hc. 3,122; AMg. Uttar. 768 ) in AMg. is used in verses also as the nom. (Hc. 3,122; Uttar.1033; Vivāhap. 82). Hc. 3,17 mentions as nom. acc. also *caūo*, *caūo* from the stem *caū-*. In Ś. at Prab. 68,7 there is a nom. femin. *catasso* (all editions) edited, for which at least *cadasso*=*catasrah* is to be written. As in the case of 2 and 3 (§ 436.438), in the case of 4 too, almost always the neutr. *cattāri* = *catvāri* ( Vr.6,58;C.1,3 p.39; Hc.3,122;Kī.3,87; Mk.fol. 49 ) is used in connection with all the genders : masc. PG. *cattāri pattiḥgā* = *catvārah pratibhāgāḥ* (6,18); *addhikā cattāri* = *ārdhikāś catvārah* ( 6,39 ); M. *cattāri pakkalabaillā* ( H. 812 ); AMg. *cattāri ālvagā* = *catvārah ālāpakaḥ* ( Āyār. 2,1, 1,11; Sūyag. 812 ); *cattāri ṭhāṇā* = *catvāri sthānāni* ( Sūyag. 688 ); *cattāri purisaṣṭyā*=*catvārah \*puruṣaṣṭātāḥ* (Sūyag.626); *ime cattāri therā*=*ime catvārah sthavurāḥ* (Kappas. Th. § 5. 11), *cattāri hatthi*=*catvāro hastinaḥ* (Ṭhāṇ. 236); acc. *cattāri aḡaṇio* = *caturo 'gnin* (Sūyag. 274 ); *cattāri māse* = *caturo māśān* ( Āyār. 1,8,1,2 ); *cattāri mahāsumiṇe* = *caturo mahāśvaṇnān* (Kappas. § 77; Nāyādh. § 49); JM. *mahārājyāno cattāri* = *mahārājāś catvārah* ( Erz. 4,36); Mg. *cattāli ime* ( Mṛcch. 158,4 ); femin.: AMg. *imāo cattāri sāhāo* = *imāś catasrah śākhāḥ* (Kappas. Th. § 5); *cattāri kiriyāo*=*catasrah kriyāḥ* (Vivāhap. 47); *cattāri aggamaḥiṣo* = *catasro' gramahṣyaḥ* (Ṭhāṇ. 228 ff.); acc. *cattāri saṃghāḍio* = *catasrah saṃghāṭiḥ* ( Āyār. 2,5,1,1 ); *cattāri bhāsāo* = *catasro bhāśāḥ* (Ṭhāṇ. 203); neutr. AMg. *cattāri samosaraṇāni* = *catvāri samavasaraṇāni* ( Sūyag. 445 ); *cattāri sayāim* = *catvāri śatāni* ( Samav. 158 ); JM. *cattāri aṅgulāni* (Erz. 37,2).—Ins. *caūhim* throughout in AMg. ( Hc. 3,17; Kī. 3,88; Mk. fol. 49; Vivāhap. 437; Ṭhāṇ. 207; Samav. 14; Uvās. § 18. 21; Ovav. § 56; also femin. : *caūhim paḍimāhim* ( Āyār. 2,2,3,18; 2,6,1,4; 2,8,2); *caūhim kiriyāhim* = *catasrbhiḥ kriyābhiḥ* (Vivāhap. 120 ff. ); *caūhim ukkhāhim* = *catasrbhir ukkhābhiḥ* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); *caūhim hiraṇṇakoḍḍhim* 'paṭtāhim' = *catasrbhir hiraṇṇakoḍḍbhiḥ* 'prayuktābhiḥ' ( Uvās. § 17 ). In prose *caūhim*, which Sr. fol. 18 quotes beside *caūhi*, *caūhi*, *caūhim*, would be expected. Hc. 3,17 too mentions *caūhi* beside *caūhi*. Cf. *tihim* § 438. — Abl. *caūhimto* (Mk. fol. 49), *caūsumto* ( Kī. 3,88; Mk. fol. 49; Sr. fol. 18), *caūsumto* (Sr. fol. 18).—Gen. PG. *catuṇham* ( 6,18 ), M. AMg. JM. *caūṇham* ( Vr. 6,59; C. 1,6 p. 40; Hc. 3,123 [also °ṇha]; Kī. 3,89; Āyār. 2,7,2,12; Kappas. § 10. 14; Vivāhap. 149. 787; Erz. 9,18 ), also feminine *eyāṇam* ( *eyāsim* ) *caūṇham paḍimāṇam* = *etāsām catasṛṇām pratimāṇam* ( Āyār. 2,2,3,21; 2,5,1,9; 2,6,1,7; 2,8,6), *porisīṇam caūṇham* = *pauruṣiṇām catasṛṇām* ( Uttar. 893 ). According to the analogy of *doṇnam*, *tiṇṇam*, expected is in Ś. Mg. *caduṇnam*, as Mk. fol. 49 appears to teach. Examples are wanting.—Loc. AMg. JM. *caūsu* (Uttar. 769; Vivāhap. 82; Erz.41,35); *caūsum* ( Erz. 44,8 ), also as femin. *caūsu vidisāsu* = *catasṛsu vidikṣu* ( Ṭhāṇ. 259; Jīv. 228; Vivāhap. 925. 927 ); *caūsu vi gāisu* = *catasṛsu api gatiṣu*

(Uttar.996). The expected *caūsu* is mentioned by Hc.3,17 beside *caūsu* and by Sr. fol. 18 beside *caūsūṁ*, *caūsūṁ*, *caūsu*.—In compounds, before vowels, there appears *caūr°*, as AMg. *caūraṁsa* = *caturaśra* (Thān. 20. 493; Uvās. § 76), *caūraṅguli* (Thān. 270), *caūrindiya* (Thān. 25. 122. 275. 322; Samav. 40. 228; Vivāgas. 50 etc.); M. *caūrāṇa* (G.); also before other numerals, as AMg. *caūrāsūm* (84; Kappas.). Before consonants partly appears *caūra°* with regular assimilation, as M. *caūddisam* = *caturdiśam* (R.), AMg. JM. *caūmmuha* = *caturmukha* (Ovav.; Erz.), Ś. *cadussālaa* = *catuḥśālaka* (Mṛcch. 6,6; 16,11 [°sāla]; 45,25), *cadussamudda* = *catuḥsamudra* (Mṛcch. 55,16; 78,3; 147,17), partly *caū°*, as M. *caūjāma* = *caturyāma* (H. R.), *caūmuha* = *caturmukha* (G.), AMg. *caūpaya* = *catuḥpada* (Āyār. 2 1,11,9) beside *caūppaya* (Uttar. 1074; Uvās.), A. *caūmuha* (Hc. 4,331), *caūppaa* (Piṅgala 1,118) D. *caūsāra* (verse; Mṛcch. 101,12) = *catuḥśāgara*. Cf. § 340 ff. Both appear also before other numerals: AMg. *caūddasa* = *caturdaśan* (Kappas. § 74), beside *caūdasa* in the verse (Kappas. § 46<sup>b</sup>) and with contraction, *cōddasa* (Kappas.; Nāyādh.), M. *cōddaha*, *cōddasi*, as also *cōgguṇa* beside *caūgguṇa* = *caturguṇa*, *cōvāra* beside *caūvāra* = *caturvāra* etc. (§ 166. 443 ff.). In A. *co* appears not only in the beginning of compounds, but also independently (Piṅgala 1,65; cf. § 166). The neuter is in A. *cāri* (Piṅgala 1, 68. 87. 102) from *catvāri*, \**cātvāri* (§ 65), \**cātāri* (§ 87), \**cāāri* (§ 186), *cāri* (§ 165). It is employed as the first member of compounds: *cāriḥpāa* = *catuḥpada*, *cāridahā* = *caturdaśa* (Piṅgala 1,102. 105. 118). as also *caūro* in AMg. *caūropañcindiya* = *catuḥpañcendriya* (Uttar.1059), A stem *caūra-* occurs in AMg. *caūrāsūm*, *corāsūm* = *caturaśūti*, *caūrāsūma*, *caturaśūta* (Kappas.; Samav. 139—142). On *caūr°* see § 78.

§ 440. 5 is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. JM. Ś. *pañca* (Vivāhap. 138. 141; Thān. 361; Kappas.; Uvās.; Erz.; Mudrār. 204,1); ins. AMg. *pañcahiṁ* (Uttar. 374; Vivāhap.120 ff.; Thān. 353; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; etc.), A. *pañcahi* (Hc. 4,422,14); gen. AMg. *pañcaṇam* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2,7, 2,12; Samav. 16), A. *pañcahā* (Hc. 4,422,14); loc. JM. *pañcasu* (Erz. p. xli), in verses also AMg. *pañce* (Uttar. 704). Rāmatarakavāgīsa in LASSEN, Inst. p 319 note \*\* mentions also the abl. *pañcahiṁto*, *pañcasūmto*, gen. *pañcaṇam*, loc. *pañcasūm* and a loc. femin. *pañcāsūm*, Rishikesh p. 128 also femin. nom. *pañcā*, ins. *pañcāhiṁ*. In the beginning of compounds mostly appears *pañca°*, in AMg. JM. also *pañcā°* in *pañcāṇatūm* (95), Thān. 261; Samav. 150. 151; Kk. 263, 11. 16. 17; many times false °*ṇaūyam*); likewise in *pañcāvāṇā* (55; Hc. 2,174; Deśin. 6,27; Triv. 1,3,105 = BB. 3,245). The *ā* is to be explained according to § 70°. In combination with other words there appears *pañca* in AMg. JM. A. also as *pañna* (*panna*), *paṇa*, *paṇu* (§ 273).

§ 441. 6 *ṣaṣ* becomes *cha* according to § 211. It is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. *cha* (Kappas. § 122; Vivāhap. 54; Samav. 159. 163; Uvās.); ins. AMg. *chahiṁ* (Sūyag. 380. 844; Samav. 232; Thān. 194; Bhag.1,425; Nāyādh. 833; Uttar. 768. 778); gen. AMg. JŚ. *chaṇam* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2,15. 16; Vivāhap. 82. 89. 123; Uttar. 776. 979; Jiv. 271; Nāyādh. 832. 834. 844; Kattig. 399,309), also *chaṇha* (Hc.3,123); loc. *chasu* (Thān. 27; Uttar. 987). The old nom. *ṣaṣ* has been retained before enclitics: AMg. *chaḥ pi* = *ṣaḍ api* (Āyār.1,8,4,6; Nirayāv. 81; Vivāhap. 798; Dasav. 639,2; Nāyādh. 828. 830. 836. 845 ff.), *chac ceva* (Uttar. 1065), *chac ca* (Āṇuog. 399; Jiv. 914; Jiyak. 61; Vivāhap. 82. 1237; Kappas. Th. § 7). Rāmatarakavāgīsa, according to LASSEN, Inst. p. 320, knows: nom. *chā*, femin. *chāo*; ins. *chāhiṁ*; *chāāhiṁ*; abl. *chāāhiṁto* (so to be read); gen. *chaṇṇam* (read *chaṇṇam*); loc. *chasu* (*chāsu*), *chīsu*. As the first member of compounds seldom there appears *cha°*, as JM. *chakhaṇḍa* (Erz. 18,8;

probably a false reading for *chakkhanda*), mostly *ṣai*°, before vowels as *chad*°, as *chadakkhara* = *ṣadaksara* (Skanda; Deśin. 3,26), AMg. also *ṣad*° in *ṣadaṅgavī* = *ṣadaṅgavid* (Vivāhap. 149; Kappas.; Ovav.), or *chal*°, as *chalaṁsa* = *ṣadastra* (Thān. 493; see § 240), before consonants with regular assimilation (§ 270), as M. Ś. *chagguṇa*, *chagguṇaa* = *ṣadguṇa*, °*guṇaka* (Mudrār. 233,9; Anarghar. 67,11); AMg. *chaddisim* (Vivāhap. 97 ff. 145); AMg. *chabbhāya* = *ṣadbhāga* (Uttar. 1036; Ovav. [°ga]); M. *chappaa*, JM. *chappaya* (C. 3,3; Hc. 1,265; 2,77; G. H. Kk.), AMg. *chattala* = *ṣattala* (Thān. 495); M. A. *chammūha* = *ṣammukha* (Bh. 2,41; C. 3,3,14; Hc. 1, 25. 265; Karp. 1,10; Hc. 4,331); M. JM. *chammāsa* = *ṣammāsa* (H.; Erz.); AMg. *chammāsīya* = *ṣammāsīka* (Āyār. 2,1,2,1); M. Ś. *chammāsīa* = *ṣammāsīka* (Karp. 47,10; 82,8); Ś. *chaccaraṇa* (Bālar. 66,7). Likewise before other numerals: AMg. *chalusī* (86; Samav. 143; Vivāhap. 199); AMg. JM. A. *chavōisaṁ* (26; Uttar. 1092; Erz.; Piṅgala 1,68); AMg. *chattisam*, °*sā* (36; Kappas.; Ovav.; Uttar. 1043), *chappannaṁ* (56; § 273); AMg. *chaṅṇaṁ* (Samav. 151), JM. *channavā* (Kk. III, 514,24). Before 40,60,70 there enters in AMg. *chā*°, with *ā* according to § 70; *chāyālisam* (46; Kappas.), *chāvattim* (66; Samav. 123), *chāvattarim* (76; Samav. 133). A. has *chaha* = \**ṣaṣa* (§ 263) in *chahavīsa* (26; Piṅgala 1,95 [GOLDSCHMIDT *chavōisa*]. 97 [GOLDSCHMIDT] *caivōisa*) and *chaha* (6; Piṅgala 1,96). In agreement with Skt. *ṣoḍaśa* Pkt. has *soḷasa*, A. *soḷaha* (§ 443).

§ 442. 7 is inflected: nom. acc. M. AMg. JM. *satta* (H. 3; R. 15,29; Āyār. 2,1,11,3,10; Thān. 445; Erz. 14,4); ins. AMg. *sattahim* (Thān. 446); gen. AMg. JM. JŚ. *sattanham* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2,1,11,11; Kappas. § 14; Vivāhap. 26. 222; Thān. 445; Kk. 275, 33; Kattig. 399,308), also *sattanha* (Hc. 3,123); loc. *sattasu* (Thān. 44; Uttar. 904). In compounds there appear *satta*°, *sattā*°, Mg. *ṣattia*° (Mṛcch. 79,13; Prab. 51,8). On *chattavaṇṇa*, *chattivaṇṇa* = *saptaparṇa* see § 103. - 8 is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. *aṭṭha* (Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās.), also *adhā* (Vivāhap. 82; verse; text *aṭṭha*; see § 67); A. also *aṭṭhā* (Piṅgala 1,9. 83) and *aṭṭhā* (1,116); ins. AMg. *aṭṭhahim* (Uvās. § 27; Vivāhap. 447; Uttar. 768; Thān. 475); gen. AMg. JM. *aṭṭhanham* (Hc. 3,123; Kappas. § 14; Vivāhap. 416. 417; Erz. 12,21), also *aṭṭhanha* (Hc. 3,123); loc. AMg. *aṭṭhasu* (Vivāhap. 416. 417). In compounds there appears *aṭṭha*°: AMg. *aṭṭhaviha* = *aṣṣavidha* (Uttar. 895); Ś. *aṭṭhapaoṭṭha* = *aṣṣaprakoṣṭha* (Mṛcch. 73,2) and *aṭṭhā*°: AMg. JM. *aṭṭhāvaya* = *aṣṣāpada* (Ovav.; Erz.). Before other numerals *aṭṭha*° stands in AMg. *aṭṭhahattarim* (78; Samav. 134,135); JM. *aṭṭhatisam* (38), *aṭṭhasaṭṭhi* (68); Erz. p. xli), against this *aṭṭhā*° in *aṭṭhārasa*, A. *aṭṭhāraha* (18; § 443); AMg. JM. *aṭṭhāvōisaṁ* (28), *aṭṭhāvannaṁ* (58), *aṭṭhānūim* (98; Samav. 78. 79. 117. 152. 153; Erz. xli), and *adhā*° in AMg. *adhāyālisam* (48; Samav. 111), AMg. also *adhāyāla* (Samav. 210), *adhāsaṭṭhim* (68; Samav. 126; text. mostly *ada*°). So also A. *adhāisa* (Piṅgala 1,127 [text, BOLLENSEN, Vikr. 549, GOLDSCHMIDT *aṭṭhāisa*]. 144 [text *aṭṭhāisa*, GOLDSCHMIDT *aṭṭhāisa* for *aṭṭhāisa pāa bho* of the text]), *adhāalīsa* (text *aṭṭhā*°; 48; Piṅgala 1,95) beside *aṭṭhāisa* (28; Piṅgala 1,64. 86) and *aṭṭhāsaṭṭhā* (68; Piṅgala 1,106). See § 67. - 9 is inflected: nom. acc. AMg. JM. *nava* (Kappas. § 128; Erz. 4, 14); inst. *navahim* (Uttar. 998); gen. AMg. *navanham* (Hc. 3,123; Āyār. 2, 15,6; Ovav. § 104; Kappas.; Nāyādh.), also *navanha* (Hc. 3,123). In compounds *nava*° enters: *navanavāṇaṇa* (G. 426), likewise before other numerals: A. *navadaha* (19; Piṅgala 1,111); AMg. *navanūim* (99; Samav. 154). - 10 M. *dasa* or *daha*, AMg. JM. Ś. *dasa*, Mg. Dh. *daśa* (§ 262) is inflected: nom. acc. M. AMg. Ś. *dasa* (Karp. 12,7; Uvās.; Samav. 162. 165. 166; Pras. 19,5); false Mg. *daha* for *daśa* (Lalitav. 566,11); ins. AMg. JM. *dasahim* (Kappas. § 227; Erz. 32,12), M. also *dasahi* (R. 11,31; 15,81). Mg. *dasehim* (Mṛcch. 32,18); gen. AMg. JM. *dasanham* and *dasanha* (Hc.

3,123; Uvās. § 275; Erz. 28,22), Mg. *daśāṇam* (Mṛcch. 133,20). In AMg. *uvāsagadasānam* (Uvās. § 2. 91), the gen. in the femin. *daśā* = \**daśā* occurs. Loc. M. AMg. *dasasu* (R. 4,58; Uvās. p. 168,7), CP. *tasasu* (Hc. 4,326). In compounds appears M. A. *daśa°* and *daha* AMg. JM. S. *dūśa°*, Mg. *daśa* (§ 262); A. *daha°* is found also in combination with other numerals: *ēkkadaha* (11; Piṅgala 1,114), *cāridahā* and *dahacāri* (14; Piṅgala 1,105, 110), *dahapañca* and *dahapañcā* (15; Piṅgala 1,49. 106. 113), *dahasatta* (17; Piṅgala 1,79. 123), *ṇavadaha* (19; Piṅgala 1,111).

§ 443. The numerals from 11 to 18 are: 11 AMg. *ēkkārasa*, *ikkārasa* (Vivāhap. 82. 165; Kappas.; Uvās.), M. A. *ēāraha* (Bh. 2,44; Mk. fol. 19; Piṅgala 1,66. 109–112) and *ēggāraha* (Piṅgala 1,77.78.106. 134), also *gārahāi* (2,111) and *ēkkādaha* (§ 442); CP. *ekātasa* (Hc. 4,326). —12 AMg. JM. JŚ. *bārasa* (Āyār. 2,15,23,25; Paṇnav. 52; Vivāhap. 82; Uttar. 691; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kattig. 402,369; 403,371 [text *vā°*]), femin. JM. *bārasī* (T. 6,7), and AMg. JM. *duvālasa* (§ 244); M. A. *bāraha* (Bh. 2,44; Mk. fol. 19; Piṅgala 1,49. 69 etc.). —13 AMg. *terasa* (Sūyag. 669; Uvās.; Kappas.), femin. *terasī* (Āyār. 2,15,4; Kappas.), M. A. *teraha* (Bh. 2,44; Mk. fol. 19; Piṅgala 1,9. 11. 58. 66). —14 *cōddaha* (Hc. 1,171), AMg. JM. *cōddasa* (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.<sup>1</sup>, and *caūddasa* (Kappas.), metri causa also *caūddasa* (Kappas. § 46<sup>b</sup>), A. *caūddaha* (Piṅgala 1,133.134), also *caūddhā* (2,65) and *cāridahā*, *dahacāri* (§ 442). —15 AMg. JM. *pañnarasa* (§ 273), A. *pañnaraha*, as Vr. Hc. generally teach (§ 273), A. also *dahapañca*, *dahapañcā* (§ 442). —16 AMg. JM. *soḷasa*, also AMg. *soḷasaja* (Jiv. 228), A. *soḷaha* (Piṅgala 1,103. 104. 105), also *soḷā* (2,67. 97). —17 AMg. JM. *sattarasa* (Vivāhap. 198; Erz.), A. *dahasatta* (§ 442). —18 AMg. JM. *aṭṭhārasa*, as also PG. 6,34, A. *aṭṭhāraha* (Piṅgala 1,79). On *ra* for *da* see § 245, on *la* for *da* § 244. Therefore, the flexion is that of *daśan* (§ 442), e. g. ins. A. *ēarahahī* (Piṅgala 1,66 [°hi], 109 ff.; BOLLENSSEN, Vikr. p. 538 *eggārahahī*), AMg. *bārasahim* (Sūyag. 790; Uttar. 1034); A. *bārahahī* (Piṅgala 1,113); AMg. *cōddasahim* (Jiv. 228; Ovav. § 16, p. 31, 21); AMg. *pañnarasahim* (Jiv. 228); gen. AMg. *duvālasaṇham* (Uvās.); AMg. *caūddasaṇham* (Vivāhap. 952), *cōddasaṇham* (Kappas.); *pañnarasaṇham* (Hc. 3,123); AMg. JM. *soḷasaṇham* (Vivāhap. 222; Erz. 28,20), *aṭṭhārasaṇham* (Hc. 3,123) and °*ṇha* (Erz. 42,28); loc. *pañnarasasu* (Āyār. p. 125,33); Vivāhap. 734).

1. These citations are valid also for the following numerals, when other works are not quoted. The numerals for 11–100 are frequently found mostly in Mg., particularly in compounds, in addition partly in JM.A. For the rest of the dialects examples are wanting.

§ 444. 19 is AMg. *egūṇavīsam* = *ekonaviṃśati* (cf. § 445; Vivāhap. 1243; Nāyādh. § 12), A. *egūṇaviṃśā* (Piṅgala 2,238) and *ṇavadaha* (§ 442). Beside it AMg. JM. have also *aūṇavisā* and *aūṇavisam* (Uttar. 1091; Erz. XLI). The same forms occur in AMg. JM. in other tens too, beside one another. So: *egūṇapañnāsāma* (the 49th.; Samav. 153) and *aūṇapaṇṇa* (49; Ovav. § 163; Vivāhap. 158); *egūṇasatṭhim* (59; Samav. 118) and *aūṇatṭhim* (Kappas. § 136; cf. v. l.); *egūṇasattarim* (69; Samav. 126) and *aūṇattarim* (Kappas. § 178). Further one says AMg. JM. *aūṇatisam*, *aūṇatisam* (29; Uttar. 1093; Erz. p. XLI) and AMg. *egūṇāstīm* (79; Samav. 136), *egūṇaṇāstīm* (89; Samav. 146). *aūṇa°*, *aūṇā°* (§ 70) cannot be derived with E. MÜLLER<sup>1</sup> and LEUMANN<sup>2</sup> from *ekona*, but is = *aḡuṇa*, corresponding to *daigūṇa*, *triguṇa* etc., M. *duṇa*, AMg. *duguṇa* (§ 436), AMg. *aṇantagūṇa* (Vivāhap. 1039). Cf. old Hindī. *agūṇis*, *gūṇis* (19), Gujarātī *ogaṇis*<sup>3</sup>, which is = \**apaguṇavimśati*.

1. Beiträge p. 17.—2. Aup. S. s. v. *aūṇapanna*.—3. HOERNLE, Comp.-Gr. p. 257.



§ 445. The numerals for 19—58 form in AMg. JM. the nom. as the neut. in *-am* or as the fem. in *-ā*, in A. in *-a*, and those for 59—99 as the neuter in *-im* or the femin. in *-ī*. In the rest of the cases they are mostly inflected as the femin. sing., and have, as in Skt., the numbered object either in the gen. plur. or in the corresponding case of the plur. beside them.—20 forms also *visai=vimsati* (Kappas.; Uvās.), nom. *visai* and *visaim* (Erz. XLI<sup>1</sup>) AMg. *aīnavisai* (19), *visai* (20), *ēkkavisai* (21), *paṇavisai* (25), it *sattavisai* (27), Uttar. 1091-1093), A. *caūvisai* (24; Piṅgala 1,87). However, *visam* (Kappas.; Erz.) or *visā* (Hc. 1,28.92; Erz.), A. *visa* (Piṅgala 1,95; Hc. 4,423,4), have been mostly regulated according to the following tens and been formed, as reversely also *tisai=trimsat* in AMg. is found (Uttar. 1093), in correspondence with *visai=vimsatiḥ*. If other numbers enter before it one says: AMg. JM. *ēkkavisam*, *egavisā*, *igavisam* (21; Uttar. 1092; Vivāhap. 198; Erz.); *bāvisam* (22; Uttar. 1070.1091.1092; Vivāhap. 198; Erz.), A. *bāvisa* (Piṅgala 1,68); *tevisam* (23; Uttar. 1092; Samav. 66; Erz.), A. *teisa* (Piṅgala 1,150); *caūvisam* (24; Hc. 3,137; Vivāhap. 180; Uttar. 1092; Thāṇ. 22), *caūvīsam* (Vivāhap. 198; Erz.), A. *caūvisaha* (Piṅgala 1,87 [so GOLDSCHMIDT]), *covisa* (2,291) and *covisa* (2,279); *paṇavisam*, *paṇuvisam* and *paṇuvisā* in *paṇuvisāhi* (25; § 273), A. *paṇvisa* (Piṅgala 1,120); *chavvisam* (26; Uttar. 1092; Erz.), A. *chavvisa* and *chahavisa* (§ 441); AMg. *sattavisam* (27; Uttar. 1093), and *sattāvisam* (Vivāhap. 85 ff.); *sattāvisā* (Hc. 1,4); A. *sattāvisā* (Piṅgala 1,51. 52. 58); *aṭṭhāvisam*, *visā* (Vivāhap. 82), A. *aṭṭhāvisa*, *adhāvisa* (28; § 442); *aūṇatisam*, *aūṇattīsam* (29; § 444).—30 is *tisam* (Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Erz.) and *tisā* (Hc. 1,28. 92), A. *tisā* (Piṅgala 1,51.60), also in *tisakleharā = trimsadaksarā* (1,529), *tisam* (1,61). The numerals, that enter before it, as in all the following tens, are the same as in the case of 20, with the alterations required by the phonetic law. So *battīsam* (32; Vivāhap. 82; Erz.), *battīsā* (Kappas.), A. *battīsa* (Piṅgala 1,62.69), for which in M. also *dosolaha = dvoṣoḍaśa* is said (Karp. 100,8); *tētīsam*, *tittīsam* (33; Kappas.; Vivāhap. 18. 33. 391; Uttar. 909. 994. 1001. 1094; Erz.), AMg. also *tāyattīsā*, AMg. *tāvattīsaga*, JM. *oja* (§ 438); *cōttīsam* (34; Ovav.; Samav. 100); *paṇattīsam* (35; Vivāhap. 200); *chattīsam*, *osā* (36; Kappas.; Ovav.), *aṭṭhattīsam* (Kappas.) and *aṭṭhattīsam* (Erz.).—40 *cattālisam* (Kappas.; Vivāhap. 199; Erz.) and *cattālisā* (Vivāhap. 82), *cāyālisam* (Erz.) and contracted *cālisa* in JM. *cālīsasāhassa = catvāriṃśatsāhasrya* (Erz. 10,35) and independently in A. (Piṅgala 1,153. 155), a form, which in AMg. JM. A. appears almost always, when other numerals enter before it, as A. *iālisa* (41; Piṅgala 1,125), AMg. JM. *bāyālisam* (42; Vivāhap. 158; Kappas.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Thāṇ. § 262; Erz.); *teālīsā* (43; Hc. 2,174); JM. *teyālisam* (Erz.); AMg. *caūyālisam* and *coyālisam*, *coyālisā* (44; Samav. 108. 109; Vivāhap. 218; Paṇnav. 105 f.). A. *caūālisa* (Piṅgala 1,90 [GOLDSCHMIDT *pa[ñcatālīsā]*], 97) and *coālīsa* (2, 238); AMg. *paṇayālisā* (Paṇnav. 55), *paṇayālisam* (45; Vivāhap. 158; Samav. 109; Ovav.); for A. *pacatālisaha* (Piṅgala 1,93. 95) we should read *pacāālīsahī*; AMg. *chāyālisam* (46; Kappas.); AMg. *siyālisam* (47; Vivāhap. 653)<sup>2</sup>; AMg. JM. *adhayālisam*, A. *adhāālisa* (48; § 442), but AMg. also *aṭṭhacattālisam* (Vivāhap. 372); AMg. *ēkkūṇapaṇṇa* (49; Jiv. 62). There appears in verses in AMg. even the abridged form *cālī* (Uvās. § 277,6), an in AMg. JM. *cattā* (Uvās. § 277,6; Erz.), also in compounds with other numerals, as JM. *bicatta* (Erz.) and as *cāla* in AMg. *igayāla* (text *igu*<sup>2</sup>; Vivāhap. 199); JM. *bāyāla* (42; Erz.); A. *beāla* (Piṅgala 1,95); AMg. *paṇayāla* (45; Samav. 109); *paṇayālasaṃyasaḥassā* (4,500,000; Uttar. 1034); AMg. *adhayāla* (48; Samav. 210; Paṇnav. 99 [*ada*<sup>2</sup>]; Vivāhap. 290 [*ada*<sup>2</sup>]).—50 *paṇṇāsam*, *paṇṇāsā*, *paṇṇā* in the rest of fifties *paṇṇam*, *vaṇṇam*

(§ 273). The shortened forms are derived probably from \**pañcāśat*, \**pañcaśat*, \**pañśat*, \**pañcat* (§ 81.148).

1. This citation is valid for the entire paragraph, as well as for the following ones. The assumptions of JACOBI are based partly on unprinted sources, and hence they cannot generally be checked by me.—2. Cf. *śayārī* § 446,

§ 446. 60 AMg. *saṭṭhim* (Samav. 118. 119), in compound *saṭṭhi: saṭṭhitanta* (Vivāhap. 149; Ovav.); JM. *saṭṭhim*, *saṭṭhi* (Erz.); Ś. *chaṭṭhim* (acc.; Mṛcch. 54,16), probably with the majority of MSS. and editions to be read as *saṭṭhim*; A. *saṭṭhi* (Piṅgala 1,105; in composition 1,61). In compounds with other numerals in AMg. JM. °*saṭṭhim* alternates with °*vaṭṭhim* and °*aṭṭhim* (§ 265): *egūṇasaṭṭhim* and *aṭṇaṭṭhim* (59), *igasaṭṭhim* and *egatṭhi*°; *bāsaṭṭhim* and *bāvaṭṭhim*; *tesaṭṭhim* and *tevaṭṭhim*; *causaṭṭhim* and *cosaṭṭhi* (Vivāhap. 82) and *caivaṭṭhi*°; *pañasaṭṭhim* and *pañṇaṭṭhim* (Kappas.); *chāvaṭṭhim*, *sattasaṭṭhim*, *adhasaṭṭhim*, *aṭṭhasaṭṭhi*° (WEBER, Bhag. 1,426; Samav. 118—126; Erz.). — 70 AMg. JM. *sattarim* and *sattari*°, JM. also °*śayari*°, *śayari*° (Samav. 127. 128; Prabandhac. 279,12; Erz.). On the *r* see § 245. In combination with other numerals °*sattarim* alternates with °*hattarim*, °*vattarim* with °*attari*°; AMg. *egūṇasattarim* with *aṭṇasattarim* (69; § 444), °*ekkasattarim* (Samav.; text *eka*°); *bāvattarim*, JM. also *bisattari*°; *tevattarim*; *covattarim*, JM. *caūhattari*; AMg. *pañcahattari*e (instr.; Kappas. § 2), *pañnattari* (so Samav. thrice; read °*rim*), JM. *pañsaśayari* (Prabandhac. 279,12); *chāvattarim*; *sattahattarim*; *aṭṭahattarim*, JM. *aṭṭhattari*° (WEBER, Bhag. 1,426; 2,248; Samav. 126—135; Erz.). In A. is found *ehattari* (71; Piṅgala 1,95. 97. 100) and *chāhattari* (76; text *che*°; 2, 238). — 80 AMg. *asiim*, JM. *asi*, *asi*° (Samav. 137; Vivāhap. 94. 95; Erz.). In combination with other numerals: AMg. *egūṇāsiim* (79); JM. *ēkkāsū*; AMg. *bāsiim*; AMg. *tesūim*, ins. also *tejāsīe* (Samav.), JM. *tesū*; AMg. *caūrāsūim*, *corāsūim*, *corāsī*, JM. *caūrāsū*°, *culāsū*°; AMg. *pañcāsūim*, *chaḷasūim*, *sattāsūim*, *aṭṭhāsūim* (Samav. 136—145; Kappas.; Erz.). In A. are found *asi* (80), *beśī* (82), *aṭṭhāsi* (88) (Piṅgala 1,81.98; 2,238). — 90 AMg. *naūim*, JM. *naū* (Samav. 147; Erz.). In combination with other numerals: AMg. *egūṇanaūim* (89); *ēkkānaūim* (Samav.; text *eka*°), *bā*°, *te*°, *caū*°, *pañcā*°, *chaṇṇaūim* and *chaṇṇaū* (Vivāhap. 82), *sattānaūim*, *aṭṭhā*°; JM. *bānaū*, *te*°, *pañcā*° and *pañā*°, *channaū* (Samav. 146—153; Erz.). In A. is found *chaṇṇavaū* (96; Piṅgala 1,95).

§ 447. The following examples show flexion and construction of numerals for 19—99: AMg.: nom. *tevīsam tiṭṭhakarā* = *trayovimśatis tīrthakarāḥ* (Samav. 66); *bāyālīsam sumiṇā tīsam mahāsumiṇā bāvattarim savvasumīṇā* = *dvācatvāriṃśat svapṇās trīṃśan mahāsvapṇā dvāsaptaīḥ sarvasvapṇāḥ* (Vivāhap. 951 [where °*vi*°]; Nāyādh. § 46; Kappas. § 74); *tāyattīsā logaḷpālā* = *trayastrīṃśal lokapālāḥ* (Ṭhāṇ. 125).—Acc. *vīsam vāsām* = *vimśatīm varjāni* (Uvās. § 89. 124. 266); *pañṇāsam joyaṇasahasām* = *pañcaśataṃ yajanasahasrāṇi* (Ṭhāṇ. 266); *pañcānaūim* (text °*jam*) *joyaṇasahasām* = *pañcanavatiṃ yojanasahasrāṇi* (Ṭhāṇ. 261).—Ins. *pañcahattari*e *vāsehim*... *ēkka-vīsāe tīṭṭhayaṛehim*... *tevīsāe tīṭṭhayaṛehim* = *pañcasaptatyā varjāḥ*... *ekavimśatyā tīrthakaraiḥ*; *teṭṭīsāe sattāvannaē dantisahashehim* = *trayastrīṃśatā, saptapañcaśatā dantisahasraiḥ* (Nirayāv. § 24. 26).—Gen. *eesim tīsāe mahāsumiṇāṇam* = *eteśām trīṃśato mahāsvapṇāṇam* (Vivāhap. 951; Nāyādh. § 46; Kappas. § 74); *battīsāe* °*śayasāhasiṇam caūrāsūe* [so to be read] *sāmānyasāhasiṇam tāyattīsāe tāyattīsagāṇam caūṇham logaḷpālāṇam* = *dvātrīṃśataḥ śatasāhasrīṇām caturāśītyāḥ sāmānikasahasrīṇām trayastrīṃśatas trayastrīṃśakāṇām caturṇām lokapālāṇam* (Kappas. §.14; cf. Vivāhap. 211).—Loc. *tīsāe nirayāvāsasahasresu* = *trīṃśati nirayāvāsasahasreṣu* (Vivāhap. 83 ff.); *egavīsāe savalesu bāvisāe paṛisahe* (metrically for °*hesu*) = *ekavimśatyām śabaleṣu dvāvīmśatyām* \**paṛi-*

*saheṣu* (Uttar. 907).—JM. *pañcanaūi rāṇam* and *rājāno* (Kk. 263,11. 17). Seldom are these numerals inflected in the plural. According to C. 1,6, as in the case of numerals for 2—19 (§ 436), the gen. is formed in *-ṇham*: *vīsaṇham*, *tīsaṇham*. AMg. *tinni tevaṭṭhāim pāvādūyasajāim = trīni trayahṣaṣṭāni prāvādūkaśatāni* (Sūyag. 778); *pañuvīsāhi ya bhāvaṇāhim = pañcaviṃśatyā ca bhāvaṇābhīh* (Āyār. p. 137,25); *pañcahim chattiṣehim aṇagārasaehim = pañcabhīh ṣaṭṭrimśair anagārasataih* (Kappas. § 182); JM. *tinham tevaṭṭhānam najarasajānam = trayāṇām trayahṣaṣṭānām nagarāśatānām* (Erz.28,21)<sup>1</sup>; M. *caūsṣaṭṭhisu suttisu = catuṣṣaṣṭyām śukṭisu* (Karp. 72,6). This flexion is usual in A.: *eāisehī bāisehī* (Piṅgala 1,58. 69); *chahavīsai* (P. 1,97); *sattāisār* (P. 1,60); *paēālisahī* (P. 1,93. 95; see § 445); *ehattariu* (acc.), *ehattarihim* (P. 1,95. 100). Cf. also § 448.

1. The three examples *tinni tevaṭṭhāim pāvādūyasajāim* *pañcahim chattiṣehim aṇa tinham tevaṭṭhānam* might have formed a single paragraph. They correspond to the "wholly illogical construction" of the numerals in the Vedic language in WHITNEY<sup>1</sup> § 480, note; KIELHORN § 203. I owe the correct explanation to KIELHORN, who also is of the opinion, that at Erz. 28,21 with the v.l. we should read *ṣṣhā* instead of *ṣṣhi*

§ 448. 100 is M. *saa* (H. R.), AMg. JM. *saya* (Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās.; Erz.), S. *sada* (Mṛcch. 6,6; 151,22; Vikr. 11,4), Mg. *sada* (Mṛcch. 12,5; 116,8; 122,20; Venis. 33,4). It is inflected as neuter according to the *a*-declension. The rest of the hundreds are formed of which the units enter before the plural of 100: AMg. *do sajāim* (200), *tiṇṇi sajāim* (300), *cattāri sajāim* (400) (Samav. 157. 158); *pañca sayā* (500; Kappas. § 142), *cha sayāim* (600), also *cha sayā* (Samav. 159) and *chassayā* (Kappas. § 166); A. *caūsaa* (400; Piṅgala 1,81). Substantive neuter is *sattasaa* (H.).—1000 is M. AMg. JM. JS. Ś. *sahassa* (G. H. R.; Kappas.; Uvās.; Erz.; Pav. 380,12; Mṛcch. 72,22; Prab. 4,4. 5), Mg. *sahaśsa* (Lalitav. 566,10; Venis. 33,3; 34,21; 35,8). It is inflected as neuter according to the *a*-declension. In AMg. one says also *dasa sajāim* (Samav. 162) or *dasa sayā* (Kappas. § 166), as for 1100 *e'kkārassa sayāim* (Samav. 163) or *e'kkārassa sayā* (Kappas. § 166), for 1200 *bārassa sayā*, for 1400 *caūddassa sayā* (Kappas. § 166), for 1721 *sattarassa ekkavise joyānasae* (1721 *yojanas*; acc.; Vivāhap. 198). The rest of thousands are formed like the corresponding hundreds: AMg. *do sahasāim* (Samav. 163), acc. *duve sahasse* (Sūyag. 940); *tiṇṇi, cattāri, cha, dasa sahasāim* (Samav. 163-165); *aūṇaṭṭhim sahasā* (59000; Kappas. § 136); JM. *puttānam saṭṭhi sahasā* (60000; Sagara 1,13) and *saṭṭhim pi tuha suya-sahasā* (7,7; cf. 10,4; 11,5), gen. *saṭṭhie puttasaahasānam* (8,5); also with *sāhassī=sāhasrī*, as AMg. *coddassa samaṇasāhassīo, chattiṣām ajjīyāsāhassīo, tiṇṇi sa yasāhassīo* etc. (Kappas. § 134—137; cf. § 161 ff.; Vivāhap. 287). In the combination of hundreds and thousands with units the units are placed first, and are combined in a compound: *aṭṭhasa yam*=108 (Vivāhap. 831; Kappas.; Ovav.); *aṭṭhasahasam*=1008 (Ovav.). The tens are expressed behind it in the following manner: *tīsam ca sahasāim doṇṇi ya aūṇapaṇṇe joyānasae*=30249 *yojanas* (Vivāhap. 158); *sattarasa e'kkavise joyānasae*=1721 y.; *cattāri tīse joyānasae*=430 y.; *dasa bāvise jo*<sup>o</sup>=1022 y.; *cattāri caūvise jo*<sup>o</sup>=424 y., *satta tevise jo*<sup>o</sup>=723 y., *tiṇṇi igayāle jo*<sup>o</sup>=1341 y., *doṇṇi joyānasahasāim doṇṇi ya chalaṣie jo*<sup>o</sup>=2286 y. (Vivāhap. 198. 199), *siyālīsām joyānasahasāim doṇṇi ya tevaṭṭhe joyānasae*=47 263 y. (Vivāhap. 653), also with *uttara*, as *tiṇṇi joyānasahasāim doṇṇi ya battīsuttare jo*<sup>o</sup>=3232 y<sup>o</sup> (Vivāhap. 198); *bāvaṇṇūtaram, adhāyālīsuttaram, cattālīsuttaram, aṭṭhātīsuttaram, chattiṣuttaram, aṭṭhāvīsuttaram joyānasayasahasam* = 100052, 100048, 100044, 100038, 100036, 100028 y. (Jiv. 243), and with *ca*, as *chakkoḍisae paṇavaṇṇam ca koḍio* = 655 **koṭi** (Vivāhap. 200). Here the acc. occurs throughout. 100,000 is PG. *satasahasā* (6,11; 7,42. 48), AMg. *egām sayasahasam* (Samav. 165) or *egā sayasāhassī* (Kappas. § 136); cf. Ś. *suvaṇṇasadasāhassīo = suvaṇṇasatasāhāsīrikah*

( Mṛcch. 58,4 ); AMg. JM. also *lakṣham* = *lakṣam* ( Kappas. § 187; KI. 12; Erz.), Mg. *laṣkam* (Lalitav. 566,11).—1,000,000 = AMg. *dasasayasa-hassāim* (Samav. 166), Mg. *daha* ( falsely for *daśa* ) *laṣkāim* (Lalitav. 566, 11).—10,000,000 *koḍi* = *koṭiḥ* ( Samav. 167; Erz. ). In AMg. *koḍākoḍi*, *paliavamā*, *sāgarovamā*, *sāgarovamākoḍākoḍi* etc. designate still higher numbers (Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās. etc.).

§ 449. The ordinals, of which the feminine ends in *-ā*, when not noted below, are: 1. *paḍhama*, *puḍhama*, *paḍhuma*, *puḍhuma* ( § 104. 221 ). AMg. also *paḍhamilla* (Vivāhap. 108. 177. 380) and *paḍhamillaga* (Nāyādh. 624), with the suffix *-illa* ( § 595), A. also *pahilla*, femin. *pahilī* (Ki. 5,99; Prabandhac. 62,5; 157,3 [text here *paḍilī* ]), as in the new Indian dialects (BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 2,142; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 118. 400. 401). The word can be derived from \**prathara* neither with BEAMES, nor from AMg. *paḍhamilla*, \**paḍhailla* with HOERNLE, but it presupposes one \**prathila*.—2. M. *duia*, *biia*, *bia*, *biijja*; JM *duiṃ*, AMg. JM. *biijya*, *bīya*; A. *bia*; AMg. also *ducca*, *dōcca*; Ś. Mg. *dudia*, in verses also *dudīa* ( § 82. 91. 165. 300).—3. M. *taia*, AMg. JM. *tāiṃ*; Ś. *tadia*; AMg. also *tacca*; A. *tīa*, *tāijjī* (fem.) ( § 82. 91. 165. 300). KI. 2,36 knows also *tijja*, which occurs in AMg. *addhāijja* ( § 450 ).—4. M. AMg. JM. A. *caūttha* ( Hc. 1,171; 2,33; H. R.; Sūyag. 606; Āyār. p. 132 ff.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Piṅgala 1,105 ), according to Hc. 2,33 also *caūtṭha*; M. also *cōttha* ( § 166; Hc. 1,171; H. ); Ś. Mg. *caduttha* (Mṛcch. 69,21. 22 [cf. v. l.]; Mg. 169,7; text everywhere *caū* ), D. *caūttha* (Mṛcch. 100,6), Ś. also *cadutṭha* ( Śak. 44,5). The femin. is M. JM. *caūtthī*, *cōtthī* ( Hc. 1,171; Erz. p. XLII ), AMg. *caūtthā* (Āyār. p. 132 ff. ). In *addhutṭha* ( 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>; § 450 ) there is one \**tuṭṭha* = \**turtha* (cf. *turya*, *turiya*).—5. *pañcama* occurs in all the dialects (H.; Kappas.; Uvās.; Erz.; Ś. Mṛcch. 70,5,6; D. Mṛcch. 100,7; A. Piṅgala 1,59). The feminine ends in *-ī*, in AMg. in *-ā* too ( Āyār. p. 132 ff. ).—6. in all the dialects *chaṭṭha*, femin. *-ī* ( Vr. 2,41; Hc. 1,265; 2,77; Ki. 2,46; H.; Sūyag. 606,686; Vivāhap. 167; Kappas.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Erz.; Ś. Mṛcch. 70,22. 23; Sak. 40,9; D. Mṛcch. 100,7. 8; A. Piṅgala 1,50 ), in AMg. femin. also *chaṭṭhā* (Āyār 2,1,11,9) by form-association with the preceding numbers. For Mg. *saṭṭha* [sic!] Prab. 28,16, as also the ed. P.31,4 has, and for which at 73,1 in the ed. Bomb. stands *saṭṭha* and at 36,13 the ed. M. reads *saṭṭa*, is to be corrected as *chaṭṭha*. By *pañcabbhahia* = *pañcābhyadhika* the numeral is expressed in M. in Śak. 120,7.—7. M. AMg. JM. Ś.A. *sattama* (H.; Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 71,11. 12; Piṅgala 1,59).—8. AMg. JM. Ś. D. *aṭṭhama* ( Vivāhap. 167; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 72,1; D. Mṛcch. 100,6).—9. AMg. JM *navama* (Uvās.; Kappas.; Erz.), D. *navama* ( Mṛcch. 100,8 ).—10. M. AMg. JM. *dasama* (R.; Vivāhap. 167; Uvās.; Erz.), femin. AMg. *dasamī* (Kappas.).—The ordinals 11.—19. are derived from the corresponding cardinals with the ending *-ma*, feminine *-mī*. Hitherto they have been found in the texts in AMg. JM. only. Thus: 11. AMg. *ēkkārasama* (Sūyag. 695; Vivāhap. 167; Uvās.; Kappas.).—12. AMg. JM. *bārasama* (Sūyag. 699; Vivāhap. 167; Erz.), AMg. also *duvālasama* (Āyār. 1,8,4,7; Sūyag. 699. 758).—13. AMg. *terasama* (Āyār. 2,15,22; Vivāhap. 167; Sūyag. 695; Kappas.).—14. *caūdasama* ( Sūyag. 758 ) and *cōddasama* (Vivāhap.167).—15. *pañnarasama* (Vivāhap.168).—16. *soḷasama* (Vivāhap. 167).—18. AMg. *aṭṭhārasama* ( Vivāhap. 167; Nāyādh. 1450. 1451 ) and *adhārasama* ( Vivāhap. 1429; Nāyādh. 1404 ).—19. *egūṇavisama* ( Nāyādh. § 11 ), and *andegūṇavisama* (Vivāhap. 1606). On *khodasama* (16.) see § 265.—20. *viśama* or *visa*; 30. *tiśama* or *tisa*; 40. *cattāśama*; 49. *aūṇāpama*; 55. *pañnapannāma* (Kappas.); 72. *bāvattara*, 80. *asūma*; 97. *sattānāyja*. In the case of other numbers sometimes the long forms and sometimes the short forms

are used, as 23. JM. *tevīsāima* (T.4,2); 24. AMg. *caivīsāima* (Vivāhap.167) and *caivīsa* (Ṭhān. 31); 84. *caivīśīm*, 85. *pañcāsīma* (Kappas.). Cf. WEBER, Bhag. 1.426.—*kati* is inflected: AMg. JM. A. *kaī* (Vivāhap. 289.301.413 f. 416.855.878 ff.; Erz. 17,21; Hc. 4,376,1.420,3); ins. AMg. *kaihim* (Paṇṇav. 662; Vivāhap. 74. 332); gen. *kaīṇham* (Hc. 3,123); loc. AMg. JM. *kaisu* (Paṇṇav. 521. 530; Vivāhap. 736 f. 1536; Erz. 66,16).

§ 450. As the expression of  $1/2$  enters in AMg. *addha* or *ardha* = *ardha*, as in Skt., before the next higher ordinal (§ 291): *addhāijja* from *addha* + \**tijja*, \**ijja*, \**ijja* = *ardhatīya* (§ 449) ( $2^{1/2}$ ; Samav. 157; Jiv. 268 270. 660. 917. 982; Nāyādh. 347; Paṇṇav. 51. 55. 81. 611 f.; Vivāhap. 199. 202. 734. 1786; Nandī. 198. 200; Kappas.); *addhuttā* from *ardha* + \**turtha* = *ardhacaturtha* ( $3^{1/2}$ ; Kappas.); *addhatthama* = *ardhāṣṭama* ( $7^{1/2}$ ; Āyār.2,15,6[so to be read]; Kappas.; Ovav.); *addhanavama* ( $8^{1/2}$ ; Kappas.); *addhachattīhehim bhikkhāsāehim* (550); *addhāijjāim °sayāim* (250), *addhuttāim °sayāim* (350), *addhapañcamāim °sayāim* (450) (Samav. 156—158); *addhachattīhāim jojanāim* ( $5^{1/2}$  yojanas; Jiv. 231).  $1^{1/2}$ , on the contrary, is expressed by *divaddha* (Vivāhap. 137. 1123; Samav. 157; Jiv. 149; Paṇṇav. 685 f. 692. 698), which is neither = *adhyardha*<sup>1</sup>, nor, as the position of the members of the compound shows, = *dvitīya* + *ardha*<sup>2</sup>, but is = *dvikārdha* (§ 230). So also: *divaddham °sayāim* (150; Samav. 157).

I. WEBER, Bhag. 1,398. 409. 411; ERNST KUHN, Beiträge p. 41.—2. CHILDERS S.V.; BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,237 f.; E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 34.

§ 451.  $I \times$  is in AMg. *sāim* = *sakṛt* (§ 181), in JM. *ēkkavāram* = *ekavāram* (Kk. 266,25; 274,21) and *ēkkasim* (Sagara 4,4), which in Hc. 2, 162 is spelt as *ēkkasi* and *ēkkasiam* and is equated as = *ekadā*. For the purpose of numeration AMg. uses *khutto* = *kṛtvah* (§ 206); *dukkhutto*, *dukkhutto* = *dvikṛtvah* (Ṭhān. 364; Āyār. 2,1,1,6); *tikhutto*, *tikhutto* = *trikṛtvah* (Ṭhān. 5. 11. 17. 41. 60. 364; Āyār. 2,1,1,6; 2,15,20; Antag. 5. 11. 17. 41. 60; Vivāhap. 12. 156. 161 etc.; Uvās.; Kappas.); *sattakkhutto*, °*kh*° (Nāyādh. 910. 925. 941; Jiv. 260. 621), *tisattakkhutto* = *trisaptakṛtvah* (Ovav. § 136; Vivāhap.230 [°*kh*°]. 411); *aneḡasayāsahasakkhutto* = *aneḡasatasahasrakṛtvah* (Vivāhap. 145. 1285); *anantakkhutto* (Jiv. 308; Vivāhap. 177. 414. 416. 418); *evaikkhutto* = \**evatikṛtvah* (Kappas.). In M. the word is spelt as *huttam*: *sahuttam*, *sahassahuttam* (Hc. 2,158; Dhvanyāloka 52,6). For 'for the second time' AMg. uses *dōccam*, *duccam* (Āyār.2,15,21; Vivāhap. 166. 234. 235; Ovav. § 85; Uvās.; Kappas.), 'for the third time' is *taccam* (Vivāhap. 166. 234. 235; Uvās.). — As the expression of times Pkt., like Skt., uses °*viha* = °*vidha*, in the case of adjectives and °*hā* = °*dhā* in the case of adverbs: AMg. *duviha*, *tiviha*, *caivviha*, *pañcaviha*, *chavviha*, *sattaviha*, *aṭṭhaviha*, *navaviha*, *dasaviha* (Uttar. 885—990); *duvālasaviha* (Jiv. 44; Vivāhap. 159), *soḡasaviha* (Uttar. 971; Ṭhān. 593 [°*dhā*]), *aṭṭhāvī-saviha* (Uttar. 877), *battīsāvīha* (Vivāhap. 234); JŚ. *tiviha* (Kattig. 402, 360) etc.; AMg. *duhā*, *pañcāhā*, *dasahā* (Uttar. 1046. 889. 704), *duhā*, *tihā*, *caihā*, *pañcāhā*, *chahā*, *sattahā*, *aṭṭhahā*, *navahā*, *dasahā*, *saṁkkhējjahā*, *asaṁkkhējjahā*, *anantahā* (Vivāhap. 997—1012).—AMg. JM. *egao* (Vivāhap. 277. 282. 950; Āv. 46,24) is = *ekataḥ*, the more frequent *ega yao* (Vivāhap. 137—141. 187. 510. 513. 970. 983. 996 ff. 1430. 1434) = \**ekakataḥ*; *duhao* see § 436.—As in Skt., in AMg. JM. JŚ. too, one says *duga* (Ṭhān. 568. 569; Erz.; Kattig. 403,371), *duja* (Uttar. 903) = *dvika*; AMg. JM. *tija* = *trika* (Uttar. 902; Erz.); *chakka* = *ṣaṭka* (Uttar. 904) etc.; likewise JM. *sahassaso* = *sahasraṣaḥ* (Sagar. 6,5); Ś. *aneaso*, AMg. *ṇegaso* = *anekaṣaḥ* (§ 435).

## E. THE VERB.

§ 452. In Pkt. the verb has undergone far greater loss than the noun has. As in the case of nouns (§ 355), the *a*-stems prevail on phonetic grounds, so that the second conjugation, with comparatively a fewer exceptions, has followed the analogy of the first one. Thereby the character of the class has almost been effaced. The *ātmanepada* is frequent in all the dialects in the participles only; otherwise it is somewhat usable only in M. AMg. JM. JŚ., but it is restricted completely to the sing. and the third person plural of the present indicative in Ś., in Mg. almost exclusively to the first person sing. ind. present. The cases found in Ś. mostly are formular expressions (§ 457). Many verbs, that in Sanskrit are conjugated in the *ātmanepada* only, have in Pkt. the endings of the *parasmaip.*, as mostly in the passive too. Further *āsi*, *āsi*=*āsīt*, that are used as the sing. of the first, second and third persons and the plur. of the third person of the imperfect, have been retained in M. AMg. JM. Ś., in addition to *abhavi* in AMg. (§ 515). Remnant of the strong and *s*-aorists, including stray *ātmanepada* forms in frequent use (§ 517), are found in AMg. and in grammarians (§ 516), from the perfect in AMg. only (§ 518); the conditional has completely disappeared. All these tenses are expressed by means of participles with the auxiliary verb *as* or *bhū* or only with the past passive participle. The pluperfect too is formed in the same manner (519). Besides we find the simple future in the *parasmaip.*, *ātmanep.* and passive, from the verbal nouns, the infinitive, in the passive too (§ 580), the absolutive, the present participle of the *parasmaipada*, the *ātmanepada* and passive, the past passive participle and the particip. *necessitatis*, of the moods, the indicative, the optative, (the precative too) and the imperative. Of the secondary verbal forms, like Skt., Pkt. has the causative, the desiderative of the intensive and the numerous denominatives. The dual is completely lost. Except those in A., the endings generally correspond to those of Skt. Deviations are shown in the following paragraphs. Characteristic is the extension of the present stem, from which all the tenses, the verbal nouns and the passive can be formed. It serves also for nominal derivation.

## a) PRESENT.

## 1. INDICATIVE OF THE PARASMAIPADAM.

453. The flexion shows the paradigm of the first conjugation *vaṭṭa-* = *varṭa-*, in Skt. in *ātmanepada* only.

Sing.	Plur.
1. <i>vaṭṭāmi</i>	<i>vaṭṭāmo</i>
2. <i>vaṭṭasi</i>	<i>vaṭṭaha</i> , JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh. <i>vaṭṭadha</i> , P. CP. <i>vaṭṭatha</i>
3. <i>vaṭṭāi</i> , JŚ. Ś. Mg. Dh. <i>vaṭṭādi</i> , P. CP. <i>vaṭṭāti</i>	<i>vaṭṭanti</i>

In A. the common flexion is :—

1. <i>vaṭṭāñ</i>	<i>vaṭṭahñ</i>
2. <i>vaṭṭasi</i> , <i>vaṭṭahi</i>	<i>vaṭṭahu</i>
3. <i>vaṭṭāi</i>	<i>vaṭṭāhī</i>

§ 454. The grammarians (Vr. 7,30; Hc. 3,154; Mk. fol. 51; Sr. fol. 47) mention also *-āmi*, beside *-āmi*, that is the common ending in all the

dialects, excluding A.: *jānami* = *jānāmi*; *lihami* = *likhāmi*; *sahami* = *sahe*; *hasami* = *hasāmi*. It is attested in A. too: *kaddhami* = *karṣāmi* (Hc.4,385); *pāvami* = \**prāpāmi* = *prāpnomi*; *bhāmami* = *bhramāmi* (Vikr. 71,7,8); *bhaṇami* = *bhaṇāmi* (Piṅgala 1,153). The vowel has been regulated according to that of the second and third persons. In some cases, as in the first person plur. (§ 455), *i* has entered for *a*: M. *jānimi* = *jānāmi* (H. 902), *anujijimi* = *anunīye* (H. 930); A. *pucchimi* = *prcchāmi*, *karimi* = \**karāmi* = *karomi* (Vikr. 65,3; 71,9). Forms in *-mhi* and *-mmi*, sometimes found in the MSS. and editions<sup>1</sup>, are false<sup>2</sup>, as *ṇivedēmmhi* for *ṇivedemi* (Nāg. 20,3; cf. 20,10), *pasādēmmhi* for *pasādemi* (Nāg. 44,8), *gacchammhi*, *gacchahmi* for *gacchāmi* (Mālav. 5,5; Vṛṣabh. 20,17).—In A. the usual ending is *-āy*: *kaddhāy* = *karṣāmi* (Hc. 4,385), *kijjāy* = *kriye* in the sense of *karisyāmi* (Hc. 4,385; 445,3); *jānāy* = *jānāmi* (Hc. 4,391. 439,4), *joijjāy* = *vilokye*, *dēkkhāy* = *drakṣyāmi*, *jhijjāy* = *ksīye* (Hc. 4,356. 357,4. 425); *pāvāy* = *prāpnomi*, *pakāvāy* = \**pakvāpāyāmi* = *pacāmi*, *jivāy* = *jivāmi*, *cajāy* (text *tajāy*) = *tyājāmi* (Piṅgala 1,104<sup>a</sup>; 2,64); *piāvāy* (text *piyāvāy*) = \**piḍāpāyāmi* = *pāyayāmi* (Prabandhac. 70,11. 13). According to the phonetic laws of A., *jānāy* has to be traced to \**jānakam* only (§ 352). The verbal forms with infixed *ak*, such as *pacataki*, *jalpataki*, *svapitaki*, *paṭhataki*, *addhaki*, *ehaki*, mentioned by the grammarians, in addition to the first pers. sing. *yāmaki* = *yāmi*, discovered by AUFRECHT in Kauṣītakibrāhmaṇa 27,1<sup>8</sup>, are to be compared with \**jānakam*. It is to be admitted that, as in the future (§ 520), the ending of the subsidiary tenses has taken the place that of the principal tenses<sup>4</sup>.

1. BOLLENSEN on Mālav. p. 123; WEBER on Hāla 417.—2. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 47. AMg. *apūsāsāmi* for \**apūsāsāmi* = *anusāsāmi* Uttar. 790 is hardly correct.—3. ZDMG.34,175f.—4. HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 497 seeks in it the ending of the imperative.

§ 455. In the 2. sing. indic. A. has beside the ending *-si* also *-hi* (§ 264): *marahi* = \**marasi* = *mriyase*, *ruahi* = Vedic *ruvasi* = *rodiṣi*, *lahahi* = *labhase*, *viśurahi* = *khidyase*, *ṇisarahi* = *niṣarasi* (Hc. 4,368. 383,1. 422, 2. 439,4). In Mg. the ending is naturally *-ṣi*: *yāṣi*, *dhāvāṣi*, *palāṣi*, *malhiṣi*, *gaṣaṣi* (Mṛcch. 9,23,24;10,3).—In the 3. sing. indic. in verses AMg. and A. do not rarely contract the ending *-ai* to *-e* (§ 166); in Ś. Mg. Dh. the ending is *-di*, in P. CP. *-ti*: M. AMg. JM. *vajjati*, but JŚ. Ś. *vajjati* (§ 289); M. *vaddhāi* = *vardhate*, but Ś. *vaddhāi* (§ 291); Mg. *cilādi* = *cirāyati* (Śak. 115,9); Dh. *vajjati* = *vrajati* (Mṛcch. 30,10); P. *lapati*, *gacchati* (Hc.4,319).—The 1. plur. indic., in all the dialects, excluding A., ends in *-mo*, in verses in *-mu* and *-ma* too, the ending of the subsidiary tense (Vr. 7,4; Hc. 3,144. 167; Kī. 4,7; Mk. fol. 51); *hasāmo*, *hasāmu*, *hasāma*. Except in PG. *vitarāma* (5,7), M. future *dacchāma* = *drakṣyāmaḥ* (R. 3,50) and in *-mha* = *smah* (§ 498), *-ma* has, up to this time, been seen merely as v. l.<sup>1</sup> and for prose it is not correct. M. *tajjāmo*, *vaccāmo*, *ramāmo* (H. 267. 590. 888), *kāmemo* = *kāmayāmaḥ* (H. 417), in the passive *musijjāmo* = *muṣyāmahe* (H. 335); AMg. *vaddhāmo* = *vardhāmahe* (Kappas. § 91. 106), *jivāmo* (Nāyādb. § 137), *āciṭṭhāmo* = *ātiṣṭhāmaḥ* (Sūyag. 734), *uvayemo* = *upanayāmaḥ*, *āhāremo* = *āhārayāmaḥ* (Sūyag. 734), *icchāmu* (Uttar. 376), *accemu* beside *accimo* = *arcayāmaḥ*, *arcāmaḥ* (Uttar. 368. 369), in the future *dāhāmu* = *dāsyāmaḥ* (Uttar. 355. 358), also in the aor. *vucchāmu* = *avāṣma* (Uttar. 410); JM. *tālemo* = *tādayāmaḥ* (Dvār. 497,1), *peccāmo* = *prekṣāmahe* (Āv. 33,15), *vaccāmo* = *vrajāmaḥ* (Kk. 263,16; 272,18), *paḥḥosavemo* (Kk. 271,7); Ś. *pavisāmo* = *praviśāmaḥ* (Śak. 92,1), *jāṇāmo* = *jānāmaḥ* (§ 510), *sumarāmo* = *smarāmaḥ* (Mālatim. 113,9), *uvacarāmo* = *upacarāmaḥ* (Mālatim. 232,2; text *tvarāma*; cf. v. l. and ed. Calc. 1866 p. 91,17),

*vaḍḍhāmo* = *vardhāmahe* (Mallikām. 153,10; Mahāv. 17,11; [so to be read; cf. ed. Bomb. 38,3]), *cintemo* = *cintayāmaḥ* (Mahāv. 134,11), *vandāmo* = *vandāmahe, vahaarāmo* = *upaharāmaḥ* (Pārvatīp. 27,11; 29,13); *D. bōllāmo* (Mṛcch. 105,16). The forms in *-mha*, which are sometimes found in the text, as *ciṭṭhamha* (Ratn.315,1), *viṇṇavēṃha, saṃpādēṃha, pārēṃha, karēṃha* (Śak. 27,7; 53,5; 76,60; 80,5), are false. They belong to the imperative (§ 470). In M. JM. and in verses in AMg. the post tonic syllable *ā* often becomes *i*, so that the ending, then, is *-imo* (§ 108); M. *jamṇimo* = *jālpāmaḥ* (H. 651); M. JM. *ṇamimo* = *nāmāmaḥ* (G. 35. 969; Kk. 277,30); M. JM. *bhaṇimo* = *bhaṇāmaḥ* (Hc. 3,155; H.; Prabandhac. 100,8; Kk. 266,14) beside *bhaṇāmo* (H.); M. AMg. *vandīmo* = *vāndāmahe* (H. 659; Nandis.81); *pacīmo* = *pācāmaḥ* (Mk. fol. 51); M. *savīmo* = *sāpāmaḥ* (G.240); M. *sahīmo* = *sāhāmahe* in *visahīmo* (H. 376); *hasīmo* = *hāsāmaḥ* (Bh. 7,31). Likewise M. *gamīmo* = *\*gdmāmaḥ* (H. 892), *jāṇīmo, ṇa āṇīmo* = *\*jānāmaḥ, na \*jānāmaḥ* (H.), *bharīmo* = *\*bhārāmaḥ* and *saṃbharīmo* (we remember; H. s. v. *smar*; G. 219), *ālakkhīmo* = *ālaksāmahe* (G. 188), and on its analogy: *pucchīmo* = *pṛcchāmaḥ* (H. 453), *lihīmo* = *likhāmaḥ* (H. 244), *suṇīmo* = *\*śruṇḍāmaḥ* (H. 518, falsely also in Ś. Bālar. 101,5). The grammarians (Vr. 7,4. 31; Hc. 3,155; Mk. fol. 51; Sr. fol. 47) know also the forms in *-āmu, -āma, -īmu, -īma*: *paḍhamu, paḍhama, pacīmu, bhaṇamu, bhaṇama, bhaṇīmu, bhaṇīma, sahamu, sahama, sahīmu, hasamu, hasama, hasīmu, hasīma*.—In A. the usual ending is *-hū*: *lahahū* = *labhāmahe, cadāhū* = *ārohāmaḥ, marāhū* = *mriyāmahe* (Hc. 4,386. 439,1). The abl. plur. of the *a*-stems has the same ending, where it would be derived from *-bhyām* (§ 369). Here the origin is completely obscure<sup>2</sup>. Beside this there is found *lahīmu* too (Hc. 4,386).

1. Particularly in Ś., as *vaṣṭāma* Prab. 68,8, for which the ed. P. p. 69<sup>a</sup> reads *vasaṣṭama*, the ed. M. p. 84,15, *vasaṣṭama*, the ed. Bomb. 137,7, *ahīvaṣṭahmo*. One emends *vaṣṭāmo* or *vasāmo*; *viraema* = *viracayāmaḥ* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 49,17; *twarāma* (Mālatīm. 232,2 etc.).—2. Improbable is the explanation of HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 497 p. 335.

§ 456. The ending of the 2. plur. in M. JM. AMg. is *-ha*, in Ś. Mg. *Ā. -dha*, in A. *-hu* or *-ha*: *ramaha, paḍhaha, hasaha* (Vr. 7,4); *hasaha, vevaha*, (Hc. 3,143); *pacaha, saṅkaha* (Kī. 4,6); *hoha* (Mk. fol. 51); M. *ṇa āṇaha* = *na jānītha, dēcchiha* = *drakṣyatha* (R. 3,13. 23), *taraha* (you know; H. 897); JM. *jāṇaha* (Kk. 273,44); *kuppaha* = *kupyātha, paṇyacchaha* (Erz. 10, 20; 15,36); AMg. *āikkhaha, bhāsaha, pannaveha* (Āyār. 1.4,2,4); *bhuñjaha* (Sūyag. 194); *vajaha* = *vadatha* (Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.), *ādhaḥa, pariṇāṇaha, agghājaha, uvaṇimanteha* (Nāyādh. § 83); Ś. *pēkkhadha* = *prekṣadhve* (Mṛcch. 40,25; Śak. 14,8), *nedha* = *nayātha* (Mṛcch. 161,9)<sup>1</sup>; Mg. *pēskadha* (Mṛcch. 157,13; 158,2; 162,6), *pattīādha* = *pratyayadhve* (Mṛcch. 165,9); Ā. *acchadha* (Mṛcch. 99,16); A. *pucchaha* and *pucchahu* (Hc. 4,364. 422,9), *icchahu* and *icchaha* (Hc. 4,384), *paṇpaha* = *prajapatha* (Hc. 4,422,9). Probably *°hu* should be read throughout. On the ending *-itthā* see § 517.—The 3. plur. ends in all the dialects in *-nti*. M. *muanti* = *\*mucanti, ruanti* = *rudanti, hōnti* = *bhavanti, dēnti* = *dayante* (Erz. 3,14. 15); AMg. *cayanti* = *tyajanti, thananti* = *stananti, labhanti* = *labhante* (Āyār. 1,6,1,2); Ś. *gacchanti, pasīdanti, saṃcavanti* (Mṛcch. 8,4; 9,1. 11); Mg. *aṇṇesanti* = *anvesanti, pianti* = *pibanti* (Mṛcch. 29,23; 113,21); CP. *ucchallanti, nipatanti* (Hc. 4,326); A. *vahasanti* = *vikasanti, karanti* = *kurvanti* (Hc. 4,365; 445,4). In A., however, the common ending is *-hī*, of which the origin is obscure<sup>2</sup>: *maullīahī* = *mukulayanti, anuharahī* = *anuharanti, lahalī* = *labhante, ṇavahī* = *namanti, gajjahī* = *garjante, dharahī* = *dharanti, karahī* = *kurvanti, sahalī* = *sobhante* etc. (Hc. 4,365,1. 367,4. 5. 382). In the



passive *ghēppahi* = *ghyante* (Erz. 158,14). The same ending is found in AMg. *acchahim* = *tiṣṭhanti* (Uttar. 667)<sup>3</sup> in the verse, and in *āḍhāhim*, *parijāṇāhim* (Vivāgas. 217; cf. § 223. 500. 510) in prose.

1. According to Hc. 4,268. 302 -*ha* too would be permissible in Ś. Mg. Cf. also FISCHEL, KB. 8,134 ff. — 2. Improbable is the explanation of HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. § 497 p. 337.—3. So to be read with JACOBI, SBE. 45,114, note 2. The edition has in the text and commentary *atthihim*; the commentary explains *atthahi* (sic?) *iti tiṣṭhanti*. Cf. *assāsi* § 461.

## 2. INDICATIVE OF THE ĀTMANEPADAM.

§ 457. The flexion is :

Sing.	Plur.
1. <i>vaṭṭe</i>	is wanting
2. <i>vaṭṭase</i>	is wanting
3. <i>vaṭṭae</i> , JŚ. <i>vaṭṭade</i>	<i>vaṭṭante</i>

Cf. Vr. 7,1. 2. 5; Hc. 3,139. 140. 145; 4,274. 302. 319; Ki. 4,2. 3; Mk. fol. 50. Vr. and Hc. restrict the use of the endings -*se*, -*e* explicitly to the *a*-stems, as is mentioned by Mk. too. According to Hc. 4,274, in Ś. and according to 4,302, in Mg. too, the ending -*de* = -*te* would be permissible with the *a*-stems. The best texts do not attest these. All the MSS., in the example quoted by Hc. from Mg., from Venis. 35,17; 36,3, read *ṣuṇīade* = *ṣrūyate* and the text has *ṣuṇīadi*. Without doubt by Ś. here, as in other cases (§ 21), is meant JŚ. Vr. 12,17 and Mk. fol. 70 forbid the ātmanepada for Ś. Mg. completely. It is found in isolated forms in verses and in prevalently standing expressions. Examples from the different dialects are: 1. M. *jāne* (H. 902), *na āne* (R. 3,44; Śak. 55,15); frequently in Ś.: *jāne* (Śak. 131,9; Mālav. 66,8; Lalitav. 564,4; Anarghar. 66,5; Uttarak. 22,13; 64,7; Viddhaś. 67,1; 96,1) and *na āne*, as we should read throughout with the v. l., in places where sometimes even now there stands in the text *na jāne* (Śak. 70,11; 123,14; Vikr. 35,5; Mālav. 36,8; 34,9; Venis. 59,5); in AMg. too (Uttar. 512); M. *maṇṇe* = *manye* (G. H. [delete 546]; R.), in Ś. too (Mṛcch. 22,13; Mallikām. 56,1; 60,7; 74,22; 80,15; 83,5; Anarghar. 61,3; 66,10; Viddhaś. 20,6), and *aṇumanṇe* (Śak. 59,11), and in AMg. *manne* (Uttar. 571), in M. also according to the l. class *maṇe* (H. R.; Hc. 2,207), and so is probably also the adverbially used *vaṇe* (Hc. 2,206), originally a l. sing. ātmanep., if it be = *maṇe* (§ 251) or = *vaṇe* (cf. Dhātupāṭha in B-R. s. v. *van*). S. GOLDSCHMIDT has reconstructed the word in R. 14,43 (ZDMG. 32,103) according to Hc. In Vr. 9,12 *vale* stands. AMg. *rame* (Uttar. 445); Ś. *lahe* = *labhe* (Vikr. 42,7), *icche* (Mṛcch. 24,21; 25,10); Mg. *vāe* = *vāmi* and *vādayāmi*, *gāe* = *gāyāmi* (Mṛcch. 79, 12. 13).—2. M. *maggase*, *jāṇase*, *vijjhase*, *lajjase*, *jaṃpase* (H. 6.181.441.634. 943), *sohase* (G. 316); AMg. *paḥhāsase* = *prabhāsase*, *avabujjhase* = *avabudhyase* (Uttar. 358. 503); AMg. *iścaśe* = *icchase* (Mṛcch. 123,5; P. *payacchase* = *prayacchase* (Hc. 4,323).—3. M. *taṇuāae*, *paḍicchae*, *vaccae*, *peccae*, *dāvae*, *niacchae*, *palambae*, *andolae*, *laggae*, *parisakkae*, *vikuppaae* (H. 59. 701; 140.169.397.489.507.582.855.951.967), in the passive *tīrae* = *tīryate* (H. 195.801.932), *jujjae* = *yujyate*, *jhijjae* = *ksīyate*, *niivarijjae* = *nirvriyate*, *khijjae* = *ksīyate* (H. 12. 141. 204. 362); JM. *bhuñjjae* = *bhuñkte*, *nirikkhāe* = *nirikṣate* (Erz. 25,30; 70,7); *cintae* (Āv. 36,25; Erz. 70,35; 74,17); *ciṭṭhāe* = *tiṣṭhate*, *viuvāe* = *\*vikurūate* = *vikurūte* (Āv. 36,26. 27); passive *muccae* = *mucyate* (Erz. 71,7); *tīrae* = *tīryate*, *dajjhae* = *dahyate* (Dvār. 498,21. 22); AMg. *lahae*, *kiḷae*, *bhañjjae* (Uttar. 438. 570. 789); *titikkhāe* = *titikṣate*, *sampavevāe* = *sampravedate* (Āyār. 2,16,3); JŚ. *maṇṇade* = *manye*, *bandhade* = *bandhante*,

*jāyade* = *jāyate*, *bhāsade* = *bhāṣate*, *bhuñjade* = *bhunkte*, *kuvvade* = \**kurvate* = *kurute* ( Kattig. 399,314; 400,327. 332. 333; 403,382. 384; 404,309 ); passive *āḍijade* ( Pav. 384,60); *thuvvade* = *stūyate*, *jujjade* = *yuṣyate*, *sakkade* = *ṣakyate* ( Kattig. 401,351; 403,380; 404,387); D. *jāac* = *jāyate*, *vaṭṭae* = *vaṭṭate* ( Mrcch. 100,3. 6 ). For Ś. Hc. 4,274 mentions *acchade*, *gacchade*, *ramade*, for P. 4,319 *lapate*, *acchate*, *gacchate*, *ramate*, for the passive Ś. *kijjade* = *kriyate* ( 4,274 ), P. *giyyatē*, *tiyyate* ( so to be read ), *ramiyyate*, *paḍhiyyate* ( 4,315 ); at 4,316 stands *kirate* = *kriyate*.—In the 1. plur. sometimes the forms, such as *kāmamhe* = *kāmayāmahe*, which, however, are not attested by good manuscripts, are also found ( WEBER on H. 417 ).—3. plur. M. *gajjante* = *garjante* ( Hc. 1,187 [ see the translation ]; 3,142 ), *bihante* = \**bhīṣante*, *uppaṭjante* = *utpadyante* ( Hc. 3,142 ), *ucchāhante* = *utsāhayante* ( H. 638 ); AMg. *uvalabhante* ( Sūyag. 755 ), *rīyante* ( Āyār. 1,8,2,16; Dasav. 613, 12 ), *ciṭṭhante* = *tiṣṭhante* ( Āyār. 1,8,4. 10 ). The examples from AMg., on the whole, and from JM. in the largest measure are from verses.

§ 458. Beside the ending *-nte*, Pkt. has also the ending *-ire*, corresponding to Vedic Skt. and Pāli: *pahuppīre* = \**prabhutīre* ( § 286 ) in *dōṇṇi vi na pahuppīre bāhū* = *doṇv apī na prabhavato bāhū*; *vicchuhire* = \**viksubhīre* ( Hc. 3, 142 ); *haseire*, *hasāire*, *hasire* = *hasante*; *sahēire*, *sahāire*, *sahire* = *sahante*; *hueire*, *huāire*, *huire*, *hoēire*, *hoāire*, *hoire* = *bhavante* ( Sr. fol. 46. 47 ). Sr. fol. 49 teaches this ending for the optative too : *hujjāire*, *hujjāire*, *huējjāire*, *huējjāire* = *bhaverant* and fol. 51 for the future : *hasehiire*, *hasihiire* = *hasisyante*. According to Hc. 3,142 *-ire* is used in the 3. sing. too : *sūsāire gāmacikkhallo* = *śusyati grāmacikkhallah*. Triv. 2,2,4, who gives as examples *sūsāire tāṇa tāriso kaṇṭho* = *śusyati tāsām tāḍṣaḥ kaṇṭhaḥ*, teaches the same.

1. E. KUHN, Beitrage p. 94; E. MÜLLER, Simplified Grammar p. 97; WENDISCH, Über die Verbalformen mit dem Charakter *r* im Arischen Italischen und Celtischen. Leipzig, 1887 ( AKSGW. X. No. vi ), where further literature is also provided. Cf. particularly p. 32 f. of the ŚA. 478 f.

### 3. OPTATIVE

§ 459. The optative is extraordinarily frequent in AMg. and JM., more seldom in M. and only isolated in the other dialects. Its manner of formation is a two-fold one. In M. AMg. JM. the flexion is usual, that P. too has, but in Mg. A. it is sporadic.

#### Sing.

1. *vattējjā*, *vattējja*, *vattējjāmi*
2. *vattējjāsi*, *vattējjasi*, *vattējjāhi*, *vattējjahi*,  
*vattējjāsu*, *vattējjasu*, *vattējjā*.
3. *vattējjā*, *vattējja*, [*vattējjāi*]

#### Plur.

- vattējjāma*  
*vattējjāha*, *vattējjaha*  
*vattējjā*, *vattējja*

These dialects, AMg. JM. especially in verses, JŚ. almost always, Ś. exclusively, Mg. A. sporadically, have beside these the flexion:

1. Ś. *vattēam*, *vattē* is wanting
2. AMg. A. *vattē*, A. *vattī* is wanting
3. AMg. JM. JŚ. Ś. Mg. *vattē* AMg. Ś. *vattē*

That the two kinds of formation go back to the optative of the first conjugation in *-yam*, as assumed by JACOBI<sup>1</sup>, is phonetically impossible. It follows clearly that the 1. sing. in *-e* has followed the analogy of the 2. and 3. sing., a form, that is used as 3. plur. too. The forms in *-ējjā* and *-ējja* become hence closely fitting. The lengthening of the final vowel is the original. The

shortening is found in prose only before enclitics, as: *āgacchejja vā ciṭṭhējja vā nisīḥējja vā tujattējja vāullaṅghējja vā palaṅghējja vā āgacched vā tiṣṭhed vā niṣided vā sayīta vā ullaṅghed vā pralaṅghed vā* (Ovav. § 150; cf. Vivāhap. 116; Āyār. 1,7,2,1; other examples in Āyār. 2,2,1,8; 2,3,2,7 etc.), beside with the lengthening, as *avaharējja vā vikkhirējja vā bhindhējja vā acchindējja vā pariṭṭhavējja vā = apahared vā viṣkired vā bhindyād vā acchindyād vā pariṭṭhāpayed vā* (Uvās. § 200), elsewhere in verses only, as always in M. One compares AMg. *kujjā = kuryāt* (§ 464), *dējjā = deyāt*, *hojjā = bhūyāt* (§ 466), thus it is clear that even *kuvvejjā* presupposes one *\*kurvyāt*, *karējjā* one *\*karyāt* and *havējjā* one *\*bhavyāt*, that is to say the optative in *-ējjā* goes back to the optative formed with *-ya-* of the second conjugation<sup>2</sup>. For *e*, very often the MSS. give *i*, which is not possible to be explained according to § 84, since the development has resulted from the 1. sing., hence *-eya-* was by no means originally existent in the form. Rather *e*, according to § 119, has originated from *i*, that is a separation-vowel: AMg. *bhuñjējjā = \*bhuñjyāt*, *bhuñjyāt*, *karējjā = \*kariyāt = \*karyāt*, likewise *jāñijjā jāñējjā = jāñiyāt*. The first conjugation might have exercised its influence in the prevalent *e*-colouring. It is only in this manner that *ā* and the reduplication of *j* are explained<sup>3</sup>. On remnant of the old flexion of the second conjugation and the precativē see § 464. 465. 466.

1. KZ. 36,577.—2. Whether one will derive *karyāt* from the present stem *kar* with JACOBI or take it as=precativē *kriyāt* with PISCHEL, KZ. 35,143, it is equally valid for the explanation. That I exactly meant, as JACOBI, is shown by the affix of the passive *\*karyāte* KZ. 35,141, what JACOBI has overlooked. The question is only about the equation *karijjai: kriyāte=karejjā: kriyāt* (KZ. 35,143).—3. PISCHEL, KZ. 35,142 ff.

§ 460. Singular: 1. AMg. *āosējjā vā hañējjā vā bandhējjā vā mahējjā vā tajjējjā vā tālējjā vā nicchoḍējjā vā nibbhacchejjā vā...varovējjā = ākroṣeyām vā hanyām vā badhniyām vā (mathniyām vā) tarjayeyām vā tādayeyām vā niśchoṭayeyām vā nirbhartsayeyām vā...vyaparopēyam* (Uvās. § 200), *pāssijjā = paśyeyam* (Nirayāv. § 3), *muccejjā = mucyeya* (passive; Uttar. 624), *aiṅvājjā, aiṅvājjā = atipāyeyām, samanujāñējjā = samanujāñiyām* (Hc. 3,177); JM. *laṅghējjā* (Āv. 8,18); M. *kuppējjā = kupyeyām* (H. 17); Ś. *bhaveam* (Vikr. 40,21; Pārvatīp. 29,9) and *bhave* (Śak. 65,10; Mālav. 67,10) = *bhaveyam, pahave = prabhavyam* (Śak. 25,1), *laheam* (Śak. 13,9; 30,9; Pārvatīp. 27,16; 29,8) and *lahe* (Mudrār. 38,2; cf. Vikr. 42,7?) = *lahveya, jiveam = jiveyam* (Mālav. 55,11), *kuppe = kupyeyam* (Mālav. 67,10)<sup>1</sup>. Seldom *-mi* is the ending of the primary tense: M. *ñējjāmi = naye Yam* (R. 3,55) and AMg. *karējjāmi = kuryām* (Vivāhap. 1281).—2. In the 2. sing. the form ends in *-ijjā*, seldom in *-ējjā*: AMg. *udāharijjā = udāhareḥ* (Sūyag. 932); *uvadamsejjā = upadarśayeh* (Āyār. 1,5,5,4); *viṅaejjā = vinayeh* (Dasav. 613,27). In AMg. the ending *-si* comes in generally: *payāējjāsi = prajāyethāḥ* (Nāyādh. 420); *nivedijjāsi = nivedayeh* (Ovav. § 21); *samanuvāsejjāsi = samanuvāsayeh, walmipijjāsi = upalimpeḥ, parakkamejjāsi = parākramēḥ* (Āyār. 1,2,1,5; 4,4; 5,3; 6,2 etc.); *vattējjāsi = vartethāḥ* (Uvās. § 200).—Beside that stands the form in *-e*: *dāve = dāpayeh, paḍigāhe = pratigrāhayeḥ* (Kappas. S. § 14–16), almost always in verses only: *gacche = gaccheḥ* (Sūyag. 178); *paṃāyae = pramādayeh, āie = \*āriyeh = āriyethāḥ, sambhare = saṃsmareḥ* (cf. § 267.313), *care = careḥ* (Uttar. 310 ff. 322. 440. 504). Sometimes the form in *-ējjāsi* is used in place of that in *-e* or in *-ējjā* at the end of verses corresponding to the paragraph in prose against the metre<sup>2</sup>. Thus *āmoḥkkhāe, pariṅvāējjāsi* metrically false for *pariṅvāe* (Sūyag. 99. 200. 216); *ārambham ca susamvūḍe carejjāsi*, metrically false for *care* (Sūyag. 117); *no pāñinam pāne samārabhejjāsi*, metrically false for *samarābhejjā* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3). Cf. besides in prose: Āyār. 1,2,1,5; 4,4; 5,3; 6,2; 1,3,1,4; 1,4,1, 3; 3,3; 1,5,2,5; 4,5; 6,1 etc. The

2. sing. in *-ëjjāsi* occurs in JM. too: *vilaggëjjāsi* = *\*vilagyeḥ* (Erz. 29,12), *āhaṇëjjāsi* (Äv. 11,1), *vaṭṭëjjāsi* (Äv. 11,11), *pe'cchejjāsi* (Äv. 23,18).

1. FISCHEL, Die Recensionen der Çakuntalā p. 22 f.; BOLLENSSEN on Mālav. p. 228. — 2. JACOBI, who has not recognized the forms in *-ëjjāsi* in his edition of Äyār., thinks that *si* is to be separated and may stand for *se=asau* (SBE. 22,17, note 1). The scholiasts give the correct direction.

§ 461. Besides *-ëjjāsi* there occurs in AMg. also *-ëjjasi*: *-āosëjjasi* = *ākrośeḥ*, *haṇëjjasi* = *hanyāḥ*, *vavarovëjjasi* = *vyaparopayeh* (Uvās. § 200). Moreover, the 2. sing. has the endings of the imperative *-hi* and in M. JM. A. especially *-su* (§ 467), before which the vowel is either short or long: M. *hasëjjahi* = *haseḥ* (Hc. 3,175; Sr. fol. 50); AMg. *vandëjjahi* = *vandethāḥ*, *pajjuwäsejjāhi* = *paryupāsithāḥ*, *uvanimantëjjāhi* = *upanimantrayeh* (Uvās. 187); JM. *vaccëjjasu* = *vrajeḥ* (Äv. 25,20), *bhaṇëjjasu* = *bhaṇeḥ* (Äv. 25,31. 43); M. JM. *karëjjāsu* (H. 154. 181. 634; Erz. 81,10), JM. *karëjjasu* (Sagara 7,5), M. *kuṇijjāsu* (Śukasaptati 48,4) = *kuryāḥ*, A. *karijjasu* (Piṅgala 1,39. 41. 95. 144 etc.); JM. *sāhijjasu* = *sādhaya* in the sense of *kathaya* (Kk. 272,19); M. *galijjāsu* = *galeḥ*, *paṃhasijjāsu* = *praśmareḥ*, *pariharijjāsu* = *parihareḥ* (H. 103. 348. 521); A. *salahijjāsu* = *ślāghasva*, *bhaṇijjāsu* = *bhāṇa*, *ṭhavijjāsu* = *sthāpaya* (Piṅgala 1,95. 109. 144). Since in A. the passive is used in the sense of the active too, many of these forms may be taken also as the imperative of the passive, as *munijjasu* beside *muṇiāsu* (§ 467), *dijjasu* (§ 466) on account of *i* by the side of *dëjjahi*. A critical edition of the Piṅgala may same day make the disclosure whether *i* or *ë* is to be read. The forms in *-ë*, *-i* in A., indicated by Hc. 4,387 as of the imperative, likewise are of the optative: *karë* = *kare* = *\*kareḥ* = *kuryāḥ* (Hc. 4,387) and thence *kari* (Prabandhac. 63,7; Śukasaptati 49,4) according to § 85. So: A. *viāri* = *vicārayeh*, *ṭhavi* = *sthāpayeh*, *dhari* = *dhārayeh*, properly = *\*vicāreḥ*, *\*sthāpeḥ*, *\*dhāreḥ*, (Piṅgala 1,68. 71. 72); *joi* = *\*dyoteḥ* = *paśya* (Hc. 4,364. 368), *ruṇujhuṇi*, *roi* = *\*rodeḥ* = *rudyāḥ*, *cari* = *careḥ*, *mëlli* in the sense of *tyajeḥ*, *kari* = *\*kareḥ* = *kuryāḥ*, *kahi* = *\*katheḥ* = *kathayeh* (Hc. 4,368. 387. 1. 3. 422,14). The same formation is found in AMg. in the verse in *assāsi* (text *asāsi*, correctly in the commentary): *evam assāsi appānam* (Uttar. 113), explained by the commentator with *evam ātmānam āśvāsaya*. Cf. also *acchahim*, *ādḥāhim*, *parijānāhim* (§ 456). So is explained also *puṇde* = *vraja* (Deśin. 6,52) as optative. Cf. also *puḍa utsarge* Dhātupāṭha 28,90. *hassejje* = *haseḥ*, that is taught by Hc. 3,175 and Sr. fol. 50 as the imperative, is a double formation with the optative character of both the conjugations. Sr. teaches also *hasejjahi*, *hasejjasu*, *hasejje*.

§ 462. 3. sing. PG. *karëyya*, *kāravëjjā* (6,40); M. *jvëjjā* = *jivet* (H. 588), *paavëjja* = *pratapet*, *dharejja* = *dhriyeta*, *viharejja* = *viharet*, *ṇamejja* = *ṇamet* (R. 4,28; 5,4; 8,4); JM. *vivajjëjjā* = *vipadyeta*, *nirakkhijjā* = *nirikseta*, *sakkëjja* = *śakyet* (Erz. 43,22; 49,35; 79,1), *aikkamijjā* = *atikrāmet* (Kk. 271,7); AMg. *kuppëjjā* = *kupyet*, *pariharejja* = *pariharet* (Äyār. 1,2, 4,4; 5,3), *karëjjā* = *\*karyāt* = *kuryāt* (Äyār. 2,5,2. 2. 4. 5; Paṇṇav. 573; Vivāhap. 57. 1524. 1549 ff.), *karëjja* (Äyār. 2,2,2,1), *labhëjjā* = *labheta* (Kappas. S. § 18), passive: *ghëppëjjā* = *grhyeta* (Paṇḥāv. 400); in verses often with a short final vowel: *rakkhëjja* = *rakṣet*, *vināëjja* = *vinayet*, *sevëjja* = *seveta*, passive: *muccëjja* = *mucyeta* (Uttar. 198. 199. 247); P. *huvëyya* = *bhavet* (Hc. 4,320.323); A. *caëjja* = *tyajet*, *bhamëjja* = *bhramet* (Hc. 4,418,6). Sr. fol. 51 gives also *hasejjāi*. Beside those in *-ëjjā*, *-ëjja* AMg. JM. often have the forms in *-e* = *-et*: *gijjhe* = *grdhyet*, *harise* = *harṣet*, *kujjhe* = *krudhyet*

(Āyār 1,2,3,1.2), *kiṇe*, *kiṇāvae* = \**krīṇet*, \**krīṇāpayet* (Āyār. 1,2,5,3), especially in verses: *care* = *caret* (Āyār. 1,2,3,4; Uttar. 190. 567), *ciṭṭhe* = *tiṣṭhet*, *uvaciṭṭhe* = *upatiṣṭhet* (Uttar. 29. 30) beside *uvaciṭṭheṅṅjā*, *ciṭṭheṅṅjā* (Uttar. 34. 35), *labhe* = *labheta* (Uttar. 180); sometimes both the forms occur in the same verse: *acchirṇ pi no pamajjiyā no vi jā kaṇḍūyae munṇi gājam* = *akṣy api no pramārijayen no api ca kaṇḍūyayen munṇi gātram* (Āyār. 1,8,1,19); JM. *parikkhae* = *parikseta*, *ḍahe* = *dahet*, *vināsa* = *vināsayet* (Erz. 31,21; 38,18). In Ś. Mg. is found only -e: Ś. very frequently *bhave* = *bhavet* (Mṛcch. 2,23; 51,23; 52,13; Śak. 20,3,4; 50,3; 53,4; Vikr. 9,3; 23, 5. 16 etc.), *pūrae* = *pūrayet* (Mālav. 73,18), *uddhare* = *uddharet* (Vikr. 6, 16)<sup>1</sup>; Mg. *bhave* = *bhavet* (Mṛcch. 164,6; 170,18. 19), *mūse* = *mūset*, *khayye* = \**khādyet* = *khādet* (Mṛcch. 119,16. 17)<sup>2</sup>. With the exception of *hoṅṅjā* (§ 466) JM. too hitherto has the only opt. in -e: *have* = *bhavet* (Pav. 387, 25; Kattig. 398,302. 309. 312. 315; 400,336; 401,338. 343. 345 ff. etc.), *ṇāsae* = *nāsayet* (Kattig. 401,341).

1. So we should read for *uddharedi* with the v.l., ed. Calc. 1830, LENZ, Sh.P. PAṆḌIT (6,7 *san uddhare*), since *avi nāma* is joined with the optative only (Śak. 13,9; Vikr. 13, 18; 40,21; Mālav. 44,1; Mahāv. 17,9; Mālatim. 56,2; 289,4; Mg. Mṛcch. 170,18) or future (Mālatim. 74,3; 100,1; 284,9) when a wish will have to be expressed. The indicative (Venṇis. 58,7) and imperative (Mg.; Mṛcch. 114,16) denote an interrogation.—2. Cf. Mṛcch. 121,3, where for *khajje* we should read *khayyedi* beside *mūsedī*.

§ 463. The 1. plur. occurs only in PG. *karēṅṅyāma* (7,41). For JM. JACOBI (Erz. XLVII) suggests (*pucccheṅṅjāmo*) and (*kaheṅṅjāmo*). Forms such as *rakkhemo* (Erz. 52,15) are not optative (JACOBI, Erz. s.v. *rakkhai*), but indicative (§ 472). In the 2. plur. as in the 2. sing. the ending of the imp. enters: AMg. *bhaveṅṅjāha* = *bhaveta* (Nāyādh. 912.915.918.920), *vihareṅṅjāha* = *vihareta* (915. 918), *gaccheṅṅjāha* = *gaccheta* (916. 918), *ciṭṭheṅṅjāha* = *tiṣṭheta*, *wāgaccheṅṅjāha* = *upāgaccheta* (921); JM. *pāheṅṅjāha* = *pāyayeta* (Erz. 38,1), and with *a*: *khamēṅṅjāha* = *kṣamedhvam*, *dhoeṅṅjāha* = *dhaukedhvam*, *duheṅṅjāha* = *duhyāta* (Erz. 25,26; 26,16; 37,37), *kaheṅṅjāha* = *kathayeta* (Āv. 47,23), *bhariṅṅjāha* = \**bhareta* (may you fill; Kk. 265,10); D. *karēṅṅjāha* (Mṛcch. 99,24); A. *rakkheṅṅjāhu* (Hc. 4,350,2).—3. plur. AMg. *āgaccheṅṅjā* (Tḥān. 125: *loganti yadevā...ā*); Ś. *bhave* = *bhaveyaḥ* (Vikr. 26,2; *akkharā...visajjidā bhave*; Raṅganātha: *bhave ity atra bahuvacana ekavacanam ca*); AMg. *manne* = *manyeran* (Sūyag. 575. 576. 578; *jāhā ṇam ee purisā* [text *purise*] *manne*; uncertain, since beforehand 575 *jāhā ṇam esa purise manne*), *samabhiloe* = *samabhilokayeyuḥ* (Vivāhap. 929; *te peṅṅcchāgā tam naṭṭijam...samabhiloeṅṅ tti* | *hanta bhante samabhiloe*).

§ 464. The old formation of the optative of the 2. conjugation has been retained in a few verbs in AMg. JM. So particularly the very frequent AMg. *siyā* = *syāt* (e.g. Āyār. 1,1,2,2; 6,3; Vivāhap. 39.40. 146f. etc.; Kappas.), also *asiyā* = *na syāt* (Āyār. 1,5,5,2); AMg. *kujjā* = *kuryāt* (e.g. Āyār. 1,2,6,1; Uttar. 28. 29. 198; Dasav. 613,15; Kappas. etc.), also in *pāukujjā* = *prāduṣkuryāt* (Sūyag. 474); AMg. *būyā* = *brūyāt* (e.g. Āyār. 1,4,2,6; 1,5,5,3), especially frequent in the combination *kevali būyā* (Āyār. p. 72. 77 f. 132 ff.); besides AMg. *haṅṅjā* = *hanyāt* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3), found sporadically in verses, beside *haṅṅjā* (Jiv. 295; Uttar. 198), *haṅṅjā* (Paṅhāv. 396. 397), JM. *āhaṅṅjāsi* (Āv. 11.1) and AMg. *haṅṅjā* (Āyār. 1,2, 6,5; 1,3,2,3). A 2. sing. with the ending -hi of the imperative is AMg. *eṅṅjāhi* = *eyāḥ* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10; Erz. 29,5).

§ 465. An old optative is the hitherto obscure Pāli, AMg. JM. *sakkā*. CHILDERS<sup>1</sup> wished to take it as past passive participle = *sakta*,

which became an indeclinable, FISCHER<sup>2</sup> considered it as a shortened dative sing., and FRANKE<sup>3</sup>, with whom JOHANSSON agrees, thought it to be the nom. sing. fem., which became the nom. plur. neut. It is strictly = Vedic *śakyāi* and is appropriately used as the opt. in the earliest writings. So: AMg. *na sakkā na soum saddā sojavisayam āgajā* "the sounds, that have come within the reach of hearing cannot be not heard" (Āyār. p. 136,14); *na sakkā rūvam adatthum cakkhuvisayam āgajam* "one cannot not see a form that has come within the range of eye-sight" (Āyār. p. 136, 22; cf. p. 136,31; 137,7. 18); *egassa dōṇha tiṇha va samkhējjāna va pāsum sakkā disanti sarirāim űiojajivān' anantānam* "one can see one, two or three or numerable (ñioya- being), they see bodies of unending number of many ñioya- being"; *kim sakkā kāum je jam nēcchaha osaham muhā pām* "what can one do when you do not like to drink medicine in vain" (Paṇhāv. 329; cf. Dasav. N. 644,28). Cf. also Nāyādh. § 87. JM. *kim sakkā kāum* "what can one do" (Āv. 30,10); *na sakkā eena vāeṇam* "it cannot be done in this manner" (Āv. 35,11); *na jā sakkā pām so vā anne vā* "and neither he nor others can drink" (Āv. 42,8; cf. 42,28 *na vi appaṇo pivāi na vi annam sakkai jāham pām*). In consequence of the phonetic resemblance with *sakkai*=*śakyate* the infinitive is later used in the passive sense. So: *ṇo khalu se sakkā keṇai subāhūeṇa vi uram ureṇam ginhittae* "he could not be caught breast to breast even by a very strong person" (Vivāgas. 127); *no khalu se sakkā keṇai ... nigganthāo pāvayaṇāo cālittae vā khobhittae vā vipariṇāmittae vā* "he could not by anybody be staggered or made waver from or made disloyal to his faith in Jainism (Uvās. § 113), and the same change with the first pers. sing., as in the other opt. in -ā, in *ṇo khalu aham sakkā...cālittae...* (Nāyādh. 765. 770). Cf. still Uvās. § 119. 174; Dasav. 636,25. Manifestly an exactly similar development takes place in the case of AMg. *cakkiyā*, about whose optative character there cannot be any doubt. So: *eyamsi ṇam bhante dhammatthikājamsi...cakkiyā kei āsittae vā ciṭhittae vā...* "can, O Lord, anybody sit or stand in this religious organisation?" (Vivāhap. 513; cf. 1119.1120.1346.1389); *erāvaī kuṇālāe jattha cakkiyā sīyā egaṃ pāyam jāle kiocā egaṃ pāyam thale kiocā evaṃ cakkiā* "when there (is a stream) like the Airāvati in Kuṇālā, where he (can go across), he should go across it with one foot in the water and one foot on the dry land" (Kappas. S. § 12; cf. § 13). *cakkiyā* standing for \**cakkiyā*=\**cakyāt* according to § 195 belongs to M. *caāi* (can; is capable; Vr. 8,70 [so to read for *vāai*]; Hc. 4,86; Ki. 4,60; R.) = \**akatati*, to which Aśoka *caghati* for \**cakhati* with aspiration belongs according to § 206<sup>5</sup>. I derive *caāi*=\**takati* from *taki sahana* (Dhātupāṭha 5,2; cf. Patañjali on Pāṇini 3,1,97, ed. KIELHORN 2,82) with palatal for dental according to § 216.—Accordingly Pāli AMg. *labbhā* = \**labhyāt*, like AMg. *savve pāṇā...na bhajādukkham ca kīnci labbhā pāveum*, "may no creature experience the least fear and grief" (Paṇhāv. 363; Abhayadeva: *labhyā yogyo* [sic; read *yogyāh*]); *na tāim samaṇeṇa labbhā datthum na kaheum na vi jā sumareum* "a mendicant should not see it, should not talk about it and should not even think about it" (Paṇhāv. 466; Abhayadeva; *labbha tti labhyāni ucitāni*); *dugaṃchāvattiyā vi labbhā uppāveum* (ed. *uppāteu*; Paṇhāv. 526; Abhayadeva: *labhyā ucitā yogyety urthah*), for which at 537 f. stands: *na dugaṃchāvattiyavvaṃ labbhā uppāveum* "he should not excite the feeling of abhorrence".

1. Dictionary s. v. *sakko* p. 420.—2. Ved. Stud. 1,328.—3. BB. 17,256.—4. BB. 20,91.—5. MORRIS, Journal of the Pāli Text Society 1891—3, p. 28 ff., who at p. 30 wrongly maintains that I had wrongly equated, under Hc. 4,86, *caāi*=*tyajati*, where I have merely translated Hc. and have expressly separated *caāi* from its other synonyms.

Cf. also KERN, Jaartelling p. 96. Wrong GRIERSON, Academy 1890, No. 964, p. 369. WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. p. xx, note 9 compares Greek  $\tau\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\eta$ .

§ 466. Of the precative too, which is used in the sense of the optative, only scanty remnants have been retained, prevalently in AMg. and JM. So PG. *hoja* (7,48); M. *hōjja* (R. 3,32; 11,27. 28. 120); AMg. JM. *hōjjā*, *hōjja* = *bhūyāt* (Ṭhān. 98; Vivāhap. 729 ff.; Dasav. 620,27. 28; 621,36; Erz. 35,18; 37,37; 70,14). The form is in JM. also 1. sing.: *cakkavaṭṭi hōjjāham* (Erz. 4,28) and in AMg. JM. 3. plur.: *savve vi tāva hōjjā kohovaṭṭā, lobhovaṭṭā* = *sarve 'pi tāvad bhūyāsuh krodhopayuktāh, lobhopayuktāh* (Vivāhap. 84 [where text *hōjja*; cf. WEBER, Bhag. 1,430 ]. 92. 109); *kevaṭṭā hōjjā* = *kiyanto bhūyāsuh* (Vivāhap. 734. 738; cf. 753 ff.); JM. *kiha dhūyāo suhīyāo hōjja* = *katham duhitarah sukhitā bhūyāsuh* (Āv. 10, 23; cf. 12,2). AMg. JM., however, form the 1. sing. also *hōjjāmi* (Dasav. 621,43; Erz. 29,19), JM. the 2. sing. *hōjjāsi* (Erz. 29,14; 37,9), *hōjjāhi* (Āv. 10,42) and *hōjjasu* (Erz. 23,4), as in the optative of the present. AMg. has also *hōjjāi* (Vivāhap. 1042) and a participle *hōjjamāṇa* in the sense of the present (Vivāhap. 733 ff.; 1736 ff.; Paṇṇav. 521). JŚ. *hōjjā* (Pav. 385,69; text *hōjjam*). In places where *hōjja* is found in Ś. (Mallikām. 84,1; 87,5; 109,4; 114,14; 156,20) it is against the dialect. AMg. *dējjā* = *deyāt* (Āyār. 2,1,2,4; 11,5), in addition to which JM. has the 2. sing. *dējja* (Āv. 12,6), *dējjāsi* (Erz. 37,9), A. has *dējjahi* (Hc. 4,383,3), *dījjasu* (Piṅgala 1,36. 121; 2,119; cf. § 461), JM. has the 2. plur. *dējjaha* (Erz. 61,27). AMg. *sāmdhējjā* = *sāmdheyāt* (Sūyag. 223), *ahūṭṭhējjā* = *adhūṭṭheyāt* (Ṭhān. 368), *pahējja* = *praheyāt* (Uttar. 199). Perhaps also A. *kijjasu* = *kriyāh*, in case it is not considered rather as the imperative of the passive (§ 461. 467. 547. 550). The grammarians (Vr. 7,21; Hc. 3,165. 178; Kī 4,29. 30; Sr. fol. 48) teach, besides *hōjjā* and *hōjja*, also the forms *hōjjāi*, *hōjjāi*, *hōjjāi*, *hōjjāi*, *hōjjāsi*, Kī. 4,29 also *hōjjāia*, *hōjjāia*, Sr. also *hoējja*, *hoējjā*, *huejja*, *huejjā*, *hujja*, *hujjā*, *hujjāire*, *hujjāire*, *huejjaire*, *huejjāire* (§ 458), the forms that are found partly, in the text only, and according to Hc. 3,177; Sr. fol. 49 there stand *hōjjā* and *hōjja* in the sense of the ind., opt., imp. and imperf. pres., of the aor., perf. prec., future I and II, and of the conditionalis. Cf. with this KEILHORN, IA. XVII, p. 135; Inscriptions Sanskrites du Combodge, Index, p. [625] 445, column 2. Iowe this reference to KEILHORN. Thus in fact there stands AMg. *dējjā* in the sense of *adāt* (Uttar. 621), and *būyā* in the combination *kevalī būyā* (§ 464) in the sense of *bravīti* or *abravīt*, and through this it is apparent, so inexplicable it seems, that even AMg. *care* (Uttar. 532. 549. 552), *paḥaṇe* (Uttar. 561), *udāhare* (Uttar. 674) and *puḥche* (Vivāhap. 149. 150; Rāmacandra = *prṣṭavān*, the forms that undoubtedly stand in the preterite, in addition to *acchā*, *geṅhā*, *daliddāra*, *marā*, *hasā*, *huvā*, *dehā* mentioned by the grammarians in the sense of the imperf., aorist and perfect (Vr. 7,23; Hc. 3,163; Kī. 4,22. 23. 25; Mk. fol. 52) are optative of the present, *kāhā*, *ṭhāhā*, *hohā* (Vr. 7,24; Hc. 3,162; Kī. 4,23. 24; Mk. fol. 51) are optative of the aorist. What is right has already been substantially noticed by LASSEN (Instit. p. 353 ff.), who liked to explain the forms in *-ā* as in the precative. AMg. *acche*, *abbhe* (Āyār. 1,1,2,5), which stand in the sense of the optative = *ācchidyāt*, *ābhidyāt*, reversely may be old aorist, which are regulated by Vedic *chedma* and *abhet*. The explanation as the 3. sing. imperf. or aorist<sup>1</sup> leaves the form as obscure as the explanation as the optative the meaning<sup>2</sup>.

1. WEBER, Bhag 1,430, and according to him E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 60; JACOBI, Āyār. p. XII, both of whom, according to WEBER, give *kare*, although, according to Bhag. 2,301, it is clearly an error for *kareṅṅi* (MS. *kareṅṅi*); the edition reads at p. 173 *kareṅṅi*.—2. In the sense of preterite stands *prabrūyāt* (Hastyāyurveda 2,60,2); at the parallel places stands *provāca* or *abravīt*.

## 4. IMPERATIVE.

§ 467. The paradigm is:

Sing.	Plur.
1. [vaṭṭāmu, vaṭṭamu]	AMg. JM. vaṭṭāmo; M. Ś. Mg. Dh., also JM. vaṭṭamha, vaṭṭē'mha
2. vaṭṭa, vaṭṭasu, vaṭṭesu, vaṭṭehi, AMg. also vaṭṭāhi, A. vaṭṭu, vaṭṭahi	vaṭṭaha; Ś. Mg. [Dh] vaṭṭadha, vaṭṭedha; A. vaṭṭahu, vaṭṭehu; CP. vaṭṭatha
3. vaṭṭau, Ś. Mg. Dh. vaṭṭadu	vaṭṭantu, A. also vaṭṭahī

The 1. sing. is traceable only in the grammarians, who mention *hasāmu*, *pe'cchāmu* (Hc. 3,173), *hasamu* (Bh. 7,18; Ki. 4,26; Sr. fol. 51) as examples. As regards the correctness of this form there is so little to be doubted, as the 2. sing. in *-su* is used all the dialects, especially in M., as also in the optative (§ 461). This form has hitherto been considered to be in the ātmanepada and the ending *-su*, we have been equating as = Skt. *-sva*, hence *rakkhasu* = *rakṣasva*<sup>1</sup>. The circumstance, that this ending is found also with the verbs, that are never conjugated in the ātmanepada in Skt. and further that it frequently occurs in Ś. Mg., that otherwise use ātmanepadam, shows little that this is wrong. The endings *-mu*, *-su*, *-u* correspond to the endings *-mi*, *-si*, *-i* of the indicative. M. *viramasu* = *virama*, *rajjasu* = *rajyasva* (H. 149), *rakkhasu* = *rakṣa* (H. 297), *parirakkhasu* = *parirakṣa* (R. 6,15), *osarasu* = *aṣasara* (H. 451); M. JM. Ś. *karesu* = *kuru* (H. 48; Sagara 3,12; Kk. 273,41; Ratn. 299,5; 316,6; 328,24; Kārṇas. 21,7; 30,5; 37,20; Venis. 98,15; Pras. 84,9 etc.); M. *aṇunesu* = *anunaya* (H. 152. 946); Ś. *ānesu* = *ānaya* (Śak. 125,8<sup>2</sup>; Kārṇas. 51,17), *avaṇesu* = *apanaya* (Viddhaś. 48,10); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *bhuñjasu* = *bhuñgahi* (H. 316; Uttar. 369; Āv. 12,14; Mṛcch. 70,12); AMg. *jāsu* = *yāhi* (Sūyag. 177); AMg. *kahasu* (Uttar. 700. 703), Ś. *kadhesu* (Bālar. 53,12; 164,17; 218,16; Kārṇas. 37,7. 12) = *kathaya*, AMg. *saddahasu* = *śraddehi* (Sūyag. 151); JM. *khamasu* = *kṣamasva* (Sagara 3,12; Dvār. 497,13), *varasu* = *vr̥ṣṇasva* (Sagara 1,15), *sarasu* = *smara* (Āv. 7,34); M. JM. *kūmasu* = *kuru* (H. 607. 771; Sagara 6, 2. 11. 12; Kk. 266, 16; 274, 27); Mg. *lahkaṣu* = *rakṣa* (Caṇḍak. 69,1), *āgaṣeṣu* (Mṛcch. 116,5) = *āgaccha*, *deṣu* Prab. 58,8; B. *dessu*, P. M. Bb. *dehi*), *dikkaṣu* (Prab. 58,18; B. *dikkhasu*, P. *dikkhassa*, M. *dikkhehi*, Bb. *dikkhaya*) = *dikṣaya*, *dhāleṣu* (Prab. 60,10; B. *dhālēssu*, P. Bb. *dhālesu*, M. *dāvaa*) = *dhāraya*; A. *kijjasu* = *kuru* (passive in the sense of the active § 550; Piṅgala 1,39; 2,119. 120), *muñiasu*, metrically for *muñiasu*, passive of *muñ* (§ 489) in the sense of the active (Piṅgala 1,111,112) beside *muñijjasu* (2,119), *bujjhasu* = *budhyasva* (Piṅgala 2,120). In Ś. in the texts we find, more than once, ātmanepada forms in *-ssa*, as *uvālahassa* (Śak. 11,4), *avalambassa* (Śak. 119,13; 133,8), *pe'kkhassa* (Prab. 56,14), *paḍivajjassa* (Venis. 72,19), also *pariramabhasu* (Viddhaś. 128, 6), and many others in Indian editions. We should see in them examples of Sanskritisms, that are to be removed from the texts. The v.l. has mostly the correct reading. In AMg. the imp. in *-su* is traceable only in verses.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 179. 338; WEBER, Hāla<sup>1</sup> p. 61; JACOBI, Erz. § 54; BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 43.—2. So to be read with R; cf. BLOCH l. c. p. 43.

§ 468. If the stem ends in a short vowel, as a rule, as in Skt., it is used as the 2. sing. imp.; if it ends in a long vowel, the ending *-hi* enters in. In AMg. mostly and in M. JM. Mg. sometimes, the *a*-stems take the ending *-hi*, before which *a* is lengthened. A. too has this formation frequently; here,



however, *ā* is again shortened. In Ś. Mg. the ending *-āhi* appears beside *-a* in the case of the roots of the ninth conjugation and those formed on their analogy, in connection with the 3. sing. in *-ādu*. In Dh. and A. final *a* becomes *u* (§ 106): M. AMg. JM. Ś. Mg. *bhaṇa*, A. *bhaṇu* ( H. 163, 400; Nāyādh. 260; Āv. 15,3; Śak. 50,9; 114,5; Piṅgala 1,62; Hc. 4,401,4 ), but D. Ś. Mg. also *bhaṇāhi* ( D. Mr̥ch. 100,4; on Ś. Mg. see § 514 ), A. *bhaṇahi* ( Vikr. 63,4 ); Ā. *ciṭṭha* = *tiṣṭha*, *ehi*, *vāhehi* ( Mr̥cch. 99,18, 20; 100, 18 ); AMg. Ś. *gaccha* ( Uvās. § 58, 259; Lalitav. 561,15; Śak. 18,2; Mr̥cch. 38,22; 58,2 ), Mg. *gaśca* ( Mr̥cch. 38,22; 79,14 ), but AMg. also *gacchāhi* ( Uvās. § 204 ); M. JM. *peṅcha* ( H. 725; Āv. 18,12 ); Ś. D. *peṅkha* ( Śak. 58,7; Mr̥cch. 17,20; 42,2; D. 100,14 ), Mg. *peśka* ( Mr̥cch. 12,16; 13,6; 21, 15 ), A. *peṅkhu* ( Hc. 4,419,6 ) and *peṅkhahu* ( Piṅgala 1,61 ); M. Ś. *hasa* ( H. 818; Nāgān. 33,5 ), Mg. *haśa* ( Mr̥cch. 21,4 ); Mg. *piva* = *piba* ( Prab. 60,9 ) and *pivāhi* ( Venis. 34,2, 15 ), *palittāhi* = *paritrāyasya* ( Mr̥cch. 175, 22; 176,5, 10 ); M. *rua* ( H. 895 ) beside *ruhi* ( 784 ) and *ruasu* ( 143, 885, 909 ), Ś. *roda* ( Mr̥cch. 95,15; Nāgān. 24,8, 12 ) = *rudihi*; AMg. *vigiṅca* = *\*vikṛtiya* = *vikṛnia* ( Āyār. 1,2,4,3; Uttar. 170 ), *jānāhi* = *jānihi* ( Āyār. 1,2,1,5 ), *bujjhāhi* = *budhyasva*, *vasāhi* = *vasa*, *harāhi* = *hara*, *vandāhi* = *vandasva*, *akkamāhi* = *ākrama* ( Kappas. § 111, 114; Ovav. § 53; Uvās. § 58, 204; Nirayāv. § 22 ); JM. *viharāhi* = *vihara* ( Āv. 11,6 ); M. JM. AMg. Ś. *karehi* ( H. 225, 900; Āv. 11,4; Kk. s. v. *kar*; Ovav. § 40; Mr̥cch. 66,14; 325,18; 326,10; Śak. 78,14; 153,13 ), Mg. *kalehi* ( Mr̥cch. 31,8; 123,10; 176,5 ); A. *karāhi*, *karahi* ( Piṅgala 1,149; Hc. 4,385 ) and *karu* ( Hc. 4,330, 2 ); D. *oṇāmehi* = *avanāmaya* ( Mr̥cch. 102,2 ); AMg. *paḍikappehi* = *pratikālpaya*, *saṃnāhehi* = *saṃnāhaya*, *waṭṭhāvehi* = *upasthāpaya*, *kāravehi* = *kāraya* ( Ovav. § 40 ), *roehi* = *rocaya* ( Vivāhap. 134 ); JM. *pucchehi* = *pr̥ccha* ( Kk. 272,31 ), *maggehi* = *mārgaya*, *viyāṇehi* = *viyānihi* ( Erz. 59,6; 71,12 ); Ś. *mantehi* = *mantraya*, *kadhehi* = *kathaya* ( Lalitav. 554,8; 565,15 ), *siḍhilehi* = *siḍhilaya* ( Śak. 11,1; Venis. 76,4 ), *jālehi* = *javālaya* ( Mr̥cch. 25,18 ); Mg. *mālehi* = *māraya* ( Mr̥cch. 123,15; 165,24 ), *ghośehi* = *ghośaya* ( Mr̥cch. 162, 9 ); Dh. *pasalu* = *prasara* ( text *ru*; Mr̥cch. 32,16 ), whilst elsewhere the MSS. falsely give *-a* in the final syllable: *geṅha* ( 29,16; 30,2 ), *paaccha* ( 31,4, 7, 9; 32,3, 8, 12, 14; 34,24; 35,7 ), *āaccha* ( 39,17 ); *dehi* ( 32,23; 36,15 ); A. *suṇehi* = *śṛṇu* ( Piṅgala 1,62 ); M. JM. Ś. *hohi* = *\*bhodhi* = Vedic *bodhi* = *bhava* ( H. 259, 372; Erz. 11,31; 39,24; Mr̥cch. 54,12; Śak. 67,2; 70,9; Vikr. 8,8; 12,12; 23,6 etc ). On the assumptive imp. in *-e*, *-i* in A. see § 461.

§ 469. The 3. sing. ends in *-u*, Ś. Mg. D. Dh. *-du* = *-tu*; M. *marau* = *mriyatām* ( H. s. v. *mar* ), *paatṭau* = *pravariatām* ( R. 3,58 ), *deu* = *\*dayatu* ( G. 58 ); AMg. *pāsau* = *paśyatu* ( Kappas. § 16 ), *āpucchau* = *āpr̥cchatu* ( Uvās. § 68 ), *viṇeu* = *vinayatu* ( Nāyādh. § 97, 98 ); JM. *kīrau* = *kriyatām*, *suvaū* = *śrūyatām* ( Erz. 15,9; 17,14 ); *deu* = *\*dayatu* ( Kk. II, 508,29 ), *suṇjau* = *svapitu* ( Dvār. 503,3 ); Ś. *pasīdadu* = *prasīdatu* ( Lalitav. 561,9; Śak. 120,11 ), *āruhadu* = *ārohatu* ( Uttarar. 32,6,7 ), *kadhedu* = *kathayatu* ( Śak. 121,10 ), *suṇādu* = *śṛnotu* ( Vikr. 5,9; 72,14; 80,12; Venis. 12,5; 59,23 etc. ); D. *gacchadu* ( Mr̥cch. 101,1 ); Mg. *muṅcādu* = *muṅcātu*, *suṇādu* = *śṛnotu*, *niśīdadu* = *niśīdatu* ( Mr̥cch. 31,18, 21; 37,3; 38,9 ); A. *nandau* = *nandatu* ( Hc. 4,422,14 ), *dijjau* = *dīyatām*, *kijjau* = *kriyatām* ( Piṅgala 1, 81<sup>a</sup> ); M. JM. AMg. A. *hou*, Ś. Mg. Dh. *bhodu* = *bhavatu* ( M. H. R.; Hc. s. v. *bhū*; JM. Erz. 18,12; Kk. s. v. *ho*; AMg. Kappas. Nāyādh. s. v. *ho*; Ś. Mr̥cch. 4,23; Śak. 24,13; Vikr. 6,17; Mg. Mr̥cch. 38,8; 79,18; 80,4; Dh. Mr̥cch. 30,14, 18; 31,19, 22; 34,20).

§ 470. As 1. plur. imp. in AMg. and partly in JM. is used the

1. plur. indicative: AMg. *gacchāmo...vandāmo namāmsāmo sakkkāremo saimnāṇemo...pajjivāsāmo = gacchāma...vandāmahai namasyāma satkkārayāma saimnāṇayāma...paryupāsāmahai* (Vivāhap. 187. 263; Ovav. § 38), *giṇhāmo = grhṇāma, sājjāmo = \*svādyaāmahai = svādāmahai* (Ovav. § 86), *jujjhāmo = yudhyāmahai* (Nirayāv. § 25); JM. *harāmo = harāma* (Erz. 37,11), *gacchāmo = gacchāma, pavisāmo = praviśāma* (Sagara 5,1. 6). Vr. 7. 19 and Hc. 3,176 know only the ending *-āmo*: *hasāmo, tuvarāmo*, Sr. fol. 51 also *hasimo, hasemo, hasamo*, as in the indicative. Thus we find AMg. *bhuñjimo = bhuñjāma* (verse; Uttar. 675); JM. *nijjhāmemo = niḥkṣāmayāma* (Dvār.505, 9), *kāremo* (Erz. 2,27; 5,35), *pūremo = pūrayāma* (Sagara 3,17); AMg. *homo* (Uttar. 678 = Dasav. 613,34). The special ending of the imp. is *-mha*, which has not been found in AMg., in M. JM. it is found very seldom, therefore, it has not been mentioned by Vr. Hc. Sr.<sup>1</sup>, on the other hand, the only form occurring in Ś. Mg. Dh. is prescribed by Mk. fol. 70 for Ś. A rich collection from Mṛcch., Śak., Vikr., Mālav., Ratn. has been given by BLOCH<sup>2</sup>. M. *abbhatthēṃmha = abhyarthayāma* (R. 4,48); JM. *ciṭṭhamha = tiṣṭhāma, gacchamha = gacchāma* (Erz. 14,33; 60,21)<sup>3</sup>; Ś. *gacchamha* (Mṛcch. 75,3; Śak. 67,10; 79,8;115,3; Vikr. 6,14;18,13; Mālav. 30,12; 32,13; Ratn. 294,8; 295,11; 303,20; 312,24 etc.), *uvavisamha = upaviśāma* (Śak. 18,9), *wasappamha = upasarpāma* (Śak. 79,11; Vikr. 24, 3; 41,14; Nāgān. 13,8; Bālar. 216,1), *pekkhamha = prekṣāmahai* (Mṛcch. 42,14; Vikr. 31,14; 32,5; Ratn. 303,25 etc.), *karēṃmha = karavāma* (Śak. 81,16; Vikr. 6,15; 10,15; 53,14; Ratn. 303,21; Prab. 63,11; Venis. 9,23 etc.), *nivedēṃmha = nivedayāma* (Śak. 160,7 [so to be read]; Mālav. 45,15; 293,29; 309,26), *ativāhēṃmha = ativāhayāma* (Ratn. 299,32), *hōṃmha = bhavāma* (Śak. 26,14; Vikr. 36,12); Mg. *aṇṇesamha<sup>4</sup> = anveṣayāma* (Mṛcch. 171,18), *pivamha = pivāma* (Venis. 35,22), *palāamha = palāyāmahai* (Caṇḍak. 72,2), *kalēṃmha* (Mṛcch. 167,19; 168,7; 170,21; Caṇḍak. 68,15; Venis. 36, 6); Dh. *aṇṇasālēṃmha = anusarāma* (Mṛcch. 30,13; 36,19), Dh. Mg. Ś. *kilēṃmha = kridāma* (Mṛcch. 30,18; 94,15; 131,18), Dh. Mg. *nivedēṃmha* (Mṛcch. 36,22; 171,11). Forms in *-mo* and *-ma* that are found in manuscripts and editions sporadically, as *pekkhāmo* (Mālav. 15,17), Mg. *peṣkāmo* (Mṛcch.119,1), *pavisāmo* (Mālav. 39,19; v.l. *pavissamha*; Sh. P. PAṆḌIT 75,2 correctly *pavisamha*; cf. Ratn. 294,17; 302,29; Nāgān. 27,7; Mahāv. 35, 17), *avakkamāma* (Mālav. 48,18; correctly *avakkamamha* Mṛcch. 22,2), *ṇivārema* (Mālav. 62,13; v.l. *ṇivārehmi*), Mg. *ṇaccāmo* (Prab. 61,7; ed. M. 75,22 correctly *ṇaccamha*)<sup>5</sup> are likewise false for the imp., as the forms in *-mha* for the ind. (§ 455). If, therefore, *-mha* is merely related to the imperative, its derivation from *smah* (we are)<sup>6</sup> is false. *-mha* is = *-sma* of the aorist and one *ṇēṃmha = \*neṣma* (§ 474) is regulated exactly in the same manner as Vedic *jeṣma, geṣma, deṣma*, used only imperatively and according to the 2. sing. *neṣa, paṛṣa* (WHITNEY § 894c. 896: cf. also NEISSER, BB. 20,70 ff.). A. uses the 1. plur. of the ind.: *jāhū = yāma* (Hc. 4,386).

1. Ś. Mg., in which the imp. in *-mha* is throughout frequent, are treated by these grammarians very briefly. It is, therefore, not astonishing that this form is not mentioned by them, what BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p.43 has severely criticised—2. l.c.p.44, unfortunately with many false quotations and without distinguishing between the three dialects. The examples given above have been selected with discretion, here upon.—3. Overlooked by JACOBI, Erz. p. XLVII.—4. For Mg., according to Hc. 4,289, *aṇṇesasma, pivasma, kalēṣma* etc. would be expected. Cf., however, § 314.—5. More in BLOCH, l. c. p. 45.—6. BOPP, Vgl. Grammatik I<sup>4</sup>, 120; BURNOUR et LASSEN, Essai sur le Pali (Paris 1826) p. 180 f.; HOEFER, De Prakrita dialecto § 187 nota III; LASSEN, Inst. § 117,2; BRUGMANN, Grundriss II<sup>1</sup>, 1354, note 1; BLOCH, l. c. p. 46 f.

§ 471. As 2. plur. of the ind. (§ 456) is used M. *ṇamaha* (G. H. R.; Karp. 1,7), A. *namahu* (Hc. 4,446), CP. *namatha* (Hc. 4,326);

M. *rañjeha* = *rañjayata*, *raeha* = *racayata*, *deha* = \**dayata* ( H. 780 ); M. *uaha* = \**upata*<sup>1</sup> = *paśyata* ( Bh. 1,14; Deśin. 1,98; Triv. 2,1,75; G. H.; Śak 2,14 ); also *uvaha* ( Sr. fol. 45; Karp. 67,8; Pratāp. 205,9; 212,10; v. 1. to H.); AMg. *haṇaha khaṇaha chaṇaha dahaha, paṇaha ālumṇaha vilumṇaha sahasakkāreha viparāmusaha* = *hata khanata kṣaṇuta dahata pacata ālumṇata vilumṇata sahasātkārayata viparāmuśata* (Sūyag. 596; cf. Āyār. 1,7,2,4), *khamāha* = *kṣamadhvam* (Uttar. 366. 367), *tāleha* = *tādayata* (Nāyādh. 1305); JM. *acchaha* = *rcchata* (Āv. 14,30), *kaṇḍūyaha* (Erz. 36,21), *ciñṭhaha, āisaha, giñṭhaha* = *tiṣṭhata, ādiśata, grhṇīta* (Kk. 264,11. 12), *ṭhaveha, daṃseha* = *sthāpayata, darśayata* (Kk. 265,7; 274,21); Ś. *paritāadha* = *paritrāyadhvam* ( Śak. 16, 10; 17, 6; Vikr. 3, 17; 5, 2; Mālatim. 130,3 ), Mg. *palitāadha* ( Mṛcch. 32,25); AMg. JM. *kareha* ( Kappas.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kk. 270, 45), AMg also *kuvuhā* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1), A. *karehu* ( Piṅgala 1,122), *karahu* (Hc. 4,346; Piṅgala 1,102. 107), *kuṇḍehū* ( Piṅgala 1,90. 118), *kuṇḍahu* ( text <sup>o</sup>ha; Piṅgala 1,16. 53. 79 ), Mg. *kaledha* ( Mṛcch. 32,15; 112,2; 140,23 ); Ś. *paattadha* = *prayatadhvam* ( Śak 52,15), *samassasadha* = *samāśvasita* (Vikr. 7,1), *avaṇedha* = *apanayata, hodha* = *bhavata, māredha* = *mārayata* (Mṛcch. 40,24; 97,23; 161,16); Mg. *osaladha* = *apasarata* (Mṛcch. 96,21. 23; 97,1; 134,24. 25; 157,4. 12 etc.; Mudrār. 153,5; 256,4 [so to be read]; Candak. 64,5 ), *suṇādha* = *śṛṇuta* ( Lalitav. 565,17; 566,5; Mṛcch. 158,19; Prab. 46,14. 16 ), *māledha* = *mārayata* ( Mṛcch. 165,123; 166,1 )<sup>2</sup>. Dh. *ramaha* ( Mṛcch. 39,17 ) is to be emended as *ramama* with Bloch<sup>3</sup>; A. *piahu* = *piḥata* ( Hc. 4, 422, 20 ), *ṭhavahu* = *sthāpayata, kahehu* = *kathayata* (Piṅgala 1,119. 122). D. has *āacchadha* = *āgacchata* beside *jatteha* = *yata-dhvam, karējjāha* = *kuruta, johaha* ( Mṛcch. 99,24; 100,3 ). — The 3. plur. ends in all the dialects in *-ntu* : M. *dēntu* = \**dayantu* ( G. 44 ), *ṇandantu, vilihantu* (Karp. 1,1. 4); AMg. *bhavantu* ( Vivāhap. 508), *niñjantu* = *niryāntu, pḥusantu* = *spṛśantu* (Ovav. § 47. 87), *suṇantu* = *śṛṇvantu* ( Nāyādh. 1134); Ś. *pasidantu* = *prasidantu* (Mudrār. 253,4), *pekkhantu* = *prekṣantām* (Mṛcch. 4,3), *hōntu* = *bhavantu* ( Vikr. 87,21 ); Mg. *paśidantu* = *prasidantu* ( Śak. 113,5); A. *piḍantu* (Hc. 4,385), and the ind. *lehī* (Hc. 4,387,3)<sup>4</sup>.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 2,211. Wrong WEBER, Hāla<sup>1</sup> p. 29, note 4 and on Hāla<sup>2</sup> 4.—

2. On Ś. cf. FISCHER, K.B. 8,134 ff.—3 Vr. und Hc. p. 45.—4. In case one reads *jam* for *je* here we have a case of the indicative.

§ 472. As remarked in § 452, the *a*-stems have become prevalent through coalescence of the 1. and 2. conjugations. Beside them, except in A., the *e*-stems have undergone wide extension. Vr. 7,34 and Kī. 4,37—39 permit *e* in all the tenses and moods, Hc 3,158, with whom Mk. fol. 51 seems to be in agreement, limits its entry into the indic. imp. and the parasmaipada pres. participle. Bh. gives as examples *hasei, hasai, paḍhei, paḍhai, hoseṅti, hasanti, haseu, hasai;* Hc. has *hasei, hasai, haseṃa, hasemu, hasemo; haseu, hasai; suṇeu, suṇai, haseṅto, hasanto*, Kī. *hasai, hasei, caai, caei*, Mk. *bhanai, bhanei, bhāṇasi, bhāṇesi*. These forms in *-e* are found in a large number in all c'asses, beside those in *-a*, and it can be determined with certainty, in spite of the great fluctuation of the MSS. Its entire mode of formation forbids it directly to be put in a series with the causatives and denominatives<sup>1</sup>. From *ky* one forms *karai* and *karei*, JŚ. Ś. Mg. *karedi*, the causative, however, *kārei*, Ś. Mg. *kāredi*, JŚ *kārayadi* (Kattig. 403,385). One says *hasai* and *hasei*, but in the caus. *hāsei*, Ś. *muñcadi, muñcedi*, but in the caus. *moāvedi* etc. Hence it is more correct to say that the character *-e* from *-aya* of the derived verbs can plainly enter into Pkt.<sup>2</sup> too. I do not consider it correct to say that the forms such as Ś. *gaccheṃma*. (Mṛcch. 43, 20; 44,18), Dh. *geṅṇēma* ( Mṛcch. 36,24), *aṇusalēma* ( Mṛcch. 30,13; 36,

19), Dh. Ś. Mg. *kiḷēṃha* (Mṛcch. 30,18;94,15;131,18), Ś. *suveṃha* (Mṛcch. 46,9) are to be explained as false with БЛОЧ<sup>3</sup>.

1. JACOBI, Erz. § 53, II, where *nemi*, *demi* are to be deleted completely (§ 474).—2. LASSEN, Inst. § 120,3.—3. Vr. und Hc. p. 45.

§ 473. The verbs of the first conjugation, of which the roots end in *-i*, *-u* are conjugated mostly as in Skt.: *ji* forms *jaai* (Hc. 4,241; G. H. s. v. *ji*; Karp. 2,6), AMg. JM. *jayai* (Nandis. 1,22; Erz.), Ś. *jaadi* (Vikr. 44,4; Mudrār. 224,4. 5. 6), imperative Ś. *jaadu* (Śak. 41,1; 44,3; 138,6; 162,1; Vikr. 27,8; 28,14; 44,3; 47,20; 82,8. 9; Ratn. 296,1; 305,15; 320,16; 321,28 etc.). The form *jedu*, which is often found beside *jaadu*, pro ex. Venis. 59,13 beside *jaadu* 29,11, further in Prab. 32,12 Mg. *yedu* beside Ś. *jaadu* 40,8 and occurring only in the Devanāgarī recension of Śak. (ed. BÖHLINGK 27,12; 29,17; 89,15; 90,9; 107,8) is badly accredited<sup>1</sup>. In M. JM. AMg. Dh. A. *ji* is conjugated also according to the 9. conjugation, in M. JM. AMg. A. it crosses over to the 1. conjugation at the same time: Dh. *jinādi* (Mṛcch. 34,22); AMg. *jināmi* (Uttar. 704); M. *jinai* (Vr. 8,56; Hc. 4,241; Sr. fol. 49), AMg. *parāinai* (Vivāhap. 123,124); A. *jinai* (Piṅgala 1,123<sup>a</sup>); M. *jinanti* (R. 3,40); AMg. *jiṇējja* (Uttar. 291), *jināhi* (Jiv. 602; Kappas. § 114; Ovav. § 53), *jinantiassa* = *jayatah* (Dasav. 618, 14); JM. *jinum* (absol.; Äv. 36,42); A. *jinia* (Piṅgala 1,102<sup>a</sup>). On the passive *jinijjai*, *jivvai* see § 536. For Ś. Mk.fol. 71 appears to prescribe or to forbid *jinadi*. From the absolutive Ś. *samassaia* (Śak.2,8) follows a present \**samassai* = *samāśrayati*. In AMg. *śri* too is conjugated according to the 9. conjugation, like *ji*: *samussiṇāmi*, *samussiṇāsi* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1. 2).—Of *ci* and *mi* are found also the contracted forms (§ 502). For the roots in *-u*, *-ū* Hc. 4,233 teaches, without distinguishing between their class, a similar conjugation: *niḥavai*, *nihavai* = *nihnute*, *cavai* = *cyavate*, *ravai* = *rauti*, *kavai* = *kavate*, *savai* = *sūte*, *pasavai* = *prasūte*. So AMg. *pasavai* (Uttar. 641), *niḥavējja* (Āyār. 1,5,3,1), *niḥave* (Dasav. 631,31), *aniḥavamāṇa* (Nāyadh. § 83); whilst the passive M. *niḥuvijjanti* (H. 657), Ś. *niḥuvōadi* (Ratn. 303,9) and the past participle Ś. *niḥuvōido* (Śak. 137,6) = \**niḥuvvai* presuppose the flexion according to the 6. conjugation; M. *paṇhaai* = *prasnavati* (H. 409,462 v. 1. *paṇhvai*); AMg. A. *ravai* (Thān. 450; Piṅgala 2,146). Beside *ravai*, *ru* is conjugated according to the 6. conjugation too: *ruvai* (Hc. 4,238); M. *ruvai*, *ruvanti*, *ruvasu* (H. s. v. *rud*), *paḍiruvanti* (R.), passive *ruvvai* and *ruvijjai* (Hc. 4,249), M. *ruvasu* in the middle sense (H. 10). Thence is deduced a root *ruv*, which, like *dhau*, *svap* (§ 482,497), secondarily is conjugated according to the first class: *rovai* (Hc. 4, 238); M. *rovanti* (H. 494); JM. *rovāmi* (Dvār. 503,17), inf. *roviuṃ* (Dvār. 503,15; 504,6), past passive participle *roviya* (Dvār. 504,7). The grammarians derive the forms from *rud* (Vr. 8,42; Hc. 4,226) occasioned through similarity in flexion (§ 495) and similarity in meaning. Cf. Gypsy *ruvāva*, *rovāva* "to weep" and English *to cry* "to weep" and "to howl"<sup>2</sup>.—AMg. *luējjā* = \**luvējjā* = *lumiyāt* (Vivāhap. 1186), *puvanti* = *plavante* (Vivāhap. 1232) according to the 6. conjugation. Cf. also § 494. 503. 511.

1. CAPPELLER on Ratn. p. 369; almost everywhere is found in the text the v. l. *jaadu*, beside *jedu*, in the best MSS.; cf. pro ex. Mudrār. 38,4; 46,4; 54,6; 84,7 etc.—2. WEBER on Hāla 141; PSICHEL on Hc. 4,226.

§ 474. The roots of the 1. conjugation in *-i* tend to change *-aya* into *-e* through samprasāraṇa: M. *nesi*, *nei* = *nayasi*, *nayati* (H. 553. 939. 647), *ānei* (R. 8,43); AMg. JM. *ninei* = *nirṇayati* (Uttar. 578; Erz. 29,6); JM. *nei* (Erz. 11,11), M. *paṇiṇei* (Karp. 7,4), Ś. *paṇiṇedi* (Viddhaś. 50,1), *āṇedi* (Karp. 109,8). According to these also the 1. sing. JM. *nemi* (Sagara 9,6), M. *āṇemi* (Karp. 26,1), Ś. *avanemi* = *apanayāmi*, *aṇuṇemi*, *paṇāṇemi*

(Mṛcch. 6,7; 18,23; 166,16); 3. plur. M. *ñēnti* (R. 3,14; 5,2; 6,92). Imp. JM. Ś. *ñehi* (Erz. 43,24; Vikr. 41,2), AMg. Ś. *uwañehi* = *upanaya* (Vivāgas. 121. 122; Mṛcch. 61,10; 64,20. 25; 96,14; Vikr. 45,9), Ś. *añehi* (Vikr. 41, 1) and *añesu* (Śak. 125,8 [so to be read]; Karpas. 51,17); *avañesu*=*apanaya* (Viddhaś. 48,10), Ś. *ñedu* (Mṛcch. 65,19; 67,7); Ś. Mg. *ñēma* (Mudrār. 233,5 [so to be read; cf. v. l. and the Calcutta editions, that have *ñehma*]; Mg. Mṛcch. 170,12), JM. *ñēneha* (Dvār. 496,5); Mg. Ś. *ñedha* (Mṛcch. 32, 15; 161,9). In verses are found JM. *añasu* (Erz. 78,9) and A. *añahi* (Hc. 4,343,2). They are to be explained from \**āṇaasu*, \**āñāsu*, \**āñāhi*, \**āñāhi*. The flexion of Skt. occurs in M. *ṇaāi* (Viddhaś. 7,2), *ṇaanti* (G. 803), Ś. *pariṇaadu* (Śak. 39,3), *ṇāia*=\**ṇayiya*=\**nivā* (Mṛcch. 155,4) and in the parasmaipada pres. participle Mg. *ṇante*=\**nayan* (Mṛcch. 169,12).—*ḍi* with *ud* forms *uddēi*, 3. plur. *uddēnti* (Hc. 4,237; H. 218; G.232 [to be read *uddēnti* with J]. 770; Mg. Mṛcch.120,12), particip. parasmaip. *uddēnta* (G. 543; so to be read with P).—*lei*=\**layati* from *lī* (Hc.4,238); M. *ahilei* (G.R.), *ahilēnti* (H.) *parilēnta* (R.), whilst M. *alliaī* (G.H.R.), JM. *alliyai* (Āv.47,16), AMg. *uwalliyai* (Āyār.2,2,2,4), M. *samalliaī* (R.), JM. *samalliyai* (Āv.47,17) presuppose a flexion \**liyāte*, the participia M. *āliamāna* (G.), Ś. *nīliamāna* (Vikr. 80,20) the flexion of Skt. (§ 196). Likewise is inflected *daya*- (to give; Hc. s. v. *dā*; Kī. 4,34): M. JM. *dei*, *dēnti*, *dehi*, *desu*, *deu*, *deha*, particip. *dēnta*- (G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *dei* (Nirayāv. § 21. 22), *demo* (Vivāhap 819); JŚ. *dedi* (Kattig. 399,319. 320; 402,360. 365. 366); Ś. *demi* (Ratn. 312,30; Mṛcch. 105,9), *desi* (Mālav.5,8), *dedi* (Mṛcch. 66,2; 147,17; Vikr. 43,14; Viddhaś. 29,7), *dehi* (as in Skt.) very frequently (pro ex. Mṛcch. 38,4. 23;44,24;94,17; Śak. 95,11;111,6 etc.), *dedu* (Karp. 38,1); D. *deu* (Mṛcch. 105,21); particip. Ś. *dēnta*- (Mṛcch. 44,19); Mg. *demi* (Mṛcch. 31,17; 45,2; 79,18; 127,12; 131,9. 10. 13), *dehi* (Mṛcch. 45, 12; 97,2; 132,4), *desu* (Prab. 58,8), *dedha* (Mṛcch. 160,11; 164,14. 16; 170,6); Dh. *dehi* (Mṛcch. 32,23; 36,15); P. *teṭi* (Hc. 4,318), *tiyyate* (to be read so; Hc. 4,315); A. *desi*, *dei*, *dēnti*, *dehu*, *dēntahō* = *dadatah*, *dēntihim* = *dadatibhīh* (Hc. s. v. *dā*), absol. *dēppīṇu* (Hc. 4,440) and *devam* (Hc. 4,441). The flexion \**daai* = \**dāyati* presupposes the future Ś. *dāissam* = *dayisye* (Mṛcch. 80,20), false *dāissam* (Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 25,6; Karp. 112,5), *dāissāmo* (Viddhaś. 121,3; s. v. l.); cf. Vr. 12,14; Mg. *dāissam* (Mṛcch. 31, 6. 8. 15; 32,9. 24; 33,22; 35,8; 80,19; 81,5; 97,3; 123,21; 124,5. 9), and the absol. Ś. Mg. *daia* = \**dayiya* = *dayitvā* (Mṛcch. 32,19 [a°]; 37,12; 51,12;168,2). The root *dā* has retained only in M. JM. *dāūna*, *dāum*, *dijjai* (G. H. R.; Erz.), AMg. inf. *dāum* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.), Ś. *diadi* (Mṛcch. 55, 16;71,6; so to be read also at Mṛcch. 49,7 for *dijjadi*), *diadu* (Karp.103,7), *dādava* (Mṛcch. 66,2;150,14; Karp. 103,6; Jīvān. 43,12. 15); Mg. *diadi*, *diadu* (Mṛcch. 145,5); in the fut. M. JM. AMg. *dāham*, *dāsam* (§ 530), past participle *dīṇa*, *datta* (§ 566). AMg. mostly uses *dalaṇyāi* (§ 490), for which we often find *dalaī* as v. l. (HOERNLE, Uvās.; Translation, note 287).

§ 475. Hc. 4,60 teaches the forms *hoi*, *huvaī*, *havaī*, *bhavaī*, in compounds *pabhavaī*, *paribhavaī*, *sambhavaī* and *ubbhavaī*, which presupposes a simplex \**bhuvai* from *bhū*. This occurs in *bhuvadi*, that is taught by Hc. 4, 269 beside *huvadi*, *bhavadī*, *havadi*, *bhodi*, *hodi* as Ś.; further in the aorist AMg. *bhuvī* (§ 516) and in P. *phuvati* (Kī. 5,115). Vr. 8,1; Kī. 4,56; Mk. fol. 53 teach *hoi*, *huvaī* and Vr. 8,3; Mk. fol. 53 in compounds *bhavaī*, as *pabhavaī*, *ubbhavaī*, *sambhavaī*, *paribhavaī*, Kī. 4,58, *havaī* as *pahavaī*. Vr.'s rule 12,12 is not clear on Ś., for which Kī. 5,81 and Mk. fol. 71 prescribe *bhodi*, while Śākalya, according to Mk., accredits *hodi* too and Sr. fol. 71 teaches *bhodi*, *hodi*, *bhuvadi*, *huvadi* etc. (*ityādi*). *bhavaī*, the form that exactly corresponds

to Skt. *bhavati* is frequent in AMg. (Āyār. 1,1,1,1 ff; Thāṇ. 156; Vivāhap. 116. 137. 917. 926. 935 ff.; Nandis. 501 f.; Paṇṇav. 666. 667; Kappas. § 14—16), *bhavasi* (Vivāhap. 1245. 1406), *bhavanti* (Vivāhap. 926. 1309; Ovav. § 70 ff.; Kappas.), *bhavaū* (Kappas.); also in JM. it is not seldom: *bhavaī* (Āv. 10,20; 13. 37; 20,11 ff.), *bhavanti* (Erz. 3,14), *bhavasū* (Erz. 11,10). Beside them AMg. JM. have also the forms with initial *ha*: JM. *havāmi* (Erz. 35,15), AMg. JM. *havai* (Paṇṇav. 32. 115; Nandis. 329. 361 ff.; Uttar. 342. 344. 754 (beside *hoi*); Āv. 36,44); AMg. *havanti* (Sūyag. 253. 255; Vivāhap. 138; Paṇṇav. 40. 42. 91. 94. 102. 106. 115 etc.; Nandis. 461; Jiv. 219; Ovav. § 130); likewise in the optative beside *bhavējjā* (Ovav. § 182), 2. plur. *bhavējjāha* (Nāyādh. 912. 915. 918. 920) in verses also *bhavējja* (Sūyag. 341; Vivāhap. 426; Ovav. § 171), *bhavējjā* (Uttar. 459), JM. *havijja* (Erz. 74,18). In prose in Āv. 29,19 we should read *hōjjā*, with the v. l. for *bhavējjā*. AMg. JM. have also the opt. *bhave* (Vivāhap. 459; Uttar. 678; Nandis. 117; Erz.). In Ś. Mg. 1. sing. is *bhaveam*, 1. 2. 3. sing. 3. plur. are *bhave*, the only form that can be used (§ 460—402). In compound is found also Ś. *pahave* (Śak. 25,1); false is Ś. *have* (Mālav. 44,1. 3)<sup>1</sup>. In JŚ. the form that is very usual is *havadi* (Pav. 380,9; 381, 16; 382,24; 384,54. 58; 385,65; 386,70. 4; 387,18. 19; 388,5; Kattig. 398, 303; 400, 334), also *havedi* (Kattig. 401,341; MS. *havei*), beside *hodi* (Pav. 381,18; 385,64; 386,6; Kattig. 399,308; 400,326. 328. 329. 330; 402, 368; 403,372. 376. 381; 404,391), *homi* (Pav. 385. 65), *hunti* (Kattig. 401, 352), *hōnti* (Kattig. 402,363. 364; 404,387), inf. *hodum* (Kattig. 402,357); MŚ. *houm*). The opt. is *have* (Pav. 387,25; Kattig. 398,302; 399,309. 312. 315; 400,336; 401,338. 345 etc.). Therefore, Hc. should have Ś. *havadi*, *hodi* (§ 21. 22). Of the stem *bhava-*, the forms, excluding the mentioned ones, are only sporadic: Mg. *bhavāmi* (Mṛcch. 117,6); Ś. *bhavidavvaṃ* (Śak. 32, 6; Karp. 61, 11), which is supported by JŚ. *bhavidavvaṃ* (Kattig. 404,388; MŚ. *viya*<sup>a</sup>) and Ś. *bhavidavvadā* (Śak. 126,10; Vikr. 52, 13); inf. *bhavium* (Hc. 4,60), Ś. Mg. *bhavidum* (Śak. 73,8; 116,1 [so to be read]; in Mālav. 47,7 false reading<sup>1</sup>). Very frequent is the absolutive *bhavia* in Ś. (Mṛcch. 27,12; 45,8; 64,19; 78,10; Śak. 30,9; 119,3. 13; 160, 1; Vikr. 24,5; 25,15 etc.) and Mg. Mṛcch. 16,16; 124,23; 134,23; 170,11), JŚ. *bhaviya* (Pav. 380,12; 387,12), AMg. *bhavittā* (Ovav.; Kappas.), *pāubbhavittāṇaṃ* (Uvās.). On the future see § 521. The passive Mg. *bhaviadi* (Mṛcch. 164,10) stands in the sense of the fut. parasmaip. (§ 550). M. *aggabhavantī* in G. 588 is a false reading for *aggabharantī* (see v. l. p. 376). Except in the forms mentioned in AMg. JM. JŚ. the stem *hava-* is found also in M. *havanti* (G. 901.936.976). The stem *bhava-* is prevalent in the formation with prefixes. I have only to add BLOCH's examples from Ś. Mg.: Ś. *aṇubhavanto* = *anubhavan* (Vikr. 41,9), *aṇubhaviḍa* (Karp. 33,6). The stem *hava-* is usual only after the prefix *pra-*, further in the substantive *vihava*<sup>2</sup>; otherwise it occurs just sporadic after *anu-* in M. *aṇuhavaī* (H. 211), Ś. *aṇuhavanti* (Mālav. 51,22; Prab. 44,13); yet Mālav. has the v. l. *aṇuho'nti*, in Prab. *aṇubhavanti*, as it should be read; similarly in Śak. 74,6 we should, with the v. l., read *vibhāvedī* for *vihāvedī*. Vr. is substantially correct when he requires *bhava-* for the composita.

1. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 41, who has compiled a plentiful collection for Ś. Mg. from Mṛcch. Śak. Vikr. Mālav. Ratn, on *bhū*, should be supplemented for completing the list.—2. l. c. p. 39. 40.—3. BLOCH, l. c. p. 40.

§ 476. *huva-*, that is to say the flexion according to the sixth conjugation is found in M. *huvanti* (G.988;H.285), in the opt. *huvā* (§ 466) and P. *huvēyya* (Hc.4,320.323), ind. pass. Mg. *huvīadi* (Venis.33,6.7;35,8; in the sense

of the fut. parasmaip.; cf. *bhaviadi* § 475) and especially in the future in Ś. and Mg. (§ 521). Transgressing against the dialect, a false form is Ś. fem. parasmaip. pres. part. *huvanti* and probably also Mg. particip. necessitatis *huvidadavām* (Lalitav. 555,5; 565,13).—In M. JM. A. in the simplex the dominant stem is *ho-* from *hava-*, which AMg. too has more seldom and JŚ. has frequently: *homi*, *hosi*, *hoi*, *hōnti* and *hunti*; imp. *hohi*, *hosu*, *hou*, *homo*, *hōntu*; indic. pres. pass. *hoāi*, *hoijai*; parasmaip. pres. particip. *hōnto*, *hunto*, ātmanep. *homāno*; inf. *hourū*, JŚ. *hodum*; absol. *hoūṇa*; particip. nec. AMg. JM. *hojavva*<sup>1</sup>. On *hōjjā*, *hōjja* see § 466. Besides this, the precativē in AMg. are *hoi*, *hou* only, especially in the combination *hoū nam*, and the preterite *hōtthā* in frequent use. In Ś. one says *homi*, *hosi*, *hōnti*, imp. *hohi*, *hōmha*, *hodha*, *hōntu*, Mg. imp. *hodha*<sup>2</sup>, but Ś. Mg. Dh. only *bhodi*, *bhodu*<sup>3</sup>. False forms in the texts are *bhomi*, *hodi*, *bhohi*, *hodu*, *bhōntu*<sup>4</sup>. P. has *photi* (Ki. 5,115). The particip. nec. is Ś. Mg. *hodavva*<sup>5</sup>; on Ś. JŚ. *bhavidavva* see § 475, on Mg. *huvidadava* see above. The particip. pret. is M. *hūa* (Hc. 4,64; Ki. 4,57; Mk. fol. 53) in *maṇḍaṇihūam* (H. 8), *aṇuhūa* (Hc. 4,64; H. 29), *parihūena* (H. 134; so to be read with v. l. and ed. Bomb.), *paḥūa* (Hc. 4,64), A. *hūā* (Hc. 4,384) and *huā* (Hc. 4,351), Ś. Dh. D. *bhūda* (Ś. e. g. Mṛcch. 55,16; 78,3; Śak. 43,9; 80,2; Vikr. 23,14; 52,21; 53,12 [read °bhūdo]; Dh. Mṛcch. 36,21; 39,16; D. Mṛcch. 101,13), Mg. *kiappahūda* = *kiyatprabhūta* (Venṣ. 34,16).—Sr. fol. 47 knows also the flexion *hoāi*, *hoi*, *huāi*, *huei*, exactly according to the type of the *a*-stem.

1. References in § 469 under the instances quoted on *hou* and in the relevant paragraphs, on JŚ. in § 475. Cf. also WEBER, Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preuss. Ak. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin 1882, 811 f.; IS. 16,393. — 2. References in BLOCH, l. c. p. 41.— 3. FISCHER, KB. 8, 141 and above § 469; Mg. *bhodi* e. g. Mṛcch. 121,6; 168,3. 4. 5. false *hodi* 168,6.— 4. BLOCH, l. c. p. 41; collection also in BURKHARD, Flexiones Prācriticae p. 20 f.— 5. BLOCH, l. c. p. 42. On the flexion of *bhū* cf. also DELIUS, Radices Prācriticae s. v.

§ 477. The roots in *-ṛ* and *-ṝ* form the stem in *-ara*: *dharai*, *varai*, *sarai*, *harai*, *jarai*, *tarai* ( Vr. 8,12; Hc. 4,234; Ki. 4,32 ). In OIA. this flexion has been carried over to a few roots found in the Vedas, or merely mentioned by the grammarians, such as in the case of *jṝ*, *dhṝ*, *mṝ*, *vṝ*, *stṝ*, in Pkt. this is the rule. Beside it the flexion with the *e*-stem is frequent. So: M. JM. *dharai* and *dharemi*, *dharei*, *dhareṅti*, particip. pres. *dharanta* and *dharēnta* (G. H. R.; Erz.); Ś. *dharāmi* = *dhriye* (Uttarar. 83,9); A. *dharai* (Hc. 4,334; 438,3) and *dharei* (Hc. 4,336), *dharahī* (Hc. 4,382), imp. *dharahi* (Hc. 4,421; Piṅgala 1,149). — M. *osarai* = *apasarati*, *osaranta* = *apasarat-*, *osaria* = *apasṛta* (G. H. R.), imp. *osara*, *osarasu* (H.); JM. *osarai* (Erz. 37,30); Mg. *osaladi* (Mṛcch. 115,23), *osalia* = *apasṛta* (Mṛcch. 129,8); imp. JM. Ś. *osara* = *apasara* (Erz. 71,31; Vikr. 10,12), Mg. *osala* (Prab. 58,2; so rightly ed. M. 73,6), Ś. *osaramha* (Uttarar. 66,7), JM. *osaraha* = *apasarata* (Kk. 265,6; II, 507,1), Mg. *osaladha* (§ 471); M. *samosarai*, *samosaranta-* etc. (G. H. R.), AMg. imp. *samosaraha* (Nāyādh. 1233. 1235); Ś. *ṇisaradi* (Dhūrtas. 8,6); M. AMg. *pasarai* (R.; Vivāhap. 908), Ś. *pasaradi* (Śak. 31,10), Mg. *paśalaśi* (Mṛcch. 10,15), Dh. imp. *pasaku* (Mṛcch. 32,16), also Dh. *aṇusalēmha* (§ 472) beside Ś. *aṇusaramha* Viddhaś. 105,5). Cf. § 235.—M. JM. *marāmi* = *mriye*, *marai*, *maranti*, imp. *mara*, *marasu*, *marai*, particip. pres. *maranta-* (H.; Erz.); AMg. *mara* (Śūyag. 635; Uttar. 214; Vivāhap. 363 f.), *maranti* (Uttar. 1099 ff.; Vivāhap. 1434), *maramāṇa* (Vivāhap. 1385); Ś. *maradi* (Mṛcch. 72,22; so to be read); Mg. *malāmi* (Mṛcch. 118,13), but also *malēdu*, *malēnti* (Mṛcch. 114,21; 118,12); A. *marahi*, *marai* (Hc. 4,368. 420,5). M. *marijjau* = *mriyatām* (H. 950) stands in the sense of the passive, AMg. inf. *marijjium*

( Dasav. 624, 40; cf. § 580 ) in the sense of the active. AMg. *mijjāi*, *mijjanti* ( Sūyag. 275. 328. 333. 540. 944 ) are correctly equated by the scholiasts as = *mīyate*, *mīyante*. — JM. *varasu* = *vr̥ṣva* ( Sagara 1,15 ), — M. JM. *harāi* ( G. H. R.; Erz. ), JŚ. *haradi* ( Kattig. 400,336 ), M. also *haremi* ( H. 705 ), AMg. opt. *harējjāha* ( Nāyādh. 915. 918 ), Mg. *halāmi*, *haladi* ( Mṛcch. 11,8; 30,21. 24 ); very frequently in compounds in all the dialects, as M. *ahiharāi*, *paharāi* ( G. ), JM. *pariharāmi* ( Kk. 272,16 ), AMg. *sāharanti* = *samharanti* ( Thāp. 155 ), *paḍisāharāi* = *pratisamharati* ( Vivāhap. 239 ), *viharāi* ( Kappas.; Uvās. etc. ), Ś. *uvahara*, *uvaharantu* ( Śak. 18,3; 40,9 ); *avaharadi* = *apaharati* ( Mṛcch. 45,24 ), Mg. *palihalāmi* = *pariharāmi* ( Mṛcch. 125,10 ), *śamudāhalāmi* ( Mṛcch. 129,2 ), also *vihaledi* = *viharati* ( Mṛcch. 40,9 ), A. *aṇuharāi*, *aṇuharāi* ( Hc. 4,367,4; 418,8 ). — M. *tarāi* ( G. H. ); AMg. *taranti* ( Uttar. 567 ), *uttarāi* ( Nāyādh. 1060 ), *pacuttarāi* ( Vivāhap. 909 ); Ś. *odaradi* = *avatarati* ( Mṛcch. 44,19; 108,21; Mālatim. 265,6 ), imp. *odaramha* = *avatarāma* ( Mālatim. 100,3; Priyad. 12,4 ); Mg. imp. *odala* = *avatara* ( Mṛcch. 122,14. 15. 16 ), absol. *odalā* ( Mṛcch. 122, 11 ) = Ś. *odaria* ( Vikr. 23,17 ); A. *uttarāi* ( Hc. 4,339 ). — *kṛ* forms, corresponding to Skt. *kirāti*, M. *ukkirāi* ( H. 119 ), *kiranta-* ( G. R. ).

§ 478. According to Hc. 4,74 *smṛ* may form *sarāi*, so stands JM. *sarāmi* ( Āv. 41,20 ), AMg. *sarāi* ( Uttar. 277 ) in the verse, JM. *sarāi* ( Āv. 47, 27 ), *sarasu* ( Āv. 7,34 ) in prose. The common form in all the dialects, which Vr. 12,17; Mk. fol. 72 particularly prescribe for Ś. in addition, is *sumara-* for *smara-* with a separation-vowel ( Vr. 8,18; Hc. 4,74; Kī. 4,49; Mk. fol. 53 ). Beside it the prose very frequently has the *e*-stem *sumare-*. So M. *sumarāmi* ( R. 4,20 [ so to be read ]. 22 ); JM. absol. *sumariṇṇa* and *sumariya*, past passive particip. *sumariya* ( Erz. ); AMg. imp. *sumaraha* ( Vivāhap. 234 ); Ś. *sumarāmi* ( Mṛcch. 134,15; Uttarar. 118,1 ), *sumarasi* ( Uttarar. 126,6 ), better accredited *sumaresi* ( Mṛcch. 66,15. 18; 103,20; 104,10; 105,15; Vikr. 23,9 ), as *sumaredi* ( Śak. 70,7; 167,8; Mālatim. 184, 4; Viddhaś. 125,11 ) and in the imp. *sumarehi* ( Ratn. 137,17 ), *sumaresu* ( Vikr. 13,4 ), *sumaredha* ( Śak. 52,16 ), yet *sumara* ( Mālatim. 251,2; all texts ) and A. *suvarāhi* ( Hc. 4,387 ), opt. *sumari* = *smareḥ* ( Hc. 4,387,1 ); Ś. *sumarāmo* ( Mālatim. 113,9 ); Mg. *śumalāmi*, *śumalesi*, *śumaledi* ( Mṛcch. 115,23; 127,25; 134,13 ), imp. *śumala* and *śumalehi* ( Mṛcch. 128,20; 168,11; 170,8 ); particip. praet. pass. Ś. *sumarida* ( Mālatim. 249,6; Prab. 41,7 ), Mg. *śumalida* ( Mṛcch. 136,19 ); particip. nec. Ś. *sumaridavva* ( Vikr. 48,14; Mālatim. 184,3 ), Mg. *śumalidavva* ( Mṛcch. 170,9 ). In conjunction with *vi* Hc. 4,75 teaches *vimharāi* and *visarāi*, whence M. *visaria* = *vismṛta* ( H. 361; Śak. 96,2 ), JM. *vissariya* ( Āv. 7,34 ); JŚ. *visarida* ( Kattig. 400,335; text °*ya* ). Mk. fol. 54 teaches *visarāi*, *visurāi* and *visarāi*, which occurs in M. *visaria* ( R. 11,58 ) and in the modern Indian dialects<sup>1</sup>. In Ś. and Mg. the stem is strictly the same as in the simplex; pro ex. Ś. *visumarāmi* ( Śak. 126,8 ), *visumaresi* ( Vikr. 49,1 ); Mg. *viśumaledi* ( Mṛcch. 37,12 ). Ś. *vimharida mhi* of Vikr. 83,20 has been wrongly equated in the text against all the MSS. by BOLLENSSEN; the ed. Bomb. p. 133,9 correctly has *visumarida mhi*<sup>2</sup>, as *visumarida* stands also at Śak. 14,2; Vṛṣabh. 14,6. On *bharāi* see § 313.

1. FISCHER on Hc. 4,75. — 2. Wrongly BÖHTLINGK on Śak. 59,10, where we should at least read *vimharīo* with the ed. Bomb. 1883, p. 64,11.

§ 479. The roots in *-ai* are conjugated as a rule as in Skt. ( Vr. 8,21. 25. 26 ), Hc. 4,6; Kī. 4,65. 75 ); M. *gānti* ( Kāleyak. 3,8; Bālar. 181, 6 ), *uggānti* = *udgāyanti* ( Dhūrtas. 4,14 ), *gānta-* ( Karp. 23,4 ); JM. *gāyāi* ( Āv. 8,29 ), *gāyanti* ( Dvār. 496,36 ), *gāyantehim*, *gāyūm* ( Erz. 1,29; 2,10 ); AMg. *gāyanti* ( Jiv. 593; Rāyap. 96. 181 ), *gāyantā* ( Ovav. § 49 V ),



*gāyamāṇe* (Vivāhap. 1253); Ś. *gāmi* (Mudrār. 35,1), *gādi* (Nāgān. 9,6), *gādha* (Viddhaś. 12,4), imp. also of the *e*-stem *gāedha* (Viddhaś. 122,10; 128,4), *gāntena*, *gānto* (Mṛcch. 44,2. 4); Mg. *gāe*, *gādam* (Mṛcch. 79,14; 117,4).—Ś. *parittādi* = *paritrāyate* (Mṛcch. 128,7), *parittāsu* (Mahāv. 30,19; Bālar. 173,10; Viddhaś. 85,5), *parittāhi* (Uttarar. 63,13), *parittādu* (Ratn. 325,9. 32), *parittādha* (Śak. 16,10; 17,6; Vikr. 3,17; 5,2; Mālatim. 130,3); Mg. *palittādha*, *palittādu* (Mṛcch. 32,25; 128,6).—JM. *jhāyasi* = *dhyāyasi* (Erz. 85,23), *jhāyamāni* (Erz. 11,19); AMg. *jhīyāyāmi*, *jhīyāyasi*, *jhīyāyāi*, *jhīyāyaha*, *jhīyāyamāna* (Nāyādh.); M. *ñijhāi* = *nirdhyāyati* (H. 73. 413); Ś. *ñijhādi* (Mṛcch. 59,24; 89,4; Mālatim. 258,4), *ñijhānti* (Mṛcch. 69,2), *ñijhāido* (Mṛcch. 93,15), *ñijhāidā* (Vikr. 52,11), *sañjhādi* (Mṛcch. 73,12).—Ś. *niddādi* = *nidrāyati* (Mṛcch. 46,5; 69,2; Mālav. 65, 8).—Ś. *parimilādi* = *parimlāyati* (Mālatim. 120,2; so to be read with ed. Bomb. 92,2 and ed. Madras 105,3).—Since in Pkt. the roots ending in *-ā* may be a inflected according to the fourth conjugation (§487), so reversely the roots in *-ai* follow sometimes in M. JM. AMg. the analogy of the roots in *ā*: M. *gāi* (Vr.8,26; Hc.4,6; H.128.691), *gāu* (Bh.8,26), *ganta-*(H. 547); JM. *uggāi* (Āv. 8,28); M. *jhāi* = Epic *dhyāti* (Vr. 8,26; Hc. 4,6; R. 6,61), JŚ. *jhādi* (Pav. 385,68) beside *jhāyadi* (Pav. 385,65; 403, 372); *jhāu* (Bh. 8,26), *ñijhāi* (Hc. 4,6); AMg. *jhīyāi* (Vivāgas. 219; Uvās. § 280; Nāyādh.; Kappas.), *jhīyāmi* (Vivāgas. 114. 220; Nāyādh.), *jhīyāsi* (Vivāgas. 114 ), *jhāija* (verse; Uttar. 14). Likewise AMg. *jhīyāi* = *ksāyati* beside *jhīyāyanti* (§ 326); AMg. *gilāi* = Epic *glāti* (Āyar. 2,1,11,1. 2), beside *vigilā-ējjā* (Āyar. 2,2,3,28); M. *niddāi*, *mlāi* (Hc. 4,12,18), in addition to which Epic *mlānti*. — In Ś. is found several times *parittāhi* (Śak. 145,8; Prab. 11, 13); Uttarar. 60,4,5; Mālatim. 357,11), in Mg. *palittāhi* (Mṛcch. 175,19). The v. l. almost everywhere has in Ś. the correct *parittāhi*. On *palāyā*-see § 567.

§ 480. The verbs *iṣ*, *gam*, *yam*, of the old *-ska-* class are conjugated in all the dialects as in Skt. : *icchaī*, *gacchaī*, *jacchaī*. Isolated is Mg. *śāṇyammadha* (§ 488) and AMg. *uggamamāna* (Paṇṇav. 41). Hc. 4,215, besides derives *acchaī* from *ās*, Kī.4,10 from *as* (to be), the scholiasts mostly equate it with *tiṣṭhati*. ASCOLI will like to trace it back to the corresponding Pāli *acchati*, from a hypothetical future *\*ātsyati* or *\*ātsyate*<sup>1</sup> of *ās*, CHILDERS<sup>2</sup> and FISCHER<sup>3</sup> to *\*āssakadi* from *ās*, as Hc., E. MÜLLER to *gam* with dropping out of *g*<sup>4</sup>, later with TRENCKNER and TORP to an aorist *\*ātsit* from *ās*<sup>5</sup>; E. KUHN considers it to be an inchoative formation from *as*<sup>6</sup>, JOHANSSON thinks it to be a future *\*assyati*, *\*atsyati* from *\*as*<sup>7</sup>. However, it strictly corresponds to the fourth verb in Skt., built according to *rcchati* from *ṛ* “to come into”, “to knock at”, of the *-ska-* conjugation, and which the Indian grammarians post as *rch* and B.-R. as *arch*. The meaning “to remain”, “to stand” is proved from the statement, that it is used in the sense of *indriyapralaya* as well as of *mūrtibhāna*, given in the Dhātupāṭha at 28,15. One compares also the use of *rcchati*, *ārchat* in the Brāhmana<sup>8</sup>. Examples are: M. *acchasi*, *acchanti*, *acchaū*, *acchijaī* ( G. H. ); JM. *acchāi*, *acchae*, *acchāmo*, *acchasu*, *acchaha*, *acchantassa*, *acchiuṃ*, *acchiya*, *acchīyavvam* ( Erz.; Dvār. 498,12; 500,9; 501,9; Āv. 14,25. 30; 24,17; 26,28; 29,22 ); AMg. *acchāi* ( Āyar. 1,8,4,4; Uttar. 902 ff. ), *acchāhi* ( Āyar. 2,6,1,10; Vivāhap. 807. 817 ), *acchējja* ( Hc. 3,160; Vivāhap. 116; Ovav. § 185), Ā. *acchadhā* (Mṛcch. 99,16)<sup>9</sup>; P. *acchati*, *acchate* ( Hc. 4,319); A. *acchaū* (Hc. 4,406,3). On *acchā* see § 466.

1. Kritische Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft p. 265, note 49.—2. Dictionary s. v. *acchati*. — 3. GGA. 1875, 627 f.; BB. 3,155 f.; on Hc. 4,215. — 4. Beiträge p. 36. — 5. Simplified Grammar. p. 100.—6. In E. MÜLLER, Beiträge p. 66.—7. Shāhözgarhi II, 23; KZ. 32,460, note 2.—8. B.-R. s. v. *arch*; FISCHER, GGA. 1890,532. JOHANSSON

l. c. note 3 wrongly rejects this derivation, since he thinks of  $\xi\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ .—9. On Vr. 12,19 see FISCHER, KB. 8,143 f.

§ 481. Deviating from Classical Skt. *kram* retains, as not seldom in the Epic in Skt., the short vowel in the parasmaip. : M. *kamanta-*, *aktamasi*, *aktamanta-*, *ṅikkamāi*, *ṅikkhamāi*, *viṅikkamāi*, *viṅikkhamāi*, *saṅkamāi* ( G. H. ); JM. *kamāi* ( Rṣabhap. 38 ), *akkamāmo* ( Erz. 35,36 ), *aikkamāi*, *aikkamējja* ( Āv. 47,23; Kk. 271,2.7 ); AMg. *kamāi* ( Vivāhap. 1249 ), *aikkamāi* ( Vivāhap. 136. 137 ), *aikkamanti* ( Kappas. S. § 63 ), *avakkamāi*, *anti* ( Vivāhap. 845. 1252 ), *avakkamējjā* ( Āyār. 2,1,10,6 ), *ṅikkhamāi*, *ṅikkhamanti* ( Vivāhap. 146; Nirāyāv. § 23; Kappas. § 19 ), *ṅikkhamējja* ( Āyār. 2,1,1,7; 2,1,9,2 ), *ṅikkhamamāṇa* ( Āyār. 2,2,3,2 ), *paḍiṅikkhamāi*, *anti* ( Vivāhap. 187,916; Nāyādh. § 34; p. 1427; Ovav.; Kappas. ), *ṅikkamāi* ( Vivāhap. 1249 ), *vakkamāi*, *anti* ( Vivāhap. 111. 465; Paṇṇav. 28. 29. 41. 43; Kappas. § 19. 46<sup>b</sup> ), *viṅkkamanti* ( Vivāhap. 465 ), metrically also *kamāi* = *krāmyati* ( Uttar. 209 ); Ś. *adikkamasi* ( Ratn. 297,29 ); Ś. D. *avakkamadi* ( Mṛcch. 97,24; 103,15 ); *ṅikkamāmi* ( Śak. 115,6 ), *ṅikkamadi* ( Mṛcch. 51,4; Vikr. 16,1 ), *ṅikkama* ( Mṛcch. 16,10; Śak. 36,12 ), *ṅikkamamha* ( Priyad. 17,16; Nāgān. 18,3; Ratn. 306,30; Karp. 85,7 ). In Mālaṭim. 188,2 *ṅarikkāmadi* is a false reading for *ṅaribbhamadi* or *ṅaribbhamanti*, as the ed. Bomb. 1892 and the ed. Madras ( both *anti* ) have, at 285,2 stands *ṅarikkamedha*; Mg. *adikkamadi* ( Mṛcch. 43,10 ), *avakkamamha*, *ṅiskamadi*, *ṅiskama* ( Mṛcch. 22,2; 134,1; 165,22; 166,22 ). Cf. § 302.

§ 482. Several verbs, that in Sanskrit are of the first conjugation, presuppose in Pkt., as the vowel points, to be of the sixth conjugation. M. *jiāi* = *\*jivati* for *jīvati*, *jiānti*, *jiāi*, *jiānta-*, but also *jiāsi*, *iivējja*, *jiānta* ( Hc. 1,101; G. H. R. ), Ś. Mg. have only a long vowel. So Ś. *jiāmi* ( Uttarar. 132, 7; so to be read with ed. Calc. 1831, p. 89,10 ), *jivadi* ( Mṛcch. 172,6; 325,18 ), *jiāmo* ( Mudrār. 34,10 ), *jiveam* ( Mālav. 55,11 ), *jiva* ( Mṛcch. 145,11; Śak. 33,7; 67,7 ), *jiadu* ( Mṛcch. 154,15 ); Mg. *jiadi*, *jivasi*, *jiva*, *jiānta-* ( Mṛcch. 12,20; 38,7; 161,19; 170,5; 171,8. 9 ), also *jivēsi* ( Mṛcch. 119,21 ).—*ghisai* = *\*ghasati* for *ghāsati* = *ghasti* ( Vr. 8,28 [so to be read]; Hc. 4,204; Kī. 4,46 [text *gha*]; Mk. fol. 55 ).—*jimāi* beside *jemāi*, *jimmāi* ( § 488 ).—AMg. *bhisanta-* ( Ovav. ), *bhisamāṇa* ( Nāyādh. ), *bhisamāṇa* ( Rāyap. 47. 105 ), intensive *bhibbhisamāṇa*, *amāṇa* ( § 556 ) from *bhisai* = *\*bhāsati* for *bhāsati* ( § 109; Hc. 4,203 ).—*uvivai* = *\*udvipāte* for *udvāpate* ( § 236 ).—The doubling of *l* in M. *alliai*, *ualliai*, *samalliai* = *āllyate*, *upā*, *samā* ( § 196. 474 ), AMg. causative *allijāvei* ( § 551 ) too may point to the same flexion. Cf. § 194. *ruh* tends to be inflected according to the 6th conjugation, when it is combined with a prefix: M. JM. *āruhai*, *samāruhai*, *samāruhasu* ( G. H. R.; Erz. ); AMg. *duruhai* = *udrohati* ( § 118; Ovav.; Uvās.; Nāyādh. and often ), in Vivāhap. throughout ( pro ex. 124,504, 506. 824 f. 980. 1128. 1231. 1301. 1311. 1317. 1325 ff. ) and elsewhere often as v. l. *duruhai*, hardly correct, *duruhejja* ( Āyār. 2,3, 1,13. 14 ), JM. *duruheṭṭiā* ( Erz. ); AMg. *paccoruhai*, *paccoruhanti* ( Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh. also 870. 1354. 1456 ); Vivāhap. 173. 948 ), *viruhanti* ( Uttar. 356 ), *āruhai* ( Vivāhap. 1273 ); Ś. *āruhadha*, *āruha* ( Mṛcch. 40,24; 66,14. 17 ), *āruhadi* ( Pras. 35,8 ), *āruhadu* ( Uttarar. 32,6. 7 ); Mg. *āluha* Nāgān. 68,3 ), *āluhadu*, *ahiluha*, *ahiluhāmi*, *ahiluhadu* ( Mṛcch. 99,8; 119,3. 6,9. 11. 13 ). The simplex is inflected: M. JM. *rohanti* ( G. 727; Dvār. 503,7 ) and so also *ārohadu* ( Śak. 39,12; 97,18; Vikr. 39,2 ).—*dhau* ( to wash ) may, according to Hc. 4,238, form *dhāvai* = Skt. *dhāvati*. In M. however, it behaves as of the 6. conjugation: *dhuvasi* ( Hc. 2,216=H. 369 ), *dhuvasi* ( H. ), *dhuvai* ( Hc. 4,238 ), *dhuai* ( H. ), *dhuvanta-* ( R. ). Thence a root *dhuw* is deduced, which secondarily is inflected according to the 1. conjugation, as *ru*, *svap* ( § 473. 497 ): AMg. *dhovasi*, *dhovai* ( Nirāyāv. 77;

Sūyag. 344); also according to the *e*-conjugation *dhovei* (Nirajāv. 76. 77; Nāyādh. 1219. 1220. 1501), *padhoveṅti* (Āyār. 2,2,3,10); JM. *dhovanti* (Āv. 25,22); Ś. *dhoadi* (Mṛcch. 70,10), inf. *dhoidum* (Mṛcch. 45,5); Mg. *dhovehi*, fut. *dhoiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 45,7. 20). So Pāli *dhovati*. — *hivai*, which Hc. 4,238 mentions beside *havai*, is derived from *bhu* by Sr.fol.47.—Beside the usual *śai*, JM. AMg. *śiyai*, Ś. *śidadi*, Mg. *śidadi* = *śidati*, according to Hc. 4,219, *śidai* too is in use (PISCHEL on Hc. 4,219). On *ṣasia* see § 80, on *bhaṇ* § 514.

§ 483. *ghrā*, *pā*, *sthā* build the present stem, as in Skt. by reduplication: *āigghai* = *ājighrati* (Hc. 4,13), *jigghia* = *ghrāta* (Deśin. 3,46).—M. *piāi*, *pianti*, *piāū*, *piantu* (G. H. R.), *pivai* (Nāgān. 41,5), *piāmo* (Karp. 24,9=Kāleṃyāk. 16,17, where *piāmo*); JM. *pivai* (Āv. 30,36; 42,12. 18. 20. 28. 37), *piyaha* = *piyata* (Dvār. 496,35), also *piei* (Erz. 69,1); AMg. *pivai* Vivāhap. 1256), *piva* (Nāyādh. 1332), *pie* (Dasav. 638,26), *piejja* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2), *piyamāne* (Vivāhap. 1253); Ś. *piyadi* (Viddhaś. 124,4), *pianti* (Mṛcch. 71,10), *piyadu* (Śak. 105,13), *āpiyanti* (Mṛcch. 59,24); Mg. *piwāmi*, *piwāhi*, *piwamha* (Venīs. 33,4; 34,2. 15; 35,22), *pianti* (Mṛcch. 113, 21), *piva* (Prab. 60,9); A. *piāi*, *pianti*, *piahu* (Hc. 4,419, 1. 6; 422,20). On *pijjaī* see § 539. — *sthā* forms M. AMg. JM. *ciṭṭhai* (Hc. 4,16; H.; Āyār. 1,2,3,5. 6; 1,5,5,1; Sūyag. 310.613; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.); JM. *ciṭṭhae* (Āv. 36,26; Kk.); AMg. *ciṭṭhanti* (Sūyag. 274. 282.291. 612 f.; Kappas.), *ciṭṭhante* (Āyār. 1,8,4,10), *ciṭṭhejja* (Āyār. 2,1,4,3 [text false *ce*°]); 2,1,5,6. 6,2; 2,3,2,6; Vivāhap. 116. 925), *ciṭṭhe* (Āyār. 1,7,8,16), *ciṭṭham*, *aciṭṭham* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2); M. *ciṭṭhai* (H.); JM. *ciṭṭhaha* (Kk.); AMg. inf. *ciṭṭhittae* (Vivāhap. 513. 1119) beside *thāittae* (Āyār. 2,8,1. 2), particip. nec. *ciṭṭhiyava* (Vivāhap. 163); AMg. *aciṭṭhāmo* (Sūyag. 734), *pariviciṭṭhai* (Āyār. 1,4,2,2), also in the noun *samciṭṭhaṇa* = *avasthāna* (Vivāhap. 55ff.). Whilst *ciṭṭhai* is seldom in M., so that Vr. Ki. Mk. do not at all mention it for M., *ciṭṭhadi* is the exceptional form in Ś. (Vr. 12,16; Ki. 5,81 [text *thiṭṭhadi*]; Mk. fol. 71; Mṛcch. 27,4; 45,23; 54,4. 10; 57,3; 59,23; 72,10 etc.; Śak. 34,3; 79,11; 155,10; Vikr. 15,12.14; 24,6; 41,9 and exceedingly often), *ciṭṭhāmi* (Mṛcch. 6,8; Vikr. 33,4), *ciṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 65,5; Śak. 12,4; Vikr. 32,5), *ciṭṭhamha* (Priyad. 17,4; Mālatim. 255,5), *ciṭṭhadha* (Mālatim. 247,4) and very often, also in compounds, as *anuciṭṭhadi* (Mṛcch. 151,16; 155,5; Vikr. 41,6), *anuciṭṭhāmi* (Prab. 69,3), *anuciṭṭha* (Vikr. 83,1), *anuciṭṭhida* (Mṛcch. 54,2; 63,25; Vikr. 80,15), *anuciṭṭhidu* (Mṛcch. 3,7; Śak. 1,9; Prab. 3,5) etc. so also Ā. *ciṭṭha* (Mṛcch. 99,18); D. *ciṭṭhai* (Mṛcch. 104,2), *anuciṭṭhidum* (Mṛcch. 102,19); A. *ciṭṭhadi* (Hc. 4,360). Mg., has *ciṭṭhadi*, which is pointed to by the manuscripts (§303), according to Vr. 11,14; Hc. 4,298; Ki. 5,95 [text *ciṭṭah*]; Mk. fol. 75 [MS. *ciṭṭitrā*]. According to Ki. 5,96 P. too has the same form as Mg. Cf. also § 216. 217. Like all roots in -ā (§ 487), *ghrā* and *sthā* too behave according to the 2. and 4. conjugations: M. AMg. *agghai* = Epic *āghrāti* (H. 641; Nāyādh. § 82; Paṇṇav. 429. 430); M. *agghānta* = *ājighrat* (H. 566; R. 13. 82); AMg. *agghāyāi* (Āyār. p. 136,27. 33); opt. *agghāijja* (Nandis. 363); AMg. *agghāyaha*, *agghāyamāna* (Nāyādh. § 83.104); M. JM. *thāi* = *\*sthāti* (Vr. 8,26; Hc. 4,16; Ki. 4,76; H. R.; Erz.; Āv. 41,8), M. *niṭṭhāi* (H.), *samṭhāi* (H. R.); JM. *thāha* (Āv. 27,27); A. *thanti* (Hc. 4,395,5); AMg. *thāejja* (Āyār. 1,5,4,5), *abbhūṭṭhanti* = *abhyutiṭṭhanti* (Sūyag. 734); JM. *thāyanti* (Rṣabhap. 27) corresponding to *thāanti*, *thāai*, *thāau* in Vr. 8,25.26; Ki. 4, 75.76 (§487). After *ud*, the vowel, according to the analogy of the *a*-declension, is shortened: *uṭṭhai* (Hc. 4,17); so JM. *uṭṭhaha* (Erz. 59,30); A. *uṭṭhai* (Piṅgala 1,137<sup>a</sup>). Usually the flexion with the *e*-stem is selected: AMg. *uṭṭhe*

(Vivāhap. 161. 1246; Uvās. § 193), *abbhutthai* (Kappas.); JM. *utthemī* (Āv. 41,19), *utthei* (Dvār. 503,32), *utthehi* (Erz. 42,3), *samutthehi* (Dvār. 503,27. 31); Ś. *utthehi* (Mṛcch. 4,14; 18,22; 51,5. 11; Nāgān. 86,10; 95,10; Priyad. 26,6; 37,9; 46,24; 53,6. 9), *utthehi* (Vikr. 33,15), *utthedu* (Mṛcch. 93,5; Śāk. 162,12), *utthedha* (Mṛcch. 24,17); Mg. *utthehi*, *utthedu*, *utthedi*, also *utthanta-* (Mṛcch. 20,21; 134,19; 169,5). Cf. § 309.

§ 484. *damś* forms, according to Hc. 1,218, *dasai* (§ 222) corresponding to Skt. *daśati*. So JM. *dasai* (Āv. 42,13); AMg. *dasamāne*, *dasantu* (Āyār. 1,8,3,4). Ś. forms, with retention of the nasal *damśadi* (Śāk. 160, 1), past passive participle from the present stem: *damśido* (Mālav. 54,6).—*labh* shows nasal in the stem in AMg. *labhāmi* (Uttar. 103) and in the fut. and passive in Ś. Mg. (§ 525. 541). On *khāi* = *khādati* (also Ki. 4, 77) and *dhāi* = *dhāvati* see § 165.

§ 485. Of the verbs of the 6th class, those which insert a nasal in the present stem, *lip*, *luṣ*, *vid* and *sic* are treated as in Skt. From *lip* is found *allivai* = *ālimpati* (§ 196; Hc. 4,39). Beside the *a*-stem the *e*-stem too may be used, as Ś. *siñcedi* (Śāk. 74,9) beside *siñcamha*, *siñcadi* (Śāk. 10,3; 15,3). *sic* forms also *seai* = *\*secati* (Hc. 4,96).—*muc* does not usually insert a nasal in M. JM. AMg. (Hc. 4,91): M. *muasi*, *muai*, *muanti*, *muā*, *muasu*, *muanta-* (G. H. R.; Śāk. 85,3), *āmuai* (G.); JM. *mujai* (Āv. 17,4; Erz. 52,8), *mujasu* (Kk. 262,19), *mujanto* (Erz. 23,34; so to be read); AMg. *mujai* (Vivāhap. 104. 508), *omujai* (Āyār. 2,15. 22; Vivāhap. 796. 835. 1208. 1317; Kappas.), *mujantesum* = *muñcatsu* (Nāyādh. § 62. 63), *viñimmujamāna*, *mujamāna* (Vivāhap. 254), *viñimmujamāni* = *vinirmuñcamānā* (Vivāhap. 822). So also JŚ. *mujadi* (Kattig. 403,383). The nasalized stem too is not seldom in M. JM: M. *muñcai* (H. 614; R. 3,30; 4,9; 7,49; 12,14), *muñcanti* (G. 258), *muñcaha* (R. 15,8; Karp. 12,6), *muñcanto* (Karp. 67,6; 86,10); JM. *muñca*, *muñcasu*, *muñcaha* (Erz.), *muñca*, *muñcanti* (Kk. 261,12; 272,7); in Ś. Mg. it alone can be used: Ś. *muñcadi* (Mudrār. 149,6), *muñca* (Mṛcch. 175,21; Śāk. 60,14; Ratn. 316,4; Nāgān. 36,4; 38, 8), *muñcadu* (Vikr. 30,2), *muñcodha* (Mṛcch. 154,16; 161,18); Mg. *muñcadu*, *muñcanti* (Mṛcch. 31,18,21; 168,19), *muñca* (Prab. 50,6). Not seldom is also the *e*-stem: M. *muñcesi* (H. 928); Ś. *muñcedi*, *muñcesi* (Śāk. 51,6; 154,12), *muñcedha* (Mṛcch. 161,25; Śāk. 116,7), *muñcehi* (Mṛcch. 326,10; Vṛṣabh. 20,15; 59,12).—*kṛt* (to chop) forms AMg. *kantai* (Sūyag. 360), dialectically *oandai* = *apakṛntai* (Hc. 4,125 = *āchinatti*; cf. § 275). In AMg. the root in conjunction with *vi* under retention of the nasalization goes over to the 4. conjugation: *vigiñcai* = *\*vikṛntyati*, *vigiñcamāne* (Āyār. 1,3,4,3; 1,6,2,4); *vigiñca* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1; Uttar. 170), *vigiñcēja* (Āyār. 2,3,2,6); absol. *vigiñca* (Sūyag. 500. 506). Cf. *kicci* § 271 and *ṇirūñjai* § 507.

§ 486. *sprś* forms in AMg. regularly *phusai* = *sprśati*, *phusanti* = *sprśanti*, *phusantu* = *sprśantu*, *phusamāne* = *sprśamānaḥ* (Āyār. 1,6,1,3. 3,2. 5,1; 1,7,7, 1; Vivāhap. 97. 98. 354. 355. 1288; Ovav.). Identical with it are *phusai pusai* (polishes; Hc. 4,105; G. H. R.) and *phusai* (roams about; Hc. 4, 161)<sup>1</sup>. Hc. 4,182 mentions also *phāsai*, *phaṁsai*, *pharisai*, which presuppose one *\*sṃarsati*. *phāsai* occurs in AMg. *samphāse* = *\*samsparśet* = *samsprśet* (Āyār. 2,1,3,3. 5,5. 9,2. 4. 5. 6. 10,2. 3; 2,3,2,13). *pharisai* is formed as *karisai* = *karṣati*, *marisai* = *marṣati*, *varisai* = *varṣati*, *harisai* = *harṣati* (Vr. 8,11; Hc. 4,235; Ki. 4,72)<sup>2</sup>. The same type of conjugation is presupposed by *puṁsai* (polishes; Hc. 4,105), *uppuṁsia*, *oṣpuṁsia* (G. 57. 778 beside *oṣpuṁsia* 723), which has been forced into Skt. as *utpuṁsaya*<sup>3</sup>.—*truṣ* forms also *toḍai* = *\*trōṭati* (Hc. 4,116), beside *tuḍai* = *truḍati* and *tuṣṭai*

= *trūṣyati*, as *nīl* forms *melai* in M. *melīṇa* (§ 562), AMg. *melanti* ( Vivāhap. 950), A. *melavi* ( Hc. 4,429,1). — On *kr*, *mṛ* see § 477, on *sr* § 235, on *phuṣṭai* § 488, note 1.

1. The common basic meaning is "to slip over something, to go away", which easily yields "to rest". The derivation from *proñch* (WEBER, Hāla s. v. *pus*; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 32, 99) is linguistically impossible. — 2. References in FISCHEL on Hc. 4,235 and above under § 135. — 3. ZACHARIAE, Beiträge zur indischen Lexicographie p.58. The nasal in *puṁsai* is not original as S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG.32,99 note 2 means, but it is to be explained, as in *phaṁsai*, according to § 74. In H. 706 Dhva-nyāloka 155,11 reads *mā puṁsa* for *mā pusasu*.

§ 487. The 4. class has in Pkt. undergone a wider extension than that in Skt. There are a larger number of roots, that are conjugated according to this class, that were either never or only seldom so conjugated in Skt. All the roots and stems ending in a vowel, other than *a*, may according to Hc. 4,240 ( cf. Vr. 8,21. 25. 26; Kī. 4,65. 75. 76; Mk. fol. 54) follow this conjugation: *pāāi* = \**pāyati* beside *pāi* = *pāti* (protects); *dhāāi*, *dhāi* = *dadhāti*; *ṭhāāi*, *ṭhāi*, 3. plur. *ṭhāanti*, JM. *ṭhāyanti*, A. *thanī* (§ 483); *vikkeāi* beside *vikkei* = \**vikrayati*<sup>2</sup>; *hoāūṇa* beside *hoūṇa* from the stem *ho* = *bhava*, which according to Sr. fol. 47 is inflected also as *hoāmi*, *hoasi*, *hoāi* (§ 476). The duplicity of flexion is sometimes found already in Vedic, as *uvvāi* = Vedic *udvāyati*, *uvvāi* = Skt. *udvāti*. — *jambhāāi*, *jambhāi* are denominatives from *jṛmbhā*. AMg. *jāi* ( Sūyag. 540; Uttar. 170), beside the usual M. *jāāi* = *jāyate*, too is formed from *jan* according to a similar analogy. Examples from literature are M. *māasi*, *māāi*, *māanti*, *amāanta-* (H.), JM. *māyanti* (Erz.), Ś. *ṇimmāanta-* ( Mālatim. 121,1) from *mā*, which forms *māyate*; A. *māi* ( Hc. 4,351,1) too, in addition to *māti*, *mimīte*, according to Dhātupāṭha 26,33. — M. *vāāi* ( Ratn. 293,3 ), *vāanti*, *vāanta-* (G. R.), *ṇivvāanti*, *ṇivvāanta-* (R.), *parivvāāi* (G.), *paṇvāāi* (R.), Ś. *vāādi* ( Śak 115,2 v. 1. ), beside M. *vāi*, *āvāi*, *ṇivvāi* ( G. H. ), JŚ. *ṇivvādi* ( Pav. 388,6 ), M. *vanti* ( Karp. 10,2 v. 1.; Dhūrtas. 4,20 v. 1.), yet *vāanti* ( Karp. 12,4 ). — JM. *paḍihā āi* ( Āv. 33,28 ); Ś. *paḍihādi* = \**pratibhāyati* = *pratibhāti* ( Bālar. 135,11) beside *paḍihāsi* ( Vikr. 7,18), *paḍihādi* ( Mṛcch. 71,25 [ "bhā" ]; Śak. 12,7; Vikr. 13,2;24,2; Nāgān. 5,9), often with the v. l. *paḍihāadi*; M. A. *paḍihāi* ( Hc. 3,80; G. H.; Hc. 4,441,1); Ś. *bhādi* ( Mṛcch. 73,14), *viḥādi* ( Prab. 57,2). — Ś. *paṭtiāasi* = *paṭtiyāsi* (§ 281) ( Mṛcch. 82,3; Ratn. 301,7;317,9; Nāgān. 37,7 [so correctly the v. l.], *paṭtiāadi* ( Nāgān. 30,3 [so rightly ed. Calc. 29,8 ]; Pras. 46,14; Ratn. 309,24; Vikr. 41,10 [so to be read with v. l. ]; Mg. *paṭtiāasi* ( Mṛcch. 130,13 ), *paṭtiāadi* ( Mṛcch. 167,2), *paṭtiāadha* ( Mṛcch. 165,9; Mudrār. 257,4 [so rightly v. l. and ed. Calc. 212,9 ], *paṭtiāanti* ( Mṛcch. 167,1), passive *paṭtiāādi* ( Mṛcch. 165,13).<sup>3</sup> Against this are inflected in AMg. JM. M. completely according to the analogy of the first class: AMg. *paṭtijāmi* ( Sūyag. 1015; Uvās. § 12; Nāyādh. § 133; Vivāhap. 134. 161. 803), *paṭtijāi* ( Vivāhap. 845 ), *paṭtijanti* ( Vivāhap. 841 f. ), opt. *paṭtiējjā* ( Paṇnav. 577; Rāyap. 250 ), imperative *paṭtijāhi* ( Sūyag. 1016; Vivāhap. 134 ); JM. *paṭtijāsi* ( Erz. 52,20), *apaṭtiantena* ( T. 6,18); M. *paṭtiāsi*, *paṭtiāi* ( R. 11,90; 13,44 ); from which the imperative is M. *paṭtia* ( H. ), falsely M. *paṭtihi* ( R. 11,94; the v. l. rightly *paṭtia*; Kāvya prakāśa 195,2; v. l. rightly *paṭtia* ) and M. *paṭtisu* ( H. v. l. ), in dependence upon the false etymology = *paṭihi*. Ś. *paṭtijāmi* ( Karp. ed. Bomb. 42,12), *paṭtijāsi* ( Karpas. 31,11 ) are false; for the first KONOW 40,9 reads *paṭtiāmi*. — *ṇhāi* = *snāti* ( Hc. 4,14); AMg. *siṇāi* ( Sūyag. 344 ); JM. *ṇhāmo* = *snāmah* ( Āv. 17,7 ); Mg. *ṇhāmi* = *snāmi* ( Mṛcch. 113,21). — Cf. § 313. 314. — AMg. *paṇcāyanti* ( Ovav. § 56) belongs to *jan* ( LEUMANN s. v. ), likewise *āyanti*, as Kappas. § 17 is to be read according to the v. l.; opt. 1. sing. *paṇjāējjā* ( Nirayāv. 59 ), 2. sing. *paṇjāējjāsi* ( Nāyādh. 420 ). On AMg. *jāi* = *jāyate* see above. Cf. also § 479.

1. LASSEN, Inst. p. 343; FISCHER, BB. 13,9. — 2. *vikkeai* is more correctly to be taken as the denominative from *vikreya* (§ 511). — 3. There with the help of the v. l. it is to be read: *yañ śaccakam pi na pattiādi*. The form *pattiādi* is likewise false as Ś. *pattiādi* at Mr̥ch. 325,19.

§ 488. The auslaut of the roots ending in a consonant in conjunction with *ya* undergoes the alteration described in the section on Phonology (§ 279—286): *paccaī* = *nṛtyati*; *jujjhai* = *yudhyate*; *tuṭṭai* = *trutyati*; *maṇṇai* = *manyate*; *kupṭṭai* = *kupyati*; *lubbhai* = *lubhyati*; *uttammai* = *uttāmyati*; *ṇassaī*, AMg. JM. *nāsaī*, M. *nāsaī* = *nāsyati* (§ 63); *rūsaī*, *tūsaī*, *sūsaī*, *dūsaī*, *pūsaī*, *śīsaī* (Bh. 8,46; Hc. 4,236; Kt. 4,68), AMg. JM. *pāsaī* = *paśyati* (§ 63). — According to the *e*-conjugation is formed JM. *tūseḍi* (Kattig. 400,335). Deviating from Skt. are conjugated according to the 4. class pro ex. *kukkaī*, *koḥkaī* = *\*krukyaī* = *\*kruśyaī* = *krośati* (Hc. 4,76)<sup>2</sup>; *callai* = *\*calyaī* = *calati* (Vr. 8,53; Hc. 4,231) beside the usual *calaī*, also in compounds, as *oallanti* = *avacalanti*, *oallanta-* (R.), *paallai* (Hc. 4,77), *pariallai* (Hc. 4,162); *jimmai* = *\*jimyati* beside *jimai*, *jemai* = *jemati* (Hc. 4,230; cf. 4,110); *thakkaī* = *\*sthakyaī* (Hc. 4,16)<sup>3</sup>; *\*millai* = *\*milyati* = *mīlanti* in compounds: *ummillai*, *ṇimillai*, *paṇimillai*, *saṇmimillai* (Vr. 8,54; Hc. 4,232; G. R.; in A. *ummillai* (Hc. 4,354); Mg. *saṇmyammadha* = *\*saṇmyamyata* = *saṇmyacchata* (Mr̥ch. 11, 3); Ś. *ruccadi* = *\*rucyate* = *rocate* (Vikr. 31,3; 40,18; Mālav. 15,14; 77, 21), A. *ruccai* (Hc. 4,341,1), beside *roadi* (Mr̥ch. 7,14; 44,5; 58,14; Śāk. 54,4; Vikr. 24,7; 41,18), Mg. *loadi* (Mr̥ch. 139,16; Śāk. 159,3); *laggai* = *\*lagyaī* = *lagati* (Vr. 8,52; Hc. 4,230); Ś. *olagganti* (Mālav. 39,14), *vilaggantam* (Mr̥ch. 325,14); Mg. *laggadi* (Mr̥ch. 79,10); A. *laggai* (Hc. 4,420,5; 422,7), *laggiivi* (Hc. 4,339); Dh. *vajjasi*, *vajjadi*, *vajja* from *vraja* (Mr̥ch. 30,4.10; 39,10), Ś. *vajjamha* (Pras. 35,17), false *vaccasi* (Cait. 57, 2)<sup>4</sup>, Mg. *vayyeṇti*, *paṇvayyami* (Mr̥ch. 120,12; 175,18). In Mg. A. *vraj* may be conjugated also according to the 9. class: Mg. *vaññāmi*, *vaññānadaśśa* (Lalitav. 566,7. 17), *vaññadi* = *\*vrajñāti* (Hc. 4,294; Sr. fol. 63)<sup>5</sup>; A. *vuñai*, absol. *vuñēppi*, *vuñēppinu* (Hc. 4,392). AMg. has also *vajāmo* (Sūyag. 268), *vajanti* (Sūyag. 277).

1. FISCHER, BB. 13,18 f. In many cases one could think of the flexion according to the 6. class, as it certainly is in *phuṭṭai* = *sphuṭa'ti* (Vr. 8, 53; Hc. 4,231). — 2. FISCHER, BB. 3,256. — 3. FISCHER, BB. 3,258 f. — 4. Cf. § 202. In Mr̥ch. 109,19 we should for *vajjisāmo* read *bajjisāmo*, fut. pass. from *bandh*; cf. v. l. — 5. In the verse in Mudār. 250,5 we should approximately read *vayyedha* instead of the transmitted *vajjeha*, as with HILLEBRANDT, ZDMG. 39,109 *vaññedha*. Cf. also *vaññāe* (Mallikām. 144,7).

§ 489. Some roots that follow the 4. class in Sanskrit go over to the first class or to the sixth class, partly compulsorily and partly optionally in Pkt. *man* may form *maṇṇai* = *\*manate* too (Hc. 4,7) beside the usual *maṇṇai* = *manyate*. Thereof the 1. sing. pres. atm. *maṇe* is frequent in M. (§ 457). M. AMg. JM. A. *muṇṇai*, JŚ. *muṇṇadi* (Vr. 8,23; Hc. 4,7; Mk. fol. 53; G. H. R.; Acyutaś. 82; Pratāp. 202,15; 204,10; Vikr. 26,8; Āyār. 1,7,8,13; Ovav.; Kappas.; Erz.; Kk.; Hc. 4,346; Piṅgala 1,85. 86. 90. 95 etc.; Kattig. 398, 303; 399,313. 316; 400,337) and AMg. *munejavva* (Paṇṇav. 33), JŚ. *muṇṇadava* (Pav. 380,8; text °ja°) too are traced back to *man*. Against this derivation speaks the meaning “to know” as well as Pāli *munāti*. I derive *muṇṇai* from Vedic *mūta* in *kāmamūta* and Skt. *muni*. Cf. *animo movere*. — As sometimes already in Epic Skt., *śam* in Pkt. may form its stem according to the 1. class: *samaī* (Hc. 4,167), *uvasamaī* (H. 4,239). So M. *paḍisamaī* (R. 6,44); AMg. *uvasamaī* (Kappas. S. § 59); JM. *uvasamasu* (Erz. 3,13), *paśamanti* (Āv. 16,20); Mg. *uvaśamadi* (Hc. 4,299 = Venīś. 34,11, where GRILL reads *uvaśammadi*; cf. however, the v. l. and ed. Calc. 71,7). But more frequent is the inflection according to the 4. class, as

in Skt.: M. *ṛisammai*, *ṛisammanti*; *ṛisammasu*, *ṛisammanta-* ( G. ), *pasammai*, *pasammanta-* ( G. R. ); *ṛisāmāi* ( Hc. 4,167 ).—*śram* is conjugated according to the 1. class: AMg. *samāi* ( Uttar. 38 ); JM. *uwasamanti* ( Āv. 35,29 ); M. JM. *viśamāmi*, *viśamasi*, *viśamāi*, *viśamāmo*, *viśamasu*, *viśamāu* ( G. H. R. ; Erz. ; Hc. 1,43; 4,159 ); JM. *viśamamāna* ( Dvār. 501,5 ); Ś. *viśama* ( Mṛcch. 97,12 ), *viśomaha* ( Ratn. 302 32 ), passive *viśamiadu* ( Mṛcch. 77,11 ), *vissamiadu* ( Śak. 32,9; Vikr. 77,15 ).—*vidh* ( *vyadh* ) goes in M. AMg. JM. according to the 6. class with nasal inserted: M. *vindhanti* ( Karp. 30,6 ); AMg. *vindhaī* ( Uttar. 788 ), opt. *vindhējja* ( Vivāhap. 122 ), *āvindhējja vā pivindhējja vā* ( Āyār. 2,13,20 ), also in the causative *āvindhāvei* ( Āyār. 2,15,20 ); JM. *āvindha* ( Āv. 38,7,10. 35 ), *āvindhāmo*, *āvindhasu* ( Āv. 17,8; 38,33 ), *vindhāi* ( Āv. 38. 36 ). In AMg. *vehai* = *vedhōi* ( Sūyag 186 ) goes according to the 1. class, and with *ud* according to the 6. class without nasal: *uvvihai* = \**udvidhāi* = *udvidhyati* ( Nāyādh. 958. 959; Vivāhap. 1388 ).—*śliṣ* forms *ślesai* = \**śleṣati*=*śliṣyati* ( Hc. 4,190 ) according to the first class.

§ 490. The verbs of the 10. class and the denominatives and causatives, so far as they are built similarly, tend to contract *-aya-* to *-e-*: PG. *abhatthemī* = *abhayarthayāmi* ( 7,44 ); M. *kahei* = *kathayāti* ( H. ), *kaheṅti* ( G. ); JM. *kaheṃi*, *kaheha* ( Erz. ); AMg. *kahei* ( Uvās. ), *parikahemo* ( Nirayāv. 60 ); Ś. *kadhehi* = *kathaya* ( Mṛcch. 4,14; 60,2; 80,17; 142,9; 146,4; 152,24; Śak. 37,16; 50,12; Vikr. 51,11 etc. ), *kadhesu* ( Bālar. 53,12; 164,17; 218,16 ), *kadhedu* = *kathayatu* ( Mṛcch. 28,2; Śak. 52,7; 113,12 ); Mg. *kadhedi* ( Śak. 117,5 ).—M. *gaṇei*=*gaṇayati*, *gaṇēnta* ( R. ); *gaṇesi* ( Śak. 156 5 ).—M. *cintesi*, *cintei*, *cintēnti*, *cinteum* ( G. H. R. ); AMg. *cintei* ( Uvās. ); JM. *cintesi* ( Erz. ), *cintēnti* ( Āv. 43,21 ); Ś. *cintemi* ( Vikr. 40,20 ), *cintehi* ( Śak. 54,7; Vikr. 46,8; Ratn. 309,13 ), *cintemo* ( Mahāv. 134,11 ).—Ś. *takkemi* ( Mṛcch. 39,3; 59,25; 79,1. 4; 95,3; Śak. 9,11; 98,8; 117,10; 132,11 and very often ), likewise Mg. ( Mṛcch. 99,11; 122,12; 141,2; 163,22; 170,17 ); A. *takkei* ( Hc. 4,370, 3 ).—AMg. *pariyāvēnti* = *paritāpayanti* ( Āyār. 1,1,6,2 ); Ś. *samtāvedī* ( Śak. 127,7 ).—AMg. *vedheī* = *veṣṭayati* ( Vivāhap. 447; Nāyādh. 621; Nirayāv. § 11 ), *varemo* = *varayāmah* ( Vivāgas. 229 ), *vedemo* = *vedayāmah* ( Vivāhap. 70 ). Non-contracted forms are more frequent only before the following double consonants, especially *nt*, as AMg. *tālayanti* = *tāḍayanti* ( verse; Uttar. 360,365 ) beside *tālēnti* ( Vivāhap. 236 ), *tālei* ( Nāyādh. 1236. 1305 ), *tāleha* ( Nāyādh. 1305 ), *sobhayantiā* ( Jiv. 886 ), *paḍisaṃvejayanti* ( Āyār. 1,4,2,2 ); M. *avaāmsaanti*=*avatāmsayanti* ( Śak. 2,15 ); JM. *cintayanto*, *cintayantāṇam* ( Erz. ); Ś. *cintaanto* ( Vikr. 42,8 ), *cintaantassa* ( Śak. 30,5 ); P. *cintayamāni*, *cintayanto* ( Hc. 4,310. 322 ); Ś. *daṃsaantie* = *darśayantiyā*, *daṃsaamha*, *daṃsaissam*, *daṃsaissasi*, °*di*; Mg. *daṃsaante* beside Ś. *daṃsemi*, *daṃsesi*, *daṃsehi*, *daṃsedum* ( § 554 ); Ś. *paāsaanto* = *prakāśayan* ( Ratn. 313,33 ) beside M. *paāsei*, *paāseṅti*, *paāseṅtiṃ* ( G. ); Mg. *paḍāśēṃmha* ( text °*se*° ) = *prakāśayāma* ( Lalitav. 567,1 ); Ś. *peśaanteṇa* = *preṣayatiā* ( Śak. 140,13 ); Ś. *āāsaanti* = *āyāsayanti* ( Vṛśabh. 50,10 ). More seldom in other cases, as Ś. *pavesāmi* ( Mṛcch. 45,25 ) beside Ś. *pavesehi* ( Mṛcch. 68,5 ); Mg. *pavesehi* ( Mṛcch. 118,9. 19 ); Ś. *virāāmi* = *viracayāmi* ( Śak. 79,1 ), Ś. *assāsaadi* = *āśvāsayati* ( Venṣ. 10,4 ); Ś. *ciraadi* = *cirayati* ( Mṛcch. 59,22 ); Ś. *jaṇaadi* = *janayati* ( Śak. 131,8 ), where, however, we should, with the v. l. read *jaṇedi*, as M. *jaṇei* ( H. ), *jaṇēnti* ( H. R. ); M. *varṇaāmo* = *varṇayāmah* ( Bālar. 182,10 ). Always in AMg. JM., and in AMg. very frequently is used *dalaya-* “to give”: *dalayāmi* ( Nāyādh. § 94; Nirayāv. § 19; p. 62; Erz. 67,27 ), *dalayai* ( Vivāgas. 35. 132. 211. 223; Nāyādh. § 55. 125; p. 265. 432. 439. 442. 449; Rāyap. 191 ff.; Āyār. 2,1,10,1; Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovav. etc. ), *dalayāmo* ( Vivāgas. 230; Nāyādh. 291 ), *dalayanti* ( Vivāgas. 84.209; Nāyādh.

§ 120), *dalajjējjā*, *dalajāhi* (Āyār. 1,7,5,2; 2,1,10,6. 7; 2,6,1,10), *dalajaha* (Nirayāv. § 19), *dalajamāṇe* (Nāyādh. § 113; Kappas. § 103 [so to be read, as § 28 *dalajai* with A]). Cf. § 474.

§ 491. In Skt. denominatives may be derived from nominal stems without a particular affix, as *ānkurati* from *ānkura*, *kṛṣṇati* from *kṛṣṇa*, *darpaṇati* from *darpaṇa* (KIELHORN § 476; WHITNEY § 1054). This sort of formation, that is not frequent in Skt., is very usual in Pkt., especially in M. and A. The denominatives derived from the feminine forms ending in *-ā* shorten it, as in all similar cases (§ 487. 500. 510 f.) and are conjugated according to the 1. class. Thus from M. *kahā* = *kathā* are derived *kahāmi kahasi, kahāi, kahāmo, kahaha, kahanti*. From this it results that beside the forms ending in *-e* = *-aya-*, mentioned in § 490, those in *-a-* are found not seldom. So: M. *kahāi* (Hc. 1,187; 4,2; H. 59); AMg. *kahāhi* (Sūyag. 423), *kahasu* (Uttar. 700,703); A. *kahi* = *\*kathēḥ* = *kathayēḥ* (Hc. 4,422, 14).—M. *gaṇai, gaṇanti, gaṇantiē* (H.); A. *gaṇai, gaṇanti, gaṇantiē* (Hc.; also 4,353).—M. *cintāi, cintanti-* (H.), *vintanti* = *vicintayanti* (G.); A. *cintāi, cintantiāhā* = *cintayanti* (Hc.).—M. *ummūlanti* = *ummūlayanti* (H.), *ummūlanti-* (R.) beside *ummūlanti* (R.), *kāmanti* = *kāmayanti* (H.) beside *kāmi* (Hc. 4,44), *kāmanti* (H.), *kāmanti* (G.), *pasānti* = *prasādayanti* beside *pasāsi, pasādamāṇassa* (H.), *papphoḍai, papphoḍanti* = *prasphoḍayati, ḍayanti* (H.), *maḍanti* = *mukulayanti* (H.), *maḍanti* (G.), *maḍanti-* (R.) beside *maḍai, maḍanti* (R.), *maḍanti* (G.); A. *pāhasi* = *prāthayasi* (Piṅgala 1,5<sup>a</sup>; cf. BOLLENSEN, Vikr. p. 530). *a* is found preponderantly before *nt*, as the uncontracted forms (§ 490). Thence it is possible that the entire formation of these forms has developed. A *gaṇanti* = Skt. *gaṇayanti* must have through *\*gaṇanti* become *gaṇanti*, whence are deduced *gaṇami, gaṇasi, gaṇai*. In Ś. Mg. the forms with *a*, except in verses, are never found. In no case we can assume transition of *e* into *a*<sup>1</sup>. On the causatives see also § 551 ff., on the denominatives § 557 ff.

1. WEBER, Hāla<sup>1</sup> p. 60; cf., however, there the note 4.

§ 492. The roots in *-a* of the 2. class are conjugated as in Skt. or according to the 4. class (§ 487). *khyā* in conjunction with prefixes may in AMg. be conjugated according to the 2. class: *akkhāi* = *ākhyaṇti* (Vivāhap. 966); *akkhanti* = *ākhyaṇti* (Sūyag. 456. 465. 522); = *āghaṇ* = *ākhyaṇ* (Sūyag. 397), *pacakkhāmi* (Uvās.), *pacakkhāi* (Ṭhāṇ. 119; Vivāhap. 119. 607; Uvās.); *pacakkhāmo* (Ovav.). Dh. *akkhanto* (Mṛcch. 34,24) is a false reading for *ācakkhanto* (§ 499). However, in AMg., as in Pāli, the roots are mostly reduplicated and inflected according to the *a*-conjugation as *ghrā, pā, sthā* (§ 483)<sup>1</sup>: *āikkhāmi* = *\*ācikkhyāmi* (Sūyag. 579; Ṭhāṇ. 149; Jiv. 343; Vivāhap. 130. 139. 142. 325. 341. 1033), *āikkhāi* (Sūyag. 620; Āyār. 2,15,28,29; Vivāhap. 915.1032; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.) = Pāli *ācikkhāmi; saṃcikkhāi* (Āyār. 1,6,2,2), *āikkhāmo* (Āyār. 1,4,2,5), *āikkhanti* (Āyār. 1,4, 1,1; 1,6,4,1; Sūyag. 647. 969; Vivāhap. 139. 341; Jiv. 343); *abbhāikkhāi, abbhāikkhējjā* (Āyār. 1,1,3,3), *abbhāikkhanti* (Sūyag. 969); *pacāikkhāmi* (Āyār. 2,15,5,1), *āikkhe, āikkhējjā* (Āyār. 1,6,5,1; 2,3,3,8; Sūyag. 661.663), *paḍiyāikkhe* (Āyār. 1,7,2,2), *paḍisaṃcikkhe, saṃcikkhe* (Uttar. 103. 106), *āikkhāhi* (Vivāhap. 150), *āikkhaha* (Āyār. 2,3,3,8 ff.; Nāyādh. § 83), *āikkhamāṇa* (Ovav. 59), *pacāikkhamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 607), *saṃcikkhamāṇa* (Uttar. 440).

1. FISCHER, BB, 15,126. The usual derivation from *caḥ* (§ 499) is wrong.

§ 493. *i* is inflected mostly as in Skt. The 3. plur. paramaipada nevertheless is M. AMg. *ēnti* (G. R.; Kāleyak. 3,8; Āyār. p. 15,6), likewise in compounds: M. *anṇēnti* = *anuyanti* (R.); M. *ēnti* = *āyanti* (R.;



Dhūrtas. 4,20 Karp. 10,2); M. AMg. *weñti* = *upayanti* (G.; Āyār. 2,16,1; Sūyag. 468; Dasav. 627,12), AMg. *samuweñti* (Dasav. 635,2). AMg. has for it also *inti* (Paṇṇav. 43), *niñti* = *niyanti* in the sense of *niryanti* (Paṇḥāv. 381. 382), *palinti* = *pariyanti* (Sūyag. 95.134), *sampalinti* (Sūyag. 52), *uñti* (Sūyag. 259) and *uñte* (Sūyag. 271), *samanninti* = *samanuyanti* (Ovav. [§ 37]). It is obvious to consider *e* as the original, that developed on the analogy of the sing. *emi*, *esi*, *ei* and to derive *i* from it according to § 84. If, however, AMg. *niñti* is the correct reading, it cannot be separated from M. *ñinti* (G.; H. v. 1.; R.), *viñinti* (Dhvanyāloka 237, 2 = H. 954), *aiñti* (G.), *parinti* (R.), which then must be explained as having arisen from *niñti*, \**niñti*, \**viñinti*, \**viñinti*, \**aiñti*, \**aiñti*, \**pariñti*, \**parinti*. *inti*, as Pāli too has, is formed according to \**imo*, \**iha* = Skt. *imāḥ*, *iha*. The participle is JM. *into* (Dvār. 499,27); it occurs in M. *ñinta-* (G.H.R.), *viñinta-* (G.), *aiñta-*, *parinta-*, (R.), *pariñinta-* (Sarasvatik. 9,21)<sup>2</sup> = *niyant-*, *viñyant-*, *aiyant-*, *pariyant-*, \**parinyant-* too. *e*, in the v. l. *ñenti* (G.H.R.), *viñenti* (Sarasvatik. 206,25)<sup>3</sup> must be explained as having arisen from *i* according to § 119, in the same way as in the forms *eñti*, *aññenti*, *weñti*, cited above. From the plural forms \**aimo*, \**aīha* = *aīmaḥ*, *aīiha*, \**ñimo*, \**ñīha* = *ñimaḥ*, *ñīha*, \**parimo*, \**parīha* = *parimaḥ*, *parīha* and others a singular is deduced: M. *aii* = \**atīti* (Hc. 4,162; R.). *ñisi* = \**niñi* (R.). M. JM. *ñii* = \**niñi* (G. H. R.; Āv. 41,13. 22), M. *parū* = \**pariñi* (Hc. 4,162; R.)<sup>4</sup>. AMg. gives the regular forms *ei* (Āyār. 1,3,1,3; 1,5,1,1. 4,3; Sūyag. 328. 460), *accei* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3. 6,4; 1,5,6,3; Sūyag. 540), *uei* = *uđeti* (Sūyag. 460), *ueu* (Āyār. 2,4,1,12; text *uđeu*), *uwei* = *upaiñi* (Āyār. 1,2,6,1; 1,5,1,1; Sūyag. 268. 523) etc. AMg. *eññāsi* (Āyār. 2,6,1,8) is = *eyāḥ*; imp. is *eññāhi* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10). On *i* with *palā* see § 567.—*ñi* forms in AMg. *sayañi*, *āsayañi* (Kappas. § 95); opt. *sae* (Āyār. 1,7,8,13) and *saeññā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,25. 26), particip. pres. *sayamāṇa* (Āyār. 2,2,3,26). Monstrous is Ś. *serade* (Mallikām. 291,3).

1. E. KUHN, Beiträge p. 96. — 2. So correctly ZACHARIAE, KZ. 28,414. — 3. So correctly ZACHARIAE, KZ. 28,415. — 4. On these forms treated collectively by S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 32,110 ff. and ZACHARIAE, KZ. 28,411 ff., where further literature. The establishment of a root *ni* "to go beyond" is impossible. From the Satapathabrāhmaṇa *upānayañi* (OLDENBERG, KZ. 27,281) and Pkt. *niyāñi* + \**niyāñi* (Hc. 4,162) is deduced a root *ni* "to go", which occurs in AMg. *nae* = *nayet* (§ 411; note 2; Āyār. 2,16,5), but that has nothing to do with *niñi*, as the flexion and parallel forms *aiñi*, *pariñi* show. The assumption that *ni* stands in the sense of *niḥ* simply creates difficulty. Further instances on this are wanting. It is impossible to derive *niñi*, with WEBER, ZDMG. 26,741, from *niñi* "weakened".

§ 494. The roots ending in *-u*, *-ū* of the second class mostly go over to the first class: *pañhañi* = *prasnauti*, *ravañi* = *rauti*, *savañi* = *sūte*, *pasavañi* = *prasūte*, *apiñhavamāṇa* = *aninhuvāna*; *hnu* goes over to the 6th class too (§ 473). *stu* is conjugated in M. JM. AMg. as a verb of the 9. class in Pkt.: *thuñāñi* (Hc. 4,241; Sr. fol. 49), *thuñimo* (Bālar. 122,13); AMg. *samthuñāñi*, absol. *samthuñāñtā* (Jiv. 612), *abhiñthunanti* (Vivāhap. 833), *abhiñthunamāñā*, *abhisamthunamāñā* (Kappas. § 110. 113); JM. *thuñei* according to the *e*-conjugation (Kk. II, 508,23), absol. *thuñiya* (Kk. II. 508,26). In Ś. Mg. it follows the 5. class: Ś. *uvaiññanti* = \**upastunvanti* (Uttarar. 10,9; 27,3; so to be read; cf. LASSEN; Inst. p. 264 note); Mg. *thuñu* (Mṛcch. 113,12; 115,9). The passive *thuñvāñi* (§ 536) presupposes a flexion also according to the 6. class = \**thuñvāñi* = Skt. \**stuvāñi*, the absol. JM. *thuñā* (Kk. 277,31; II, 507,25; III, 513,3) one \**stovāna*.—*brū* has retained its old flexion of Skt. in the frequent AMg. *bemi* = *bravīmi* (§ 166; Hc. 4,238; Āyār. p. 2 ff.; 8 ff.; Sūyag. 45. 84. 99. 117. 159. 200. 322. 627. 646f. 863. 950; Dasav. p. 613 f.; 618,16; 622 ff.). From it is built a 3. plur. AMg. JM. *beñti* (Dasav. N. 651,5. 16. 20; 658,25; 661,8; Erz. 4,5),

*binti* ( Sūyag. 236 ); the 1. plur. is AMg. *būma* ( Uttar. 784; verse ), the imp. *būhi* ( Sūyag. 259. 301. 553 ). On the optative *būjā* see § 464. In A. it goes according to the 6. class : *bruwaha* = *brūta* ( Hc. 4,391 ); AMg. *buija* presupposes the same flexion (§ 565).

§ 495. The roots *rud*, *śvas* and *svap* have completely gone to the *a*-conjugation. *rud* is conjugated according to the 6. class in M. and mostly in JM. A. too: M. *ruāmi*, *ruasi*, *ruai*, *ruanti*, *rua*, *ruēhi*, *ruasu* ( H. R.; Dhvanyāloka 173,3 = H. 966 ); JM. *rujasi* ( Āv. 13,33; 14,27 ), *rujāi* ( Āv. 14,26 ), *rujasu* ( Sagar. 6,11 ), *rujaha* ( Āv. 14,28 ), *rujanti* ( Āv. 13,33; Erz. 15,24 ), *rujantīe* ( Erz. 22,36 ), *rujamāni* ( Erz. 43,19 ), *rujāmānim* ( Āv. 14,26 ); A. *ruahi* = *rodisi* ( Hc. 4,383,1 ), *ruai* ( Piṅgala 1,137<sup>a</sup> ). More seldom is the flexion according to the 6. class in AMg. JM.A. : AMg. *rojanti* ( Sūyag. 114 ); JM. *rojai* ( Āv. 17,27 ), particip. fem. *rojanti* ( Āv. 12,34 ); JM. AMg. *rojamānā* ( Erz. 66,24; Uttar. 169; Vivāhap. 807; Vivāgas. 77. 118. 155. 225. 239. 240 ); A. *roi* = *\*rodeh* = *rudyāh* ( Hc. 4,368 ), *roantē* = *rudatā* ( Vikr. 72,11 ). This alone is prevalent in Ś. Mg., as Ś. *rodasi* ( Mṛcch. 95,22 ), *roadi* ( Mṛcch. 95,5; Venis. 58,20 [so to be read for *roidi* with v. l. as also Uttarar. 84,2 ] ), *roanti* ( Venis. 58,15 ), *roda* ( Mṛcch. 95,12; Nāgān. 24,8. 12; 86,10 [ *roa* ] ), *rodidum* ( Śak. 80,8; Ratn. 318,27 ), also according to the *e*-conjugation *rodesi*. ( Mālatīm. 278,7 ), as with the v. l. for *rodisi* of the text we should read, if one will not like to read with the ed. Bomb. 1892 p. 207,3 and the ed. Madras. II, 65,4 *rodīadi* [ both texts *rodīadi* ], as stands also at Ratn. 318,9 and Mudrār. 263,6; Mg. *loda*, *lodamānaśśa* ( Mṛcch. 20,25; 158,12 ). The flexion according to the 6. class is found in Utg. only in Mṛcch. 158,7. 9 *luadi* in verses; in Ś. stands *rudatu* [ sic ] Vidhaś. 87,9 in both the editions, certainly falsely. Cf. § 473.

§ 496. *śvas* is inflected: M. *sasai*, particip. pres. parasmaip. *sasanta-* ( H. R. ), *āsasai* ( G. ), *āsasu* for *āsasasu* ( H. ), *ūśasai*, *ūśasanta-* ( Hc. 1,114; G. R. ), *samūśasanti*, *samūśasanta-* ( G. H. ), *ṅśasai*, *ṅśasanta-* ( Hc. 4,201; G. H. ), *viśasai* ( Hc. 4,43; H. 511 v. l. ); AMg. *ussasai* ( Vivāhap. 112 ), *ūśasanti* ( Vivāhap. 26. 852; Paṇnav. 320 ff. 485 ), *ūśasējjā*, *ūśasamāṇe* ( Āyār. 2,2,3,27 ), *nissasai*, *nissasanti* ( Vivāhap. 112.852; Paṇnav. 320 ff. 485 ), *nīśasamāṇa* ( Vivāhap. 1253; Āyār. 2,2,3,27 ), *viśase* ( Uttar. 181 ); Ś. *ṅśasanti*, *ṅśasadi* ( Mṛcch. 39,2; 69,8; 70,8; 79,1 ), *viśasāmi*, *viśasadi* ( Śak. 65,10; 106,1 ), *samassasa* = *samāśvasiḥi* ( Vikr. 7,6; 24,20; Ratn. 327,9; Venis. 75,2; Nāgān. 95,18 ), *samassasadu* ( Mṛcch. 53,2. 23; Śak. 127,14; 142,1; Vikr. 71,19; 84,11; Ratn. 319,28 and often, also Venis. at 93,16 with the ed. Calc. 220,1 to be read ), *samassasadha* ( Vikr. 7,1 ); Mg. *śasadi*, *śasantiā* ( Mṛcch. 38,8; 116,17 ), *ūśasadu* ( Mṛcch. 114,20 ), *samūśasadi* ( Mṛcch. 133,22 ), *ṅśasadu* ( Mṛcch. 114,21 ), *samāśśasadu* ( Mṛcch. 130,17 ).

§ 497. *svap* as a rule follows the 6. class : M. *suasi*, *suvasi* = *\*supāsi* ( H. ), *suai* ( Hc. 4,146; H. ), *suvaī* ( Hc. 1,64 ), *suanti* ( G. ), *suvasu*, *suaha* ( H. ); JM. *suvāmi* ( Erz. 65,7 ), *sujaī* ( 76,32 ), *sujaū* ( Erz. 50,13; Dvār. 503,3 ), *sujanatassa* ( Erz. 37,12 ), *sujamāṇo* ( Dvār. 503,4 ); Ś. *suvāmi* ( Kārṇas. 18,19 ); *suvēmha* ( Mṛcch. 46,9 ), particip. nec. *suvidavvam* ( Mṛcch. 90,20 ); A. *suahi* = *svapanti* ( Hc. 4,376,2 ). The secondary root *sv* = *sup* is sometimes conjugated according to the 1. class, just as *rovaī* beside *ruvaī* and *dhovaī* beside *dhuvaī* ( § 473. 482 ); *sovaī* ( Hc. 1,64 ); JM. *sovēni* ( Dvār. 503,28 ), inf. *sovm* ( Dvār. 501,7 ); A. particip. nec. *soevā* ( Hc. 4,438,3 ).

§ 498. With the exception of AMg., in all the dialects the 1. and 2. sing. and plur. of *as* are used only as enclitics, in which the sing. forms lose the initial *a* ( § 145 ). Sing. M. JM. Ś. *mhi*, *si*, Mg. *smi* ( text *mhi* ) *śi*. The 1. plur. reads according to Vr. 7,7 *mha*, *mho*, *mhu*, according to Hc. 3,147; Kī. 4,9; Sr. fol. 50 only *mha*, *mho*. We have found in the text M.

*mha* and *mho* (H.), Ś. *mha* ( Śak. 26,11; 27,6; 55,13; 58,6; Vikr. 23,8. 14 etc.) corresponding to *sma* of the Epic. The very seldom 2. plural is *M. ttha* (R. 3,3). In AMg. the 1. sing. is *aṃsi* (§ 74.313; Āyār. 1,1,1,2,4; 1,6, 2,2; 1,6,4,2; 1,7,4,2; 1,7,5,1; Sūyag. 239. 565 ff. 689), enclitic *mi* (Uttar. 113. 116. 406. 439. 574. 590. 597. 598. 615. 625. 708; Kappas. § 3. 29), as also in JM. (Āv. 28,14. 15; Erz. 65,10; 68,21 ) the 1. plur. *mo* ( Āyār. 1,1,2,2. 3,4 [so to be read according to § 85]), as also JM. has ( Āv. 27,4 ). The 3. sing. in all the dialects is *atthi*, that in Mg. is to be equated as *asti*. *atthi* is used for all persons of the sing. and plur. as a non-enclitic form (Hc. 3, 148; Sr. fol. 50). Thus Ś. *atthi dāva aham* (Mudrār. 42,10; 159,12); Mg. *asti dāva hage* ( Mudrār. 193,1; cf. v. l. ); plur. AMg. *natthi sattovavāijā = na santi sattvā upapādītāh* (Sūyag. 28 ), *natthi nam tassa dāragassa hatthā vā pājā vā kaṇṇā vā = na sto nūnam tasya dārakasya hastau vā pādau vā karnau vā* (Vivāgas. 11); JM. *jassa oṭṭhā natthi = yasyauṣṭhau na staḥ* ( Āv. 41,6 ); Ś. *atthi aṇṇāim pi candaūttassa kovakāraṇāim cāṇakke = santy anyāny api candra- gūptasya kopakāraṇāni cāṇakye* (Mudrār. 164,3; so to be read; cfr. v. l. and ed. Calc. Saṃvat 1926 p. 141,14). The 3. plur. *santi* is seldom : AMg. ( Uttar. 200; Āyār. 1,1,2,2; 2,1,4,5; Sūyag. 585 ); JŚ. ( Pav. 383,74; 385, 65); Mg. *santi* (Venis. 34,21; cf., however, v. l.). From the imp. is found in AMg. *tthu* in the combination *namo tthu nam* (Hc. 4,283; 380. 760; Ovav. § 20,87; Kappas. § 16). The optative is AMg. *siyā* (§ 464). On the use of *atthi*, *santi*, *siyā* at the beginning of the sentence, as well on the pronominal use of *amhi*, *ammi*, *mmi* see § 417. Accordingly we have the following flexion:

Sing.

Plur.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. AMg. <i>aṃsi</i> , <i>mi</i> ; M. JM. JŚ. Ś. <i>mhi</i> ,<br>JM. also <i>mī</i> ; Mg. <i>smī</i> . | 1. M. <i>mho</i> , <i>mha</i> ; Ś. <i>mha</i> ; Mg. <i>sma</i> ;<br>AMg. <i>mo</i> , <i>mu</i> ; JM. <i>mo</i> . |
| 2. M. JM. Ś. <i>si</i> ; Mg. <i>śī</i> .  | 2. M. <i>ttha</i> .  |
| 3. M. JM. AMg. JŚ. Ś. <i>atthi</i> ; Mg. <i>asti</i> .  | 3. M. AMg. JŚ. <i>santi</i> ; Mg. <i>santi</i> .   |

Opt. AMg. *siyā*; imp. AMg. *tthu*. On the imperf. *āsi* see § 515.

§ 499. The remaining roots that in Skt. behave as of the 2. class go over to the *a*-conjugation and are conjugated according to the 1. class. So one says: AMg. *ahiyāsae = adhyāste* ( Āyār. 1,8,2,15 ) and = *adhyāsita* ( Āyār. 1,7,8,8 ff.); AMg. *pajjuwāsāmi = paryuṣāse* (Vivāhap. 916; Nirayāv. § 3; Uvās. ), *pajjuwāsāi* ( Vivāhap. 917; Nirayāv. § 4; Uvās. ), *pajjuwāsāhi*, *pajjuwāsējjāhi* (Uvās.); *pajjuwāsanti* ( Ovav. ).—M. *niacchāi = \*nicakṣati = niścaṣṭe* (Hc. 4,181; R. 15,48), *niacchāmi* ( Śak. 119. 7 ), *niacchae*, *niacchaha*, *niacchanta-*, *niacchamāṇa*, also according to the *e*-conjugation, *niacchesi* ( H. ), *avaacchāi*, *avaakkhāi*, *avaakkhāi*, *oakkhāi = avacaṣṭe* ( Hc. 4, 181; *avaakkhāi* also Vr. 8,69 ); AMg. *avayākkhāi* ( Nāyādh. 958 ); Ś. *ācakkha* ( Ratn. 320,32 ), past pass. part. of the pres. stem *ācakkhida = \*ācakṣita* ( Śak. 63,15 [ so to be read ]; 77,14; 160,15 ), *aṇācakkhida* ( Vikr. 80,4 ); Mg. *ācaskadi* ( Hc. 4, 297 ), *aṇācaskida* ( Mṛcch. 37,21 ); Dh. *ācakkhanto* ( Mṛcch. 34,24; so to be read; cf. v. l. in GODABOLE p. 101,4 ); A. *ācakkhāi* ( Vikr. 58,8; 59,14; 65,3 ), *ācakkhiu* ( Vikr. 58,11 ); Ś. inf. *pacācakkhidum* ( Śak. 104,8 ). Cf. § 324.—JŚ. *padussedi* ( Pav. 384,49 ) is not = *pradveṣṭi*, as the translation suggests, but = *praduṣyati* and enters for the explanation of AMg. JM. JŚ. *dosa* ( § 129 ). *sāhāi = śāste* ( Hc. 4,2 ); M. JM. *sāhāmi*, *sāhāi*, *sāhāmo*, *sāhanti*, *sāhasu* ( H. R.; Erz.; Kk. ), also according to *e*-conjugation : *sāhemi*, *sāhēnti*, *sāhesu*, *sāhehi*, *sāheu*, *sāhēnti* ( H. R.; Erz.; Kk. ); of the weak root *śiṣ* according to the 4. class: *śiṣāi* (Hc.4,2), seen up

till now only as passive = *śiṣyate* ( G. R. ); AMg. *aṇusāsammi* = \**anūsā-sāmi* = *anūsāsmi* (Uttar. 790)<sup>1</sup>, *aṇusāsanti* (Sūyag. 517; Uttar. 33); passive D. *sāsiṣjāi* (Mṛcch. 103,16), Ś. *sāsiādī* (Mṛcch. 155,6); Mg. *śāsādī* (Mṛcch. 158,25).—M. *haṇai* = *hanti* ( H. 214 ), *vihaṇanti*, and according to the *e*-conjugation *vihaṇemi* ( R. ); AMg. *haṇāmi* ( Vivāhap. 254. 850 f. ), *haṇai* (Vivāhap. 849 f. ), in the verse also *haṇāi* (Uttar. 630), *abhihaṇai* (Vivāhap. 348 ), *samohaṇai* ( Vivāhap. 114. 212 ff. 420; Nāyādh. § 91. 96; p. 1325; Kappas. ); JŚ. *vihaṇadi* ( Kattig. 401,339 ); AMg. *haṇaha* (Uttar. 365 ), *haṇanti* (Sūyag. 110), *samohaṇanti* (Rāyap. 32. 45). *sāhaṇanti* = *saṃghnanti* (Vivāhap. 137.138.141), in the verse also *viṇihanti* (Sūyag.339), opt. *haṇiyā hatijjā*, *haṇējjā*, *haṇe* ( § 464 ), imp. *haṇaha* ( Sūyag. 596; Āyār. 1,7,2,4 ); JM. *āhaṇāmi* (Āv. 28,2), *haṇai* (Erz. 5,32), imp. *haṇa* = *jahi* ( Erz. 2,15 ), opt. *āhaṇējjāsi* ( Āv. 11,1 ); Ś. *paḍihaṇāmi* = *pratihanmi* ( Mudrār. 182, 7 v. 1. ), *vihaṇanti* ( Prab. 17,10 ); Mg. *dhāṇedha* ( Mṛcch. 158,18 ); A. *haṇai* (Hc. 4,418,3).

I. JACOBI, SBE. 45,151, note I wrongly likes to read *aṇusasammi*. Cf. § 74. 182.

§ 500. The 3. class of Skt. has been retained in Pkt. just in scanty remnants. For *dā* in the present is used *de-* = *daya-* ( § 474 ), mostly in AMg., sometimes in JM. *dalajya-* ( § 490). — Of *dhā*, the old stem *dahā-* = *dadhā-* has generally been retained only in compounds with *sad-* = *śrad-*, which behaves almost exclusively according to the *a*-conjugation, as sometimes also in Vedic and Epic Skt. and in Pāli *dahati*<sup>1</sup>. So *saddahai* = *śraddadhāti* ( Vr. 8,33; Hc. 4,9; Kī. 4,46; Sr. fol. 57 ); M. *saddahimi* = *śraddadhāmaḥ* ( H. 23 ), past passive participle of the present stem *saddahia* ( Bh. 8,33; Hc. 1,12; Acyutaś. 8 ); AMg. *saddahāmi* ( Vivāhap. 134. 1316; Niraṣāv. 60; Uvās. § 12. 210; Nāyādh. § 132), *saddahai* (Vivāhap. 845; Paṇṇav. 64; Uttar. 805), in the verse also with old flexion *saddahāi* (Uttar. 804); JŚ. *saddahadi* (Kattig. 399,311); opt. *saddahe* (Uttar. 170), *saddahējjā* (Rāyap. 250; Paṇṇav. 577. 583), imp. *saddahasu* (Sūyag. 151) and *saddahāhi* (Vivāhap. 134; Rāyap. 249. 258); JM. *asaddahanto* (Āv. 35,4); AMg. *saddahamāṇa* (Hc. 4,9; Āyār. 2,2,2,8). In AMg., in addition, is found also *ādahai* (Ovav. § 44 ), *ādahanti* (Sūyag. 286 ). Cf. § 222. Otherwise *dhā*, as all other roots in *-ā* ( § 483. 487 ), is inflected according to the 2. or 4. class: *dhāi*, *dhāi* (Hc. 4,240); M. *saṃdhanteṇa* = *saṃdadhatā* ( R. 5,24 ); AMg. JM. with cerebralization ( § 223 ) very frequently: *ādhami* ( Āyār. 1,7 2,2; Vivāhap. 1210 ), *ādhai* (Ṭhāṇ. 156. 285. 479 ff.; Vivāgas. 460. 575; Niraṣāv. § 8. 18. 19. p. 61 ff.; Rāyap. 78. 227. 252; Uvās. § 215. 247; Nāyādh. § 69; p.460.575; Vivāhap. 228.234; Āv.27,3), AMg. *ādhanti* (Vivāgas.458; Vivāhap. 239), *ādhaiyanti* (Vivāhap. 245; Nāyādh. 301.302.305), *ādhaihin* (Vivāgas. 217; cf. §456), *ādhaiha* (Nāyādh.938) and *ādhaiha* (Vivāhap. 234), *ādhamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 240); *ādhaiyamīṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,1,1; 1,7,2,4,5), *aṇādhaiyamīṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2 ) and *aṇādhaiyamāṇa* (Uvās. [ so to be read; see v. 1. ; Vivāgas. 217; Rāyap. 282), passive *aṇādhaijjamāṇa* (Vivāhap. 235; Uvās.). Like *sthā* ( § 483 ), *dhā* with prefixes usually goes over to the *e*-conjugation: M. *saṃdheti* (H.733; R.15,76), *saṃdhēnti* (R.5,56), *saṃdhinti* (G.1041; so to be read; see v.1.); *vihesi* ( G. 332; read *khambhehi va vihesi* and cf. v.1.); AMg. *saṃdhei* (Āyār. 1,1,1,6), *saṃdhemāṇa* ( Āyār. 1,6,3,3 ), opt. *nihe* (Āyār. 1,2, 5,3; 1,4,1,3), *pihe* (Sūyag. 129); JM. *aisaṃdhei* (Āv. 46,25); Ś. *aṇusaṃdheimi* ( Karp. 70,3 ), *aṇusaṃdhedha* ( Karp. 23,1 ). AMg. *saṃdhai* ( Sūyag. 527 ), \**nihai*, \**pihai* is the connecting link. — *hā-* forms AMg. *jahāsi* (Sūyag. 174. 176), *jahai* (Sūyag. 118), *jahai* (Ṭhāṇ. 281), *pañahāmi* (Uttar. 377), *vippañahāmi* ( Vivāhap. 1237. 1242 ), *vippañahai* ( Vivāhap. ; Ovav. ), *vippañahanti* (Sūyag. 633. 635. 978), opt. *jaje* ( Āyār. 2,16,9 ), *pañahijja* and *pañahējja* ( Sūyag. 128. 147 ), *pañaje* ( Sūyag. 410 ), *pañaje* (Uttar. 456 ), *vippañaje*

(Uttar. 244), imp. *jahāhi* (Sūyag. 414), particip. *vip̄pajahamānā* (Vivāhap. 1385); JŚ. *jahādi* and *jandhā* ( Pav. 383,24; 385,64 ). According to the 4. class: AMg. *hāyāi* ( Ṭhāṇ. 294 f. ); future Ś. *parihāissadi* = *parihāssyate* ( Śak. 2,1 ). — *mā* see § 487.

1. FISCHER, BB. 15, 121.

§ 501. *bhī* shows the old flexion in *bihemi* = *bibhemi*, *bihei* = *bibheti* ( Hc. 1,169, 4,238 ). M. JM. *bihāi* ( Vr. 8,19; Hc. 3,134. 136; 4,53 ), *bihante* ( Hc. 3,142 ), JM. *bihasu* ( Erz. 81,34 ), dragged to *bhī*, and M. *bihei* ( H. 311. 778 ), JM. *bihehi* ( Erz. 35,33; 83,7 ), *bihesu* ( Erz. 82,20 ), formed according to the *e*-conjugation, do not belong to *bhī*, but is = \**bhīṣati* from *v̄bhīṣ*, of which only the causative is used in Skt. AMg. *bihāṇa*, *bihāṇaga* (§ 213. 263) proves it. Generally *bhī* is conjugated as the *ai*-roots (§ 479), always in Ś. Mg. So JM. *bhāyasu* ( Erz. 31,18 ); Ś. *bhā-āmi* ( Vikr. 24,13; 33,11 ), *bhāadi* ( Ratn. 301,18; Mālav. 63,12 ), *bhāāhi* ( Śak. 90,12; Mālav. 78,20; Ratn. 300,10; Priyad. 16,18; 21,5; Mallikām. 293,15 ); Mg. *bhāāmi*, *bhāāsi* ( Mṛcch. 124,22. 23; 125,21 ). In M. according to the analogy of the *a*-roots too (§ 479); *bhāi* ( Vr. 8,19; Hc. 4,53 ); *bhāsu*, v. l. *bhāhi* ( H. 583 ). — *hu* ( to offer ) goes over to the 9. class in AMg.: *huṇāmi*, *huṇāsi* ( Uttar. 375 ), *huṇāi* ( Vivāhap. 910 ); also with retention of reduplication : AMg. *juhuṇāmi* ( Ṭhāṇ. 436. 437 ). Cf. Skt. *hunet* in BÖHTLINGK s. v. *hun* (!).

§ 502. Remnants of the 5. class of Skt. are found almost only in Ś. and there they are doubtful. Most of the roots of the 5. class have gone over to the 9. class, but prevalently they behave according to the *a*- and *e*-conjugations: AMg. *saṁciṇu* (Uttar. 170); Ś. *avaciṇomi* (Mālatim. 72,5 [ed. Bomb. 1892 p. 53,1 and ed. Madras. 61,3 *avaiṇummi*]; Ummattar. 6,19), *avaciṇumo* (Pārvatip. 27,14), *uccīṇosi* (Viddhaś. 81,9; both the editions; nevertheless doubtful); false forms also Priyad. 11,4; 13,15. 17. Against that *ciṇai* ( Vr. 8,29; Hc. 4,238. 241 ), fut. *ciṇihī* ( Hc. 4,243 ), passive *ciṇijjāi* ( Hc. 4,242. 243 ); *uccīṇai* ( Hc. 4,241 ); M. *uccīṇasu*, *samuccīṇai* ( H. ), *vicīṇanti* ( G. ); AMg. *ciṇai* ( Uttar. 931. 937. 942. 948. 952 etc. ); Vivāhap. 112. 113. 136. 137 ), *avaciṇāi* ( Uttar. 842; Vivāhap. 113. 136. 137 ) and *saṁciṇāi* ( Uttar. 205 ), *avaciṇai* ( Vivāhap. 38. 39 ), *ciṇanti* ( Ṭhāṇ. 107; Vivāhap. 62. 182 ), *avaciṇanti* ( Ṭhāṇ. 108; Vivāhap. 62 ); Ś. imp. *avaciṇamha* ( Śak. 71,9; Mālatim. 111,2. 7 [ so to be read; cf. v. l. ; Cait. 73,11; 75,12 [ °ṇu ] ), past passive participle *vicīṇida* ( Mālatim. 297,5 ), also according to the *e*-conjugation: Ś. *uccīṇedi* ( Karp. 2,8 ), inf. *avaciṇedum* ( Lalitav. 561,8 ). In M. Mg. A. *ci* is conjugated according to the 1. class too: *uccei* ( Hc. 4,241, H. 159 ), *uccēnti* ( G. 536 ), imp. *ucceu* ( Sr. fol. 49 ), inf. *ucceum* ( H. 159 ); Mg. *saṁcehi* ( Venīś. 35,9 ), A. opt. *saṁci* ( Hc. 4,422,4 ); likewise *mi* in M. *nimesi* ( G. 296 ). Cf. 473.

§ 503. *dhu* (*dhū*) forms AMg. *dhuṇāi* ( verse; Āyār. 1,4,4,2 ), usually M. AMg. *dhuṇai* ( Vr. 8,56; Hc. 4,59. 241; Kī. 4,73; G. 437; H. 532; R. 15,23; Viddhaś. 7,2; Sūyag. 321 ), opt. AMg. *dhuṇe* ( Āyār. 1,2,6,3; 1,4,3,2; 1,5,3,5; Sūyag. 408. 550 ); AMg. *vihunāmi* ( Nāyādh. 938 ); M. *vihunai* ( R. 7,17; 12,66 ); M. AMg. *vihunanti* ( G. 552; R. 6,35; 13,5; Ṭhāṇ. 155 ); AMg. *vihune* ( Sūyag. 921 ), *vihunāhi* ( Uttar. 311 ), *niddhune* ( Uttar. 170 ), absol. *dhuṇiyā*, *vihuniyā* ( Sūyag. 111. 113 ), *vihūniyā* ( Āyār. 1,7,8,24 ), *samvidhūniyā* ( Āyār. 1,7,6,5 ), *niddhūmittāna* ( Uttar. 605 ), particip. pres. ātmanep. *viṇiddhūnamāna* ( Vivāhap. 1253 ); passive *dhuṇijjāi* ( Hc. 4,242 ); Ś. absol. *avadhūṇia* ( Mālatim. 351,6 ). It may be conjugated according to the 6. class too: *dhuvaī* ( Hc. 4,59 ), from which the passive *dhuuvaī* (§ 536 ); further according to the *e*-conjugation M. *vihunēnti* ( R. 8,35 ); Ś. *vidhūvedī* ( Mṛcch. 71,20 ). On the past passive participle *hūna*, *vihūna*, *vip̄pahūna*

see § 120.—Of *śru* is found the flexion according to the 5. class only in the 2. sing. imp. in Ś. Mg. So Ś. *śuṇu* ( Śak. 78,4; Vikr. 42,12 ); Mg. *śuṇu* ( Mṛcch. 121,23; Venis. 34,19, [GRILL false *śiṇu*], in the 2. plur. too *śuṇudha* Śak. 113,9). But in Ś. at both the places stands the v. 1. *śuṇa*, as in Ratn. 304,9; 309,9; Viddhaś. 63,2 against *śuṇu* 72,5 stands, and since beside it is found *śuṇāhi* too ( Mṛcch. 104,16; Śak. 77,6; Mālav. 6,5; 45,19; Vṛṣabh. 42,7), the 1. plur. *śuṇamha* ( Vikr. 41,17; Ratn. 302,7; 316,25), or according to the *e*-conjugation *śuṇēmha* ( Nāgān. 28,9; 29,7 ), the 2. plur. is *śuṇadha* ( Śak. 55,12 ), so *śuṇa* will have to be read throughout in Ś. In Mg. too *śuṇu* for *śuṇa* will be a Sanskritism. The 2. plur. in Mg. is *śuṇādha* ( Lalitav. 565,17; 566,5; Mṛcch. 158,19; 162,17; Prab. 46,14. 17 ) or *śuṇedha* ( Mṛcch. 154,9 ), and so at Śak. 133,9 with the v. 1. and in Hc. 4,302 we should read either *śuṇadha* or ( cf. Z ) *śuṇādha*. In any case, in Ś. Mg. the conjugation according to the model of the 9. class is usual: Ś *śuṇāmi* ( Mālatīm. 288,1 ); Mg. *śuṇāmi* ( Mṛcch. 14,22 ); falsely Ś. *śuṇomi* ( Venis. 10,5; Mudrār. 249,4.6 ), for which with the v. 1. *śuṇāmi* or *śuṇemi* is to be read. Ś. *śuṇādi* ( Mālav. 71,3; Mukund. 13,17; Mallikām. 244,2 ), also *śuṇedi* ( Mṛcch. 325,19 ); Mg. *śuṇādi* ( Mṛcch. 162,21 ). Against the dialect is Ś. *śuṇimo* ( Bālar. 101,5 ), for which *śuṇāmo* is correct. Very frequent is the 3. sing. imp. Ś. *śuṇādu* ( Mṛcch. 40,21; 74,5; Śak. 20,12; 21,4; 57,2; 159,10; Vikr. 5,9; 72,14; 80,12; 83,19; 84,1; Mālav. 78,7; Mudrār. 159,12 etc. ), Mg. *śuṇādu* ( Mṛcch. 37,3 ); 3. plur. imp. Ś. *śuṇantu* ( Mṛcch. 142,10 ), Mg. *śuṇantu* ( Mṛcch. 151,23 ). In M. the stem is carried over to the *a*-conjugation: *śuṇāi*, *śuṇimo*, *śuṇanti*, *śuṇasu*, *śuṇaha* ( G. H. R. ), likewise in A. 2. plur. imp. *ṇisunahu* ( Kk. 272,37 ), JM. *śuṇāi*, *śuṇanti* ( Kk. ), *śuṇa* ( Dvār. 495,15 ), *śuṇasu* ( Kk.; Erz. ); AMg. JM. *śuṇaha* ( Ovav. § 184; Āv. 33,19 ); AMg. *śuṇantu* ( Nāyādh. 1134 ), *śuṇamāṇa* ( Āyār. 1,1,5,2 ), *apa-ḍisunamāṇa* ( Nirayāv. § 25 ). In JM. AMg., however, the flexion according to the *e*-conjugation prevails: JM. *śuṇei* ( Āv. 35,30; 42,41; 43,2; Kk.; Erz. ); AMg. *śuṇemi* ( Ṭhān. 143 ), *śuṇei* ( Vivāhap. 327; Nandis. 371. 373. 504; Āyār. 1,1,5,2; p. 136,8. 16; Paṇṇav. 428 ff. ), *paḍisuṇei* ( Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Kappas. ), *paḍisuṇēnti* ( Vivāhap. 1227; Nirayāv.; Uvās.; Kappas. [so or °ni° to be read also at § 58] etc. ). AMg. *paḍisuṇējjā* ( Rāyap. 251 ), *paḍisuṇijjā* ( Kappas. ), *paḍissune* ( Uttar. 31,33 ) are opt. For the 3. sing. imp. Hc. 3,158 gives *śuṇāi*, *śuṇeu*, *śuṇāu*. AMg. has *śuṇeu* ( Sūyag. 363 ), 2. plur. *śuṇeha* ( Sūyag. 243. 373. 397. 423 f.; Uttar. 1 ). The passive M. JM. *śuvvāi* ( § 536 ) presupposes a conjugation according to 6. class \**śuvāi* = \**śruvāti*.

§ 504. AMg. *pappōi* [text *pappōtti*; commentary *papputti*] = *prāpnoti* ( Uttar. 430 ), JŚ. *pappōdi* ( Pav. 389,5 ) in verses are formed according to the 5. class from *āp* with *pra*. Otherwise *āp*, in AMg. with the stem of the 9. class, is inflected according to the *a*-conjugation: *pāunaī* = \**prā-puṇāti*, \**prāpuṇati* ( Vivāhap. 845; Ovav. § 153; Paṇṇav. 846 ), *pāuṇanti* ( Sūyag. 433. 759. 771; Ovav. § 74. 75. 81. 117 ); *saṃpāuṇanti* ( Vivāhap. 926 ), opt. *pāuṇējjā* ( Āyār. 2,3,1,11. 2,6; Ṭhān. 165. 416 ), *saṃpāuṇējjāsi* ( text °se; Uttar. 345 ); inf. *pāuṇittae* ( Āyār. 2,3,2,11 ). In M. JM. JŚ., in verses in AMg., Ś. A. the usual flexion is according to the 1. class : *pāvāi* = \**prāpnoti* ( Hc. 4,239 ). So M. *pāvasi*, *pāvāi*, *pāvanti*, *pāva*, *pāvāi* ( G. H. R. ), also according to the *e*-conjugation *pāvēnti* ( G. ); AMg. *pāvāi* ( Uttar. 933. 939. 944. 954 etc.; Paṇṇav. 135 ); opt. *pāvijjā* ( Nandis. 404 ); JM. *pāvāi* ( Kk. 272,5 ), *pāvanti* ( Rṣabhap. 41 ), and according to the *e*-conjugation *pāvei* ( Erz. 50,34 ), *pāvēnti* ( Kk. 266,4; Erz. 46,1 [so to be read] ); JŚ. *pāvadi* ( Pav. 380,11; Kattig. 400,326; 403,370 ); Ś. *pāvanti* ( Viddhaś. 63,2 ); absol. JŚ. *pāvīya* ( Kattig. 402,369 ), and according to the *e*-conjugation JŚ. Ś. *pāvedi* ( Kattig. 399,307; Ratn. 316,5 ), *pāvehi* ( Mālav. 30,11; so to be read ); A. *pāvami* ( Vikr. 71,8 ). From the same stem is built the future too

Ś. *pāvaiṣṣam* (Śak. 54,3). Hc. 4,302 read *Mudrār.* 187,2 in AMg. *pāvemi*; the MSS. and editions have *ācemi*, *jācemi*, *paḍicchemi* ( Hc. 4, 141. 142 mentions also *vāvei* = *vyāpnoti* and *samāvei* = *samāpnoti*).

§ 505. *taks*, as already in Skt. too, behaves according to the 1. class: AMg. *tacchanti* ( Sūyag. 274 ), *tacchiya* ( Uttar. 596 ).—From *śak* very frequent is *sakkaṇomi* = *śaknomi* (§ 140. 195; Śak. 51,2; Ratn. 305,33; 327,17; Uttarar. 112,8) or *sakkuṇomi* ( Mṛcch. 166,13; Vikr. 12,12; 15,3; 46,18; Mudrār. 242,3; 246,1; 252,2 [everywhere to be so read]; Nāgān. 14,8. 11; 27,15 etc.). In other dialects it behaves according to the 4. class: *sakkai* = \**śakyati* ( Vr. 8,52; Hc. 4,230; Kī. 4,60). So JM. A. *sakkai* ( Erz.; Hc. 4,422,6. 441,2 ), JM. opt. *sakkējja* ( Erz. 79,1 ), and according to the *e*-conjugation JM. *sakkei* ( Āv. 42,28), *sakkēnti* ( Erz. 65,19), *sakkeha* ( Sagara 10,13 [ so to be read ] ). On the opt. *sakkā* see § 465.—*stṛ*, which in Skt. follows the 5. or 9. class is inflected in Pkt. according to the analogy of roots in *r* (§ 477) : M. *ō'ttharaī* = *avastṛnoti*, *ō'ttharia* = *avastṛta*, *vittharaī*, *vittharanta-*, *vitthariim*, *vittharia* ( R. ); JM. *vitthariya* = *vistṛta* ( Erz. ); Ś. *vittharanta-* ( Mālatim. 76,4; 258,3 ); A. *ō'ttharaī* ( Vikr. 67,20). To it belongs also *utthaṅghā* ( raises up; throws up; Hc. 4,36. 144), past passive participle *utthaṅgia* ( R. s.v. *stambh*) = \**utstaghnoti* ( PISCHEL, BB. 15,122 f.) Cf. § 333.

§ 506. The tottering flexion of the 7. class in Pkt. is completely lost. The nasal is taken from the weak forms to the strong ones and the stem is inflected according to the *a*- or *e*-conjugation : *chindai* = *chinatti* ( Vr. 8,38; Hc. 4,124. 216; Kī. 4,46; Mk. fol. 56); *acchindai* ( Hc. 4,125 ); M. *achindai* ( G. ), *vō'cchindanta-* ( R. ); JM. *chindāmi* and *chindei* ( Erz. ) abs. *chindittu* ( Kk. ); AMg. *chindāmi* ( Ānuog. 528; Nirāyāv. § 16 ); *chindasi* ( Ānuog. 528), *chindai* ( Sūyag. 332; Vivāhap. 123. 1306, ( Nāyādh. 1436; Uttar. 789), *acchindai* *vicchindai* ( Thān. 360 ), *vō'cchindasi*, *vō'cchindai* ( Uttar. 321. 824 ), opt. *chindējja* ( Vivāhap. 123. 1306 ). *chinde* ( Uttar. 217 ), *acchindējja* ( Āyār. 2,3,1,9; 2,9,2; 2,13,13 ), *vicchindējja* ( Āyār. 2,13,13 ), *chindāhi* ( Dasav. 613,27 ), *chindaha* ( Āyār. 1,7,2,4 ), present participle *chindamāna* ( Ānuog. 528 ), absol. *palicchindiyāṇām* ( Āyār. 1,3,2,4 ); Ś. absol. *paricchindia* ( Vikr. 47,1 ). On AMg. *acche* see § 466. 516. — *piṣai* for \**piṣai* ( § 76 ) = *piṣaṭi* ( Hc. 4,185 ); Ś. *piṣedi* ( Mṛcch. 3,1. 21 ). — *bhañjai* = *bhanakti* ( Hc. 4,106 ); M. *bhañjai*, *bhañjanta-* ( H. R. ); JM. *bhañjiṇa*, °*je* ( Erz. ); AMg. *bhañjai*, *bhañjāe* ( Uttar. 788. 789 ); Ś. future *bhañjaṭṣai* ( Vikr. 22,2 ), absol. *bhañjia* ( Mṛcch. 40,22; 97,23 ). Mg. *bhayyadi* [ text *bhajjadi*; ed. Calc. *bhajjedi* ] ( Mṛcch. 118,12 ) must be considered as passive and *vibhaya* ( text *bibhajja* ( Mṛcch. 118,21 ) as its imperative; against this stands Ś. imp. *bhajjedha* ( Mṛcch. 155,4 ) in the active sense, to which may be compared *jujjaī* (§ 507 ). — *bhindai* = *binatti* ( Vr. 8,38; Hc. 4,216; Kī. 4,46; Mk. fol. 56 ); M. *bhindai*, *bhindanta-* ( G. H. R. ); JM. *bhindai* ( Erz. ); AMg. *bhindai* ( Thān. 360; Vivāhap. 1327 ), *bhindēnti*, *bhindamāne* ( Vivāhap. 1227. 1327 ), opt. *bhindējja* ( Āyār. 2,2,2,3; 2,3,1,9 ); Ś. Mg. absol. *bhindia* ( Vikr. 16,1; Mṛcch. 112,17 ). On AMg. *abbhe* see § 466. 516.

§ 507. *bhuji* forms *bhuñjai* ( Hc. 4,110; Mk. fol. 56 ), *uvahuñjai* ( Hc. 4, 111 ); M. *bhuñjasu* ( H. ); JM. *bhuñjai* ( Erz. ), *bhuñjai* ( Āv. 8,4,24 ), *bhuñjanti* ( Erz.; Kk. ), *bhuñjāe* ( Ātmanep.; Erz. ), *bhuñjāhi* ( Āv. 10,40 ), *bhuñjasu* ( Av. 12,20 ), *bhuñjaha*, *bhuñjamāna*, *bhuñjīya*, *bhuñjittā* ( Erz. ); AMg. *bhuñjai* ( Uttar. 12; Vivāhap. 163 ), *bhuñjai* ( Sūyag. 209 ); *bhuñjāmo* ( Vivāhap. 624 ), *bhuñjaha* ( Sūyag. 194; Vivāhap. 623 ), *bhuñjanti* ( Dasav. 613,18 ), *bhuñjējja* ( Āyār. 2,1,10,7; Vivāhap. 515. 516 ), *bhuñje* ( Uttar. 37; Sūyag. 344 ), imp. *bhuñja* ( Sūyag. 182 ), *bhuñjasu*, *bhuñjimo* ( Uttar. 369. 675 ), *bhuñjaha* ( Āyār. 2,1, 10,7 ), *bhuñjamāna* ( Pannav. 101. 102 [ °*je* ]. 103 [ °*je* ] ); Kappas.; JŚ. *bhuñjade* ( Kattig. 403. 382; 404,390 ); Ś. *bhuñjasu* ( Mṛcch. 70,12 ), inf. *bhuñjidum* ( Dhūrtas. 6,21 ); A. *bhuñjanti* inf. *bhuñjanaḥ*, *bhuñjanaḥi* ( Hc. 4,335,441,1 ).

— From *yuj* the present are *juñjai*, *jujjai* (Hc. 4,109), which may be compared with *bhajjedha* § 506 and under *rudh*. M. *paññajam* (Karp. 7,1). M. *jujjae*, *jujjai* (H.), *jujjanta-* (R.) are passive forms. AMg. *juñjai* (Pañnav. 842 ff.; Ovav. § 145. 146), *paññjai* (Vivāhap. 1312; Nāyādh. § 89), opt. *juñje* (Uttar. 29), *paññje* (Samav. 86), *juñjamāṇa* (Pañnav. 842 ff.), absol. *uvaññjūna* (Vivāhap. 1591); absol. M. *niññija* (Erz.); Ś. *paññjadha* (Karp. (6,7), imp. passive from the present stem *paññjadiu* (Mṛcch. 9,7), whilst the very frequent Ś. *jujjadi* (Mṛcch. 61,10; 65,12; 141,3; 155,21; Śak. 71, 10; 122,11; 129,15; Vikr. 24,3; 32,17; 82,17 etc.)=*yujyate* is, as the future Ś. *ahiujjissadi*=*abhiyoksyate* (Uttarar. 69,6).—*rudh* forms *rundhai* (Vr. 8,49; Hc. 4,133.218.239; Kī. 4,52; Mk.Sr fol. 56). So M. *rundhasu* (H.). AMg. *rundhai* (Thān. 360); Ś. *rundhedi* (Mallikām. 126,3; text. °ei); A. absol. *rundhevīnu* (Vikr. 67,20) and *ruññhai*=\**rudhyati* (Hc.4,218), also with the nasal inserted M. *nirunñhai* (H. 618), JŚ. absol. *nirunñhittā* (Pav. 386,70), with which is compared AMg. *vigññai*=*vikṛntyati* (§ 485). M. AMg. *rumbhai* (Vr.8,49; Hc. 4,218; Kī. 4,52; Mk. Sr. fol. 56; H. R.; Uttar. 902), AMg. *nirumbhai* (Uttar. 834), passive M. JM. *rubbhai* (§ 546) belong to a root \**rubh*, which is an analogical formation according to the roots in gutturals (§ 266). — *hims* forms in AMg. *himsai* = *hinasti* (Uttar. 927. 935. 940. 945. 950 etc.), *vihimsai* (Āyār. 1, 1, 1, 4. 5. 5. 6. 3), *himsanti* (Āyār. 1, 1, 6, 5).

§ 508. The forms of *kr*, built according to the 8. class, are still found in AMg. JM. JŚ. only, notwithstanding the carrying over of the weak stem *kuru-* to the *a-* class as *kurva-*: AMg. *kuvāi* = \**kurvati* (Sūyag. 321. 328 [°ai]. 359 [°ai]. 550. 551; Uttar. 43; Dasav. 613,19 [°ai]), *pakuvvāi* (Āyār. 1.2,6,2), *viuvvāi* (Vivāhap. 114; Rāyap. 60 ff. 79. 82; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. etc.), *kuvanti* = *kurvanti* (Sūyag. 231. 240. 359. 472. 646; Vivāhap. 409), *vikuvvanti* (Vivāhap. 214. 215), opt. *kuvvejjā*, °*jja* (Uttar. 19. 289), usually, however, *kujjā* (§ 464), imp. *kuvvahā* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1), pres. part. ātmanep. *kuvvaṃāṇa* (Āyār. 1,1,3,1; Pañnav. 104; Nāyādh. 930), *viuvvaṃāṇa* (Vivāhap. 1033 f. 1054), *pakuvvaṃāṇa* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5; 1,5,1,1); JM. *kuvāi* (Kk.), *kuvanti* (Āv. 7,11), *viuvvāi* (Āv. 35,6), *viuvvae* (Āv. 36,27), absol. *viuvviṇṇa*, past passive particip. *viuvviya* (Erz.); JŚ. *kuvadi* (Kattig. 399, 313; 400, 329; 401, 340; 402, 357), *kuvvaṃ* (Pav. 384,58), *kuvantaṃ* (Kattig. 400,332), *kuvanto* (Kattig. 403,378), also ātmanep. *kuvvaḍe* (Kattig. 403,384). The Vedic flexion according to the 5. class has been retained in M. JM. JŚ. Ś. A. Vedic. *kr̥ṇoti* becomes, according to § 502, *kuṇai* (Vr. 8,13; Hc. 4,65; Kī. 4,54; Mk. 59). So M. *kuṇasi*, *kuṇai*, *kuṇanti*, *kuṇa*, *kuṇasu* *kuṇai*, *kuṇanta-* (G. H. R.); JM. *kuṇai* (Kk.; Rṣabhap.), *kuṇanti*, *kuṇaha* (Kk.), *kuṇasu* (Kk.; Erz.; Sagara 6,2. 11. 12), *kuṇanta-*, *kuṇamāṇa-* (Kk.; Erz.), *kuṇanteṇa* (Kī. 15), also completely isolated *kuṇai* in AMg. in the verse (Samav. 85); JŚ. *kuṇadi* (Kattig. 399,310. 319; 402,359. 367; 403,370. 371. 385; 404,388. 389. 391); A. *kuṇahu* (Piṅgala 1,16. 53. 79 [text °ha] and *kuṇehu* (Piṅgala 1,90. 118). In Ś. Mg. *kuṇa-* is never used (Vr. 12,15; Mk. fol. 72). It is correct, therefore, in the dramas only in the gāthās composed in M., as Ratn. 293,6; Mudrār. 83,3; Dhūrtas. 4,19; Nāgān. 25,4; 41,5; Bālar. 120,6; Viddhaś. 92,8; Karp. 8,9; 10,1; 55,3; 67,5, etc. Pratāp. 218,17; 220,15; 389,14 etc. Rājasekhara wrongly uses *kuṇa-* in Ś. too, as in Bālar. 69,13; 168,7; 195,13; 200,12; Viddhaś. 36,2; 48,9.11; 80,14; 83,3; 123,14. For *kuṇomi* (Karp. 107,6 ed. Bomb.) Konow reads 115,6 correct *kadiadu*, and so perhaps in Bālar. and Viddhaś. too in the critical editions. *kuṇa-* is to be removed from Ś. It is found, however, elsewhere in later days dramas too, as Hāsy. 32,12; 39,14; Cait. 36,11; 37,5;



39,1, 10; 44,12; 47,7; 80,14;92,14; Karnas. 22,8; Jivān. 39,15;41,7;81,14; 95,2; Mallikām. 69,1; 336,3 etc. perhaps a bit through the contribution of the publishers and authors. Out and out monstrous is Ś. *kummo* = *kurmah* (Jivān. 13,6), against this correctly Dh. *kulu* = *kuru* (Mṛcch. 31,16).

§ 509. *kr* is conjugated mostly as the roots in *r* of the first class (§477): *karai* (Vr. 8,13; Hc. 4,65, 234, 239; Mk. fol. 59), yet in M. JM. AMg. JŚ. almost, in Ś. Mg. completely exclusively according to the *e*-conjugation. *a*-forms are: PG. opt. *karēyya*, *karēyyāma* (6,40; 7,41); M. *karanta*- (R.); JM. *karae* = *kurute* (Kk. II, 506,5), *karanti* (Rṣabhap. 39,40); AMg. *karai* (uncertain; Rāyap. 233), *karanti* (Sūyag. 297; Uttar. 1101; Vivāhap. 62; Jiv. 102; Paṇṇav. 56, 574), *pakaranti* (Uttar. 15; Paṇṇav. 575), *viyāgaranti*, *vāgaranti* (Sūyag. 523, 695); JŚ. *karadi* (Kattig. 400,332); opt. AMg. *karē* (Sūyag. 348, 385, 393), *nirākare* (Sūyag. 442), *karējjā* (§ 462), *viyāgarējjā* (Sūyag. 525, 527), *vāgarējjā* (Āyār. 2,3,2,17); frequently in A.: *karimi* (Vikr. 71,9), *karai* (Hc. 4,370,2), *karai*, *karadi*, *karanti*, *karahi* (Hc. s. v. *ṅkar*), opt. *kari* (Hc. 4,387,3; Sukasaptati 49,4; Prabandhac. 63,7), imp. *karahi* (Hc. 4,385; Piṅgala 1,149), *karu* (Hc. 4,330,3), *karahu* (Hc. 4,346; Piṅgala 1,102, 107, 121 [text <sup>o</sup>ha]), inf. *karāṇa*, absol. *karēvi*, *karēppīṇu* (Hc. s.v. *ṅkar*). — *e*-forms are very frequent: M. *karemi*, *karesi*, *karei*, *karēnti*, *karehi*, *karesu*, *karēnta*- (H. R.); JM. *karei* (Erz.; Kk.; Āv. 9,17;14,14), *karemo* (Erz. 2,27; 5,35; Kk. 264,11, 14; Āv. 17,14; Sagara 2,14), *karēnti* (Erz.; Kk.), *karehi*, *karesu*, *kareha* (Kk.), *karēnta*-, *kare māna* (Erz.); AMg. *karemi* (Thān. 149, 476; Nāyādh. § 94; Uvās.), *karei* (Āyār. 1,2,5,6;1,3,2,1; Sūyag. 403, 406, 853; Vivāhap. 915,917, 931, 945; Nirayāv. 49; Uvās.; Kappas.), *karemo* (Sūyag. 734), *karēnti* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1; Rāyap. 183; Jiv. 577, 597; Uvās.; Kappas.), imp. *viyāgarēhi* (Sūyag. 962), *kareha* (Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.), *kare māna* (Uvās.), *viyāgarē māne*, *viyāgarēi* (Āyār. 2,2, 3,1). Isolated is AMg. *kajjanti* (Uvās. § 197, 198) in the active sense; at the parallel place § 184 stands *karēnti*. JŚ. *karedi* (Pav. 384,59; Kattig. 400,324; 402,369; 403,377, 383); Ś. *karemi* (Lalitav. 561,15; Mṛcch. 16,4; 103,17;151,22; Śak. 165,8 [to be taken from the v.l. over to the text]; Vikr. 82,5; 83,5, 6 etc.), *karesi* (Ratn. 303,29; Mālatīm. 265,2; Prab. 44,2 [so to be read with P. M. Bomb.]), *karedi* (Lalitav. 560,9; Mṛcch. 73,11; 147,18; 151,19, 20; Śak. 20,5; 56,16; Vikr. 75,5), *karemo* (Śak. 80,5 [so to be read]), *alamkarēnti* (Mālatīm. 273,5 [so to be read; cf. v. l.]), *karehi* (Mṛcch. 66,14; 325,18; 326,10), *karesu* (Ratn. 299,5; 316,6;328,24; Venis. 98,15; Pras. 84,9; Karnas. 21,7; 30,5; 37,20), *karedu* (Mālatīm. 351,7), *karē mha* (Śak. 81,16; Vikr. 6,15;10,15;53,14; Prab. 63,11; Ratn. 303,21; Uttarar. 101,8), *karedha* (Mālatīm. 246,5), *karēnta*- (Mṛcch. 6,13; 40,23; 60,25; 61,24; 105,1; 148,8). — Mg. *kalemi* (Mṛcch. 12,15; 31,17, 20; 97,4; 113,23 etc.; Śak. 114,3), *kalehi* (Mṛcch. 151,25; 160,3), *kalide* (Mṛcch. 81,6; 127,6; 135,2; 158,25; Nāgān. 68,5 [so to be read]), *kalehi* (Mṛcch. 31,8; 123,10; 176,5), *kalē mha* (Mṛcch. 167,19; 168,7; 170,21; Venis. 36,6; Caṇḍak. 71,10), *kaledha* (Mṛcch. 32,15; 112,2; 140,23), *kalēntā* (voc.; Mṛcch. 30,9; 108,17).

§ 510. The forms built according to the 9. class are found in most of the dialects more frequently of only *jñā*, which after *na*, according to § 170, loses its initial *j*: M. *jāñāi* (Karp. 35,8); JM. *jāñāsi* (Erz. 57,8); AMg. *jāñāsi* (Vivāhap. 1271; Rāyap. 267; Uttar. 745), *aṇujāñāi* (Sūyag. 1.16), *na jāñāi*, *jāñāi* (Sūyag. 161. 520), *pariyāñāi* (Vivāhap. 228; Rāyap. 252 [jā<sup>o</sup>]); *viyāñāsi*, *viyāñāi* (Uttar. 745, 791); JŚ. *jāñādi* (Pav. 382,25; 348,48), *viyāñādi* (Pav. 388,2); Ś. *jāñāsi* (Mṛcch. 57,9; 65,10; 82, 12; Śak. 13,5; Mālatīm. 102,3; Mudrār. 37,2); D. *añāsi* (Mṛcch. 101,8,9).

10); Ś. *jānādi* (Vikr. 9,4; Mālatīm. 264,5; Mahāv. 34,1; Mudrār. 36,3,4,6; 55,1 etc.); Mg. Ś. D. *ānādi* (Mṛcch. 37,25; 51,25; 101,11); Ś. *viānādi* (Prab. 13,19), *jānādu* (Mṛcch. 94,13; Mudrār. 36,7); Mg. *jānāsi* ( Venis. 34,18 ), *yānādi* (Mṛcch. 114,1), *ānādi* (Mṛcch. 37,25), *viānādi*, *paccabhiānādi* (Mṛcch. 38,13; 173,7). Except in Ś. Mg. *jñā* mostly behaves according to the *a*-conjugation: *jānāi* ( Vr. 8,23; Hc. 4,7; Kī. 4,47 ). So: M. *jānīmi*, *jānasi*, *jānase*, *janāi*, *jānimo* and *jānāmo*, *jāna*, *jānasu*(H.), after *na*: *ānasi*, *ānāi*, *ānimo* *ānaha* (H. R.); JM. *jānasi* (Dvār. 502,21), *na jānasi* (Erz. 52,17), *jānāi* (Erz. 11,2; Kk. 277,10 ), *na jānāi* ( Āv. 21,18; 38,8; Erz. 30,3; 37,25 ); AMg. *jānasi* (Uttar. 745), *jānāi* (Vivāhap. 284. 363. 911. 1194. 1198 etc; Sūyag. 476. 540; Uttar 202; Āyār. 1,2,5,4; Paṇṇav. 366. 432. 518 ff. 666; Jiv. 339 ff.), *parijānāi* (Āyār. p. 132,9 ff.), *anujānāi* (Vivāhap. 603 ff.), *samaṇu-jānāi* (Āyār. 1,1,3,6; 1,2,5,2. 3), *jānāmo* ( Vivāhap. 131. 144. 1180 1406; Thān. 147; Sūyag. 578), *jānaha*, *parijānaha* (Vivāhap. 132,234 ), opt. *jāne* ( Sūyag. 364), imp. *jāna* ( Āyār. 1,3,1,1 ) and *jānāhi* ( Sūyag. 249. 304; Kappas. S. § 52), *viyānāhi* ( Paṇṇav. 39 ), *samaṇujānāhi* ( Sūyag 247 ), *anujānāi* (Kappas. § 28), *jānaha* (Āyār. 1,4,2,5), *jānamāna* ( Samav. 82 ); JŚ. *jānādi* (Kattig. 398,302), *viyānādi* ( Pav. 381,21 ), *jāna* ( Kattig. 401, 342 ); Ś. *jānāmo* [ text false °nī°; cf. v. l. ] ( Mālatīm. 82,9; 94,3; 246,1; 248,1; 255,4; Vidधा. 101,1 ), *na ānādha* ( Mālatīm. 245,8 ), imp. *jāna* (Karp.63,8) and *jānāhi* (Mṛcch. 41,24 [so to be read]; 169,20; Vikr.15,10; 41,5; Mālatīm. 239,1 [so to be read] ), *anujānāhi* (Śak. 26,12; Vikr. 29,9); Mg. *yānāhi* (Mṛcch. 80,21); A. *jānāi* (Hc. 4,391. 439,4), *janāi* (Hc. 4,401, 4. 419,1), *jānu* Piṅgala 1,26 [text *jāna*], *jānahu* (Piṅgala 1,105. 106. 144). In Ś. Mg. the flexion according to the *a*-class is restricted to *jānāmo*, *jāna*, *jānāhi*, which should not be considered to have been built from the strong stem of the 9. class, and to *jānadha*. Against the dialect is Ś. *jānasi* (Lalitav. 560,18), falsely also *jānēdi* ( Nāgān. 67,3), for which we should, with the v. l., read *jānādi*, as also for Mg. *yānadi* (Hc.4,292), *paccabhijānēdi* (Mṛcch. 132,24) is to be read °nādi. On the other hand, correct is the *e*-form in JM. *jānei* (Kk. III, 512,4), JŚ. *viyānēdi* (Kattig. 399,316; text °ei) and A. *jānehu* (Piṅgala 1,5. 14). JŚ. has *nādi* = \**jñāti* (Pav. 382,25) too.

§ 511. *krī* forms *kiṇāi* ( Vr. 8,30; Hc. 4,52 ), with prefix *vi* *vikkiṇāi* ( Vr. 8,31; Hc. 4,52; Kī. 4,70; Mk. fol. 54 ). So: M. *vikkiṇāi* ( H. 238 ); JM. *kiṇāmi* (Āv. 31,9), *kiṇāi* ( Erz. 29,28 ), absol. *kiṇīya*, future *kiṇīhāmo* (Āv. 33,15), *vikkiṇāmi*, *vikkiṇāi* (Āv. 33,24. 26), *vikkiṇānti* (Āv. 31,7), *paḍi-vikkiṇāi* ( Āv. 33,15 ); AMg. *kiṇāi* ( Thān. 516 ), opt. *kiṇe*, particip. pres. *kiṇanta-* ( Āyār. 1,2,5,3 ); Ś. imp. *kiṇadha* ( Caṇḍak. 51,10. 11. 12; 53,7 ), future *kiṇissadi* (Caṇḍak. 52,4. 7), past passive particip. *kiṇida* (Karp. 32, 9; 73,2 ), *ṅikkiṇasi* ( Mṛcch. 61,16 ), *vikkiṇida* ( Mṛcch. 50,4; Karp. 74,3; Latakam. 13,15; 18,10); Mg. *kiṇadha* and with *ī* fut. *kiṇīssān* (Mṛcch. 32, 17; 118,14; 125,10 ); Dh. *vikkiṇīa* ( Mṛcch. 32,10. 12. 14 ). With the prefix *vi* *krī* is inflected also according to the analogy of the roots in *-ī* of the 1. class: *vikkei* ( Vr. 8,31; Hc. 4,52. 240; Kī. 4,71; Mk. fol. 54 ). So M. v. l. to H. 238. *vikkeai* (Hc. 4,240) is a denominative from *vikreya*, therefore = \**vikreyati*.—*pū* forms *puṇāi* (Hc. 4,241), *lū* likewise *luṇāi* ( Vr. 8,56; Hc.4,241; Kī.4,73; Mk.fol.57). Besides both the roots may be inflected according to the analogy of the roots in *-u,-ū* of the 6. class: AMg. opt. *luṇījā* (Vivāhap. 1186), passive *puṇvāi*, *luṇvāi* beside *puṇījjai*, *luṇījjai* (§ 536). The shortening of *ī*, in *kiṇāi* is explained from the old accent *krīndti* and it corresponds to the shortening of *ū* in *puṇāi*=*pundti*, *luṇāi*=*lundti*. On M. JM. AMg. A. *jiṇāi*, Dh. *jiṇādi*, AMg. *samussīṇāi* see § 473, on *muṇāi* § 489.

§ 512. The old flexion of the roots ending in consonants occurs in AMg. *anḥāi*=*aśnāti* ( Ovav. § 64. 65 ). The usual formation, however, is

*aṅhai* ( Hc. 4,110 ). The roots are inflected the same according to the analogy of the roots of 7. class with the weak stem formed according to either *a-* or *e-* conjugation (§ 506 f.). The influence thereof was that a section of the roots, such as *granth*, *bandh*, *manth*, already had the nasal and another section as *aṅhai* = *asnāti*, *gēṅhai* = *grhṇāti* was forced to take it according to the phonetic rules of Prākṛit within the stem. So : *gaṅṅhai* = *grathnāti* (§ 333; Hc. 4,120; Mg. fol. 54); Ś. *ṅiggaṅṅhida* (Bālar. 131,14).—*gēṅhai*=*grhṇāti* ( Vr. 8,15; Hc.4,209; Ki.4,63); M. *gēṅhai*, *gēṅhanti*, *gēṅha*, *gēṅhāṭ*, *gēṅhanta* (G.H.R.); JM. *gēṅhasi* (Āv. 44,6), *gēṅhai*, *gēṅha*, *gēṅhae* ( Kk. ); *gēṅhanti* ( Āv. 35,3 ), *gēṅha* ( Erz.; Kk. ); *gēṅhāhi* ( Āv. 31,11 ) and *gēṅhesu* ( Erz. ), *gēṅhaha*, *gēṅhaha* ( Āv. 33,17; Kk. ); AMg. *gēṅhai* ( Vivāhap. 916. 1032. 1659; Uvās. ), *gēṅhējjā* ( Vivāhap. 212. 214 ), *gēṅhai* ( Vivāhap. 1035; Paṅnav. 377ff.; Nāyādh. 449; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirayāv. etc. ), also *gēṅhei* ( Uvās. ), *abhiṅṅhai* ( Uvās. ), *oginṅhai* ( Vivāhap. 838 ), *gēṅhaha* ( Vivāhap. 623 ), *gēṅhanti* ( Vivāhap. 24; Nirayāv. ), *gēṅhāhi* ( Nāyādh. 633 ), *gēṅhaha*, *uaginṅhaha* ( Vivāhap. 332 ); JŚ. *gēṅhadi* ( Pav. 384,59 [ text *gēṅṅadi* ], Kattig. 399,310; 400,335 ), *gēṅhedi* ( Kattig. 400,335 ); Ś. *gēṅhasi* ( Mṛcch. 49,15 ), *gēṅhadi* ( Mṛcch. 45,9; 74,18; Śak. 73,3; 159,13 ), *gēṅhanti* ( Mṛcch. 70,3 ), *gēṅha* ( Mṛcch. 16,3; 38,4; 55,1; 75,2 etc.; Ratn. 305,7 ), *gēṅhadu* ( Mṛcch. 49,8; 74,14 ), *aṅṅgēṅhadu* ( Śak. 56,11; Mudrār. 19,4 ), *gēṅhadha* ( Mṛcch. 97,24 ), *aṅṅgēṅhantu* ( Mudrār. 262,5 [ so to be read ] ), absol. *gēṅhia* ( Mṛcch. 41,12; 59,8; 75,8; 105,2; 107,10; Vikr. 10,2; 52,5; 72,15; 84,20 ), inf. *gēṅhidum* ( Mṛcch. 94,12 ), particip. nec. *gēṅhidava* ( Mṛcch. 150,14; Vikr. 30,9 ); Mg. *gēṅhadi* ( Mṛcch. 128,19; 145,17 ), *gēṅha* ( Mṛcch. 45,21; 132,13; Mudrār. 264,1; 265,1 ), *gēṅhadu* ( Mṛcch. 22,3. 5 ), *gēṅhia* ( Mṛcch. 12,14; 96,12. 18; 116,5; 126,16; 132,16; Caṅḍak. 64,8 ); Dh. *gēṅha* ( Mṛcch. 29,16; 30,2 ); A. *grṅhai* ( Hc. 4,336 ), *gēṅhai* ( Piṅgala 1,60 ), absol. *grṅhēppin* ( Hc. 4,394. 438,1 ). In A. *grah* is inflected according to the 6th class too: *grhanti* ( Hc. 4,341,2 ).

§ 513. *bandh* is inflected: M. *bhandhai* ( Hc. 1,187; H. R.; Pracandap. 47,6 ); *ṅibandhai* ( R. ), *bandhanti* ( G. R. ), *aṅubandhanti* ( R. ), *bandhasu* ( R. ), *ābandhanā* ( Hc. 1,7 ), future *bandhīhi*, passive *bandhijjā* ( Hc. 4,247 ), also according to the *e-* conjugation: *bandhēnti* ( R. ), inf. *bandhewm* ( Hc. 1,181 ); JM. *bandhaha*, *bandhiṅṅa*, *bandhiya* ( Erz. ), *bandhium*, *bandhittu* ( Kk. ); AMg. *bandhai* ( Thāp. 360; Vivāhap. 104. 136. 137. 331. 391 ff. 635 ff. 1810 ff.; Ovav. § 66; Paṅnav. 638. 653. 657. 663 etc. ), *paḍibandhai* ( Sūyag. 179 ), *bandhanti* ( Thāp. 108; Vivāhap. 66. 1435; Paṅnav. 638. 657. 663 etc. ), *bandhējjā* ( Vivāhap. 420. 421; Uvās. § 200 ), *bandhaha* ( Vivāhap. 234. 1263 ), inf. *bandhiu*° ( Nirayāv. § 15 ); JŚ. *bandhade* ( Kattig. 400,327 ); Ś. *bandhāmi* ( Laṅkam. 18,12 ), *aṅubandhasi* ( Śak. 86,14 ), *aṅubandhanti* ( Uttar. 60,7 ), absol. *bandhia* ( Mṛcch. 155,3; Prab. 14,10 [ so to be read ]; Ratn. 317,11 ), *ubbandhia* ( Ratn. 315,28; Nāgān. 34,15; 35,9 ), also according to the *e-* conjugation : *bandhesi* ( Priyad. 4,16 ); *obandhedi* = *avabadhnāti* ( Mṛcch. 89,5; 152,25 ); Mg. absol. *bandhia* ( Mṛcch. 163,16 ), past passive participle *bandhida* ( Mṛcch. 162,17 ), according to the *e-* conjugation imp. *paḍibandhedha* ( Śak. 113,12 ).—*manth* forms *manthai* ( Hc. 4,121 ). To the flexion of Skt. *mathati* corresponds AMg. opt. *maḥējjā* ( Uvās. § 200 ), where, however, the v. 1. points to *manthējjā*.

§ 514. In Ś. Mg. Dh. *bhaṅ* follows the analogy of the roots of the 9. class, because *bhaṅmi*, should be construed as \**bha-ṅā-mi*. In the 2. 3. sing. indic., 3. sing. imp., 2. plur. indic. imperative the length is retained as in the 1. sing. plur. Examples are extraordinarily numerous: Ś. *bhaṅāsi* ( Mṛcch. 51,7. 10; 52,11; 53,54; 57,11; Vikr. 10,5; 22,14; Mālav. 27,13; Mudrār. 71,1. 2. 4; 72,2. 4; 73,2 etc. ), *bhaṅādi* ( Mṛcch.

23,19; 67,14; 74,13; 94,11; Śak. 51,4; 158,2; Vikr. 16,5; 46,5; Mālav. 16, 18; 64,20 etc. ), *bhaṇādu* ( Mṛcch. 18,25 ); Mg. *bhaṇādi* ( Mṛcch. 13,7 ), *bhaṇādha* ( Mṛcch. 32,18; 96,21; 97,1; Prab. 46,16; Caṇḍak. 64,6; Mudrār. 154,1; 257,6; 258,2 [ so to be read throughout, as also in Ś. Uttarar. 123,7 ] ); Dh. *bhaṇādi* ( Mṛcch. 34,12 ). The 2. sing. imp. is Ś. D. *bhaṇa* ( Mṛcch. 88,19; Śak. 50,9; Vikr. 47,1; Nāgān. 30,1; D. Mṛcch. 100,8 ) or Ś. *bhaṇāhi* ( Vikr. 27,7; Mālav. 39,9; Venīś. 10,12; 100,14; Nāgān. 44,13; Jivān. 10,4 ); Mg. *bhaṇa* ( Śak. 114,5 ) and *bhaṇāhi* ( Mṛcch. 81,13. 15; 165,4 ). Beside them these dialects have also the *a*-conjugation : D. Ś. *bhaṇesi* ( Mṛcch. 105,8; Śak. 137,12 [ so to be read ] ); Mg. *bhaṇesi* ( Mṛcch. 21,8. 20. 22 ); Dh. *bhaṇesi* ( Mṛcch. 39,16 ); Ś. *bhaṇehi* ( Mṛcch. 61,13; 79, 3 ). In the rest of the dialects *bhaṇ* behaves regularly according to the *a*-conjugation : yet *bhaṇāi* in JM. Āv. 22,41. 42 beside the usual *bhaṇāi*.

### IMPERFECT.

§ 515. The single imperfect, that has been retained by dialects, more than one, is the imperfect of *as* ( to be ). However, only the 3. sing. *āsi* or *āsī* = *āsīh*, which is used for all the persons in the sing. and plur., only is found ( Vr. 7,25; Hc. 3,164; Ki. 4,11; Sr. fol. 54 ). So 1. sing. AMg. *ke ahaṃ āsi* ( Āyār. 1,1,1,3 ); Ś. *ahaṃ khu...āsi* ( Mṛcch. 54,16 )<sup>1</sup>; 2. sing. Ś. *tumaṃ...gadā āsi* ( Mṛcch. 28,14 ), *tumaṃ kiṃ mantaṃtī āsi* ( Mālatīm. 71,4 ), *tumaṃ khu...me pīasāhī āsi* ( Mālatīm. 141,11 f. ), *kiṃto āsi* ( Uttarar. 18,12 ), *kīsa tumaṃ, ed. tuamī* ] *mantaṃtī āsi* ( Kārṇas. 37,7f. )<sup>2</sup>; 3. sing. M. *āsi* ( G.H. ); JM. *āsi*, *āsi* ( KI. 2; Dvār. 495,19; 499,20; 504,19; Ērz. ); AMg. *āsi* ( Sūyag. 896; Uvās. § 197; Ovav. § 170 ), *āsi* ( Uttar. 660; Jiv. 239.452 ); Ś. very frequently; e. g. *āsi* ( Lalitav. 560,14; 568,1; Mṛcch. 41,21; Śak. 43,6; 105, 10; 117,12; 129,13; 162,13; Vikr. 11,2; 27,21; 35,7. 9 ), *āsi* ( Uttarar. 20,12; 78,4; Venīś. 12,1.6 ); Dh. *āsi* ( Mṛcch. 36,18 ); 1. plur. AMg. *āsi mo*, *āsi mo*<sup>3</sup> ( Uttar. 402 ), *āsi amhe* ( Uttar. 403 ); 3. plur. M. *je āsi...mahānāipavahā* ( G.449 ), *āsi rahā* ( R. 14,33 ), *je °go'cchaā āsi...vañjulā* ( H.422 ); JM. *mahārājyaṇo cattārī mittā āsi* ( Ērz. 4,36 ); AMg. *wasaggā bhīmāsi* ( Āyār. 1,8,2,7 ), *tassa bhajjā duve āsi* ( Uttar. 660 ); Ś. *paśaṃsanti āsi* ( Bālar. 289,2 ).— Besides we find only AMg. *abbavi* = *abravit* ( Hc. 3,162; Uttar. 279. 281; Sūyag. 259 ), used also as 3. plur. too : *abambhacāriṇo bālā imāṃ vaṇaṇam abbavi* ( Uttar. 351 )— On the hypothetical preterite *udāhare*, *care*, *paṇaṇe*, *puṇche*, *acchā*, *g'ṇhā* etc. see § 466. The preterite postulated by BOLLENSSEN<sup>4</sup> rests on false readings and forms wrongly understood<sup>5</sup>. See also § 517.

1. Notwithstanding Pāli *āsīm*, we should not with the v. l. read here *āsīm*, as BLOCH, Vr. and Hc. presumes.—2. At H. 805, *āsi* should not be considered, with WEBER, as = *āsīh*, but as = *āsīh* with the scholiasts.—3. *āsi* of the text should be so corrected. As the similar following *āsi amhe* and the other use of *āsi*, *āsi* point, it is not to be read with LEUMANN, WZKM. 5, 134 *āsīmo* or *āsīmu*, but *mo* should, with the scholiast, be considered as a pronoun.—4. Mālavikā. p. 188. 230.—5. BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. p. 46.

### AORIST.

§ 516. Of the strong aorist only AMg. *acche* = \**acchet* from *chid*, *abbhe* = Vedic. *ābhet* from *bhid* ( Āyār. 1,1,2,5 ), which are used in the sense of the opt. ( § 465 ), are noticeable, in addition to *abhū* = *abhūt* in the verse in AMg. ( Uttar. 116 ), which has been used there as the 3. plur. : *abhū jīṇā atthi jīṇā aduvā vi bhavissā*. Very numerous, on the other hand, in AMg. are the many forms of the *s*-aorist in the parasmaip., frequently derived from the present stem. The very seldom 1. sing. parasmaip. shows, as in Pāli<sup>1</sup>, doubled *s* : *akarissam c' ahaṃ* ( Āyār. 1,1, 1,5 ); *puṇchiss' ahaṃ* ( verse; Sūyag. 259 ). The 2. sing. occurs in

*akāsi* = *akārśih* (Samav. 82); *kāsi* (Uttar. 415) and in *vajāsi* = *avādih* (Sūyag. 924), of a form, that is placed together with Pāli forms like *agamāsi*<sup>9</sup>. Both the forms are more frequent as 3. sing. So *akāsi* (Āyār. 1,8,4,8; 2,2,2,4; Sūyag. 74; Kappas. § 146), *akāsi* (Sūyag. 120. 123. 298), behind *mā* also *kāsi* (Hc. 3,162; Sūyag. 234; Uttar. 14), according to Hc. 3,162; Sr. fol. 54 also *kāhi* and according to Deśin. 1,8 *akāsi* in the sense of *paryāptam*. The same forms are used also as 1. sing. *jam aham puvvam akāsi* = *yad aham pūrvam akārśam* (Āyār. 1,1,4,3); *aham ejam akāsi* = *aham etad akārśam* (Sūyag. 621) and used as 1. plur.: *jahā vajām dhammam ayaṇamāṇā pāvam purā kammam akāsi mohā* (Uttar. 433 f.). This corresponds to the use of the imp. *āsi* (§ 515). As 3. sing.: *vajāsi* (Sūyag. 578; Vivāhap. 165. 1260. 1262. 1268; Ovav.; Uvās.; Kappas.), very frequently in the meaning of the 3. plur. (Āyār. 1,4,2,4; Sūyag. 783; Vivāhap. 131. 186. 236. 238. 332. 809. 951; Antag. 61; Nāyādh. § 68 ff. u.s. w.) etc., also *vajāsi* (Sūyag. 565. 841; Ovav. § 53. 84 ff.). Other examples for the 3. sing. are: *thāsi*, *thāhi* from *sthā* (Hc. 3,162); *paccāsi* from *aś* with *partī* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5); *acārī* (Āyār. 1,8,3,2); *kaheśi* from *kathaya-* (Paṇhāv. 303. 327). From *bhū* the 3. sing. is *bhuvi* = *\*abhūvit* (Vivāhap. 78. 844 [text here °im]; Nandis. 501. 502 [text *bhuviṃ ca*]; Jiv. 239. 452 [text here °im]), or from the present stem *bhava-*: *ahesi* from *\*abhaviṣīt*, *\*abhāṣīt*, *\*abhāṣīt* (§ 166; Hc. 3,164), according to Hc. used also as 1. 2. sing., and found in the text as 3. plur.: *samaṇā... tattha viharantā puṭṭhapuvvā ahesi sunaehim* (Āyār. 1,8,3,6). Likewise is explained AMg. *annesī* = *\*āññāyisīt* (cf. § 487; Āyār. 1,2,6,5; 1,5, 2,1. 3,4; 1,8,1,14). That the form is not = *anvesī*, but is the aorist of *jñā*, has already been assumed by JACOBI<sup>8</sup>. One 1. plur. occurs in *avcchāmu* = *avātsma* from *vas* “to live” (Uttar. 410), formed from an aorist stem *\*vatsa-*. The 3. plur. ends in *-imsu* = Skt. *īṣuh*. So: *parivivī-ṭṭhimsu* (Āyār. 1,4,4,4); *pucchimsu* (Āyār. 1,8,2,11; Sūyag. 301 [text °issu]); *ciṇimsu*, *uvaciṇimsu* (Vivāhap. 62; Thāṇ. 107. 108 [text °ṇa°]); *bandhimsu*, *udīrimsu*, *vedimsu*, *nijjarimsu* (Thāṇ. 108; Vivāhap. 62 [text °eṃsu]); *sijjhi-ṃsu*, *bujjhiṃsu* (Sūyag. 790; Vivāhap. 79); *āyāimsu* from *jan* with *ā* (Kappas. § 17—19; cf. § 487); *pariṇivvāimsu* (Sūyag. 790); *bhāsiṃsu*, *seviṃsu* (Sūyag. 704); *atarimsu* (Sūyag. 424; Uttar. 567); *hiṃsiṃsu* (Āyār. 1,1,6,5; 1,8,1,2; 1,8,3,3); *viharimsu* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2; 1,8,3,5); *luṭṭhimsu*, *nāhaṇimsu* (Āyār. 1,8, 3,11. 12); *kandimsu* from *krand* (Āyār. 1,8,1,4; 1,8,3,10); *viṇāimsu* = *vyanaīṣuh* (Sūyag. 454); *abhaviṃsu* (Sūyag. 157. 551) and *bhaviṃsu* (Vivāhap. 157). Beside the usual *akarimsu* (Thāṇ. 149); *karimsu* (Vivāhap. 62. 79; Nāyādh. § 118; Sūyag. 790 [text *karesu*]), *wakarimsu* (Āyār. 1,8, 3,11), is found also *vikuvvimsu* (Vivāhap. 214. 215) from the present stem *kuva-* (§ 508). Aorists of the causative are *giphāvimsu* (Nāyādh. § 123); *paṭṭhāvāimsu* from *sthā* with *pra* (Kappas. § 128); *sampahārimsu* from *dhar* with *sam* and *pra* (Sūyag. 585. 620); aor. of a denominative is *rikkāsi* (Āyār. 1,8,1,3) belonging to one *\*riknaya-*. The 3. plur. is used also for other persons. Thus for the 1. sing.: *karimsu vāham* (Thāṇ. 476); for the 3. sing. *āhiṃsiṃsu* [text °sa°] *vā hiṃsai vā hiṃssiṃsai vā* (Sūyag. 680); *puṭṭho vi nābhībhāsiṃsu* (Āyār. 1,8,1,6); *āsiṃsu* [text °sa°] *bhagavaṃ* (Āyār. 1,8,2, 6); *seviṃsu* (Āyār. 1,8,3,2). An old Skt. form is *addakkhu* (Vivāhap. 332), *addakkhū* (Āyār. 1,5,1,3; may be sing. too) = *adrākṣuh*, frequently used as 3. singular: *adakkhu* (Āyār. 1,2,5,2; Vivāhap. 1306), *addakkhu* (Āyār. 1,8,1,9), *addakkhū* (Āyār. 1,5,2,1. 6,1; 1,8,1,16. 17)<sup>4</sup>. In Kappas. S. 19 *adakkhu* is a false reading for *adaṭṭhu*, as the v. l. has. Accordingly is formed, from *nakṣ* with *niḥ*, *niṇṇakkhu* (Āyār. 2, 2, 1, 4. 5. 6) used as 3. singular.

l. c. p. 114; E. MÜLLER, l. c. p. 116.—3. SBE. XXII, p. 44, note 2.—4. In certain places one may be doubtful, whether or not there is an adjective \**adrākṣu*, as it certainly appears for *dakkhu*, *adakkhu* = \**drākṣu*, \**adrākṣu* or \**drkṣu*, \**adrkṣu* in *Sūyag.* 151.

§ 517. In AMg. we frequently find a 3. sing. ātmanep. in *-ittā*. *-ittā*. The form is built explicitly from the present stem, and this as well as the unusual dental, which Pāli too has, for the expected cerebral (§ 303), makes it doubtful, as to whether they derive it correctly from the *s*-aorist<sup>1</sup>. Examples are *samuppajjittā* from *pad* with *sam* and *ud* (*Vivāhap.* 151. 170; *Nāyādh.* § 81. 87; p. 771; *Uvās.*; *Kappas.* etc.). *roittā* from *ruc* (*Hc.* 3,143); *vaḍḍhittā*, *abhivaddhittā* from *vrđh* (*Kappas.*); *riittā* from *riyate* (*Āyār.* 1,8,1,1; 1,8,3,13); *esittā* (*Āyār.* 1,8,4,12); *viharittā* (*Āyār.* 1,8,1,12); *bhujjittā* (*Āyār.* 1,8,1,17. 18), *sevittha*, *sevitthā* (*Āyār.* 1,8,2,1; 1,8,4,9); *apūttā*, *apūttā* [so to be read] from *pā* (to drink) with privative *a* (*Āyār.* 1,8,4,5. 6); *anujānitthā* (*Āyār.* 1,8,4,8); *kuvvittā* from the present stem *kuvvai* (§ 508) (*Āyār.* 1,8,4,15); *udāharittā* (*Uttar.* 353. 408), *jayittā*, *parājayittā* (*Vivāhap.* 500); *dalayittā* (*Vivāhap.* 502). From *bhū* is derived the form *ho'tthā* from the present stem *ho* = *bhava-* (§ 476) (*Vivāhap.* 5. 168.182; *Ṭhāp.* 79; *Uvās.*; *Kappas.*; *Nāyādh.*; *Ovav.* etc.); also with augment in the verse *aho'tthā* (*Uttar.* 619); with *prāduh* on the other hand, from the stem *bhava-*: *pāubbhavitthā* (*Vivāhap.* 1201). Of the causative the form ends in *-ē'tthā*, *-ē'ttha*: *kāre'tthā* from *kāre-* = *kāraya-* (*Āyār.* 1,8,4,8); *pahāre'tthā*, mostly *'ttha* from *pahāre-* = *pradhāraya-* (*Sūyag.* 1012; *Vivāhap.* 153. 831; *Vivāgas.* 123; *Ovav.* § 50; *Nāyādh.* § 81 etc.); but also *jāvā'ttha* from *yāpaya-* (*Āyār.* 1,8,4,4). The same form is used also for persons other than 3. sing. Thus for the 2. plur. in *labhittha* [so the commentary; text *'bhe'*]: *jaī me na dāhittha ih'* [so the commentary; text *ah'*] *esaññam kim aḷḷa jannāna labhittha lābham* (*Uttar.* 359); for the 3. plur.: *vipparittā* (*Nāyādh.* 348); *bahave hatthī.. diso disim vipparittā, kasāittā*, denominative from *kaśā* (*Āyār.* 1,8,2,11); *pāubbhavitthā* (*Nāyādh.* § 59; *Ovav.* § 33 ff.); *bahave... devā antiyam pāubbhavitthā*; more often *ho'tthā* (*Āyār.* 2,15,16; *Ṭhāp.* 197; *Nāyādh.* 628; *Samav.* 66.229; *Uvās.* § 4. 184. 233. 234; *Kappas.* Th. § 5. 6; *Ovav.* § 77. — Cf. § 520. On the precative see § 466.

1. Hypotheses on the origin of the form in JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,450 ff.

#### PERFECT.

§ 518. Of the perfect, only the 3. plur. *parasmaip.* has retained *āhu* = *āhuḥ* in AMg. (*Āyār.* 1,4,3,1; *Sūyag.* 74 [text *āha*]. 132. 134. 150. 316. 468. 500); *udāhu* (*Uttar.* 424); also *āhū* (*Āyār.* 1,5,1,3) and *udāhū* (*Sūyag.* 454). More frequent, as in Pāli, is the recent formation *āhaṃsu* (*Āyār.* 2,1,4,5; *Sūyag.* 37. 166. 202. 241. 356. 445. 456. 463. 465. 778 842; *Vivāhap.* 130. 139. 142. 179. 438. 1033. 1402; *Ṭhāp.* 148. 438 ff.; *Pañhāv.* 95. 106; *Jiv.* 12. 13; *Kappas.* S. § 27). Both the forms are employed for other persons too. So *āhaṃsu* for the 1. sing.: *tao 'ham evam āhaṃsu* (*Uttar.* 623); for the 3. sing.: *evam āhaṃsu nāyakulanandaṇo mahappā jīṇo varavīranāmadhējjo kahesī ja* (*Pañhāv.* 303. 327); likewise for the 3. sing. *āhu* (*Sūyag.* 257. 308; *Uttar.* 365. 646; *Kappas.* and *udāhu* (*Āyār.* 1,2,4, 4; *Sūyag.* 159. 304. 387. 518. 974. 989. 992 ff.; *Uttar.* 756).

#### PLUPERECT.

§ 519. With the exception of the cases mentioned under § 515—518, in Pkt. the past tense is expressed either by the present, particularly in narration, or generally by the paraphrasis with the past passive participle, by which the person or thing spoken of, which in the case of transitive verbs

goes over to the instrumental *abalāna tāna ... vasio aṅgesu ... seo* "sweat clung to the limbs of those women" ( G. 210); *kim na bhaṅo si bālaa gāmaṇḍhūāi* "have you, o boy, not been told by the daughter of the village-chief? ( H. 370 ); *sāpārimaṭṭhena va vūḍho teṇa vi nīrantarān romaṅco* "he exhibited uninterrupted thrill of hair, as if touched by Sītā" ( R. 1,42); JM. *pacchā rannā cintiyāṃ* "later the king thought" ( Av. 32,19); *annayā bhūjadinnēṇa vinnāyāṃ* "once Bhūtadinnā learnt" ( Erz. 1, 24); AMg. *suṇam me āsāmitēnabhagavajā evam akkhāyāṃ* "I, the long-lived one, have heard that the Lord had spoken thus" (Āyār. 1,1,1,1); *urālā ṇaṃ tume devāṇuppi sumiṇā diṭṭhā* "O beloved of gods, you have seen an excellent dream" ( Kappas. § 9); Ś. *tā aānantēṇa eḍiṇā eṇvām aṇuciṭṭhidāṃ* "so he has done thus unknowingly" ( Mṛcch. 63,24 ); *sudaṃ khu mae tādakaṇṇassa muhādo* "I have heard from the mouth of the father Kaṇva ( Śāk. 14,12); Mg. *sudaṃ tue yāṃ mae gāidāṃ* "did you hear what I sang?" ( Mṛcch. 116, 20 ); *adhā ekkadiśāṃ mae lohidaṃsacake khaṇḍaso kappide* "one day I cut the rohita fish into pieces" ( Śāk. 114,9 ); A. *tumhēk' amhēh' jam, kiāṭṭ diṭṭhāṭṭ bahuajāṇēṇa* "many people have seen what was done by you and by us ( Hc. 4,371 ); *sabadhu karēppīṇu kadhidu maṭṭ* "I have said on oath" ( Hc. 4,396,3). Pkt. may form in this manner by insertion of *āsi* (was) the pluperfect from the past passive participle<sup>1</sup>. So: M. *jo sisammi vūṇṇo majjhajūāṇehi gaṇavāi āsi* "he, whom the young men had put over my head, was Gaṇapati" ( H. 372); JM. *tayā ja so kumbhajāro... gāmaṃ annaṃ gao āsi* "and at that time the potter had gone to another village" ( Sagara 10, 18); *jam te sukkiyāṃ āsi buddhileṇa addhalakkhaṃ* "that half lac, that Buddhila had spoken to thee" ( Erz. 10,34 ); Ś. *ahaṃ khu radaṇachattḥim uvavasidā āsi* "I had brought the (prescribed) fast to end on the ratnaśaṣṭhī ( for the vow )" ( Mṛcch. 54,16 ); Ś. *tumaṃ mae saha ... gadā āsi* "you had gone with me ( Mṛcch. 28,14 ); *ajja devī ajjagandhālie pādavandaṇaṃ kādum gadā āsi* "today the queen had gone to adore the feet of Her Majesty Gāndhārī ( Venis. 12,6 ); *puṇo mandassa vi me tattha paccuppaṇṇāṃ uttarāṃ āsi*, "although dull, I had prepared the answer" ( Mālav. 57,16 ); *tāe kkhū cūṭaphalaṃ pabhāde hatthikidaṃ āsi* "I had taken the picture into my hand in the morning" ( Mālatim. 78,3 ); Dh. *tassa jūḍialassa muṭṭhipphāleṇa nāsikā bhaggā āsi* "the nose of the gambler was broken with a stroke of the fist ( Mṛcch. 36,18 ). In many cases we may take them as adjectival participle.

1. FICK, Sagara p. 26.

#### FUTURE

§ 520. By far the most usual in Ś. Mg. exclusively attestable formation of the future of the roots ending in a consonant is that of the stem in *-i*. But Pkt. does not employ merely the crude one, but more frequently the present stem, as well as the stem in *-e*. The 1. sing. has in AMg. JM. often, in other dialects almost isolated, the ending *-mi*, mostly *-m*, the ending of the secondary tense, which in A. with *a* of the stem becomes *u* ( 351 ). In the 2. sing. *-issasi*, Mg. *-iśśasi*, in the 3. sing. *-issai*, Ś. Dh. *-issadi*, Mg. *-iśśadi* the regular, in Ś. Mg. Dh., except rarely in verses, is only the usual ending. In M. JM. AMg., in lieu of it, mostly enters 2. sing. *-ihisi*, 3. *-ihii*, also the contracted *-ihū* and prosodically shortened *-ihi*, a phonetic transition that has disappeared from the roots and stems ending in long vowels and diphthongs. The grammarians mention for the 1. sing. too the ending *-ihāmi*, *-ihimi*: *kittāhimi* beside *kittāssaṃ* = *kīrtayissāmi* ( Hc. 3,169 ); *sō cchihimi*, *sō cchihāmi* from *śru*, *gacchihimi*, *gacchihāmi*

beside *gacchissam* from *gam* (Hc. 3,172); *hasihimi* beside *hasissam*, *hasissāmi* (Sr. fol. 52). For the roots and stems ending in long vowels *-himi* too is mentioned: *kāhimi* from *kr*, *dāhimi* from *dā* (Hc. 3,170; Sr. fol. 52), *hohimi* from *bhū* (Bh. 7,14; Hc. 3,167, 169; Kī 4,16), *hasehimi* beside *hasehāmi*, *hasēssāmi* from the *e*-stem of *has* (Sr. fol. 52), to which *hasehii* (Bh. 7,33; Hc. 3,157) too belongs. We find in the texts such forms with *-i* upto the present day only in A.: *pe'kkhihimi* = *prekṣiṣye*, *sāhimi* = *sahīṣye* (Vikr. 55,18, 19). According to Hc. 4,275 Ś. has in the 3. sing. *-issidi*: *bhavissidi*, *karissidi*, *gacchissidi*, according to 4,302 in Mg. *-iṣṣidi*: *bhaviṣṣidi*. In South Indian manuscripts, several times the future forms in *-issidi* are found; they are unknown in the texts. Probably in Hc. by Ś. is again meant by JŚ., in which the examples for the future are hitherto wanting. The 1. plur. mostly ends in *-issāmo*, in verses seldom in *-issāma* too, as M. *karissāma* (H. 897), after long vowels in *-hāmo*, metrically in *-hāmu* too. The grammarians recognise beside the forms like *hasissāmo* also *hasihimo* (Bh. 7, 15; Hc. 3,167; Sr. fol. 52), *hasihissā*, *hasihitthā* (Bh. 7,15; Hc. 3,168; Sr. fol. 52), Bh. 7,15 also *hāsihāmo*, Sr. fol. 52, *hasehissā*, *hasehitthā* *hasēssāmo*, *hasēssāmu*, *hasissāmu*, *hasēssāmu*, *hasehāma*, *hasihāma*, *hasehimo*, *hasehimu*, *hasihimu*; further *so'cchimo*, *so'cchimu*, *so'cchima*, *so'cchihimo*, *so'cchihimu*, *so'cchihima* *so'cchissāmo*, *mu*, *ma*, *so'cchihāmo*, *so'cchihissā*, *so'cchihitthā* (Bh. 7,17; Hc. 3, 172), *gacchimo*, *gacchihimo*, *gacchissāmo*, *gacchihāmo*, *gacchihissā*, *gacchihitthā* (Hc. 3,172); *hohimo*, *hōssāmo*, *hohāmo*, *hohissā*, *hohitthā* (Bh. 7,13,15; Hc. 3, 168; Kī. 4,18), *hohissāmo*, *hohitthāmo* (Kī. 4,18). Cf. with it § 521.523.531. The ending *-ihissā* for the 1. plur. is completely obscure<sup>1</sup>. The ending *-hitthā*, *-ihitthā* is mentioned for the 2. plural too: *hohitthā* (Hc. 3,166); *so'cchitthā*, *so'cchihitthā* (Bh. 7,17; Hc. 3,172) beside *so'cchiha*, *so'cchihaha*, *gacchitthā*, *gacchihitthā* (Hc. 3,172) beside *gacchiha*, *gacchihaha*, *hasehitthā*, *hasihitthā* (Sr. fol. 52) beside *hasehiha*, *hasihiha*. The one found in the text in AMg. is *dāhitthā* = *dāyatha* (Uttar. 359). Accordingly this must have belonged to the 2. plur. and taken over to the 1. plur. It still remains undecided if it is connected with the ending *-itthā*, which is assigned to the aorist. The usual ending of the 2. plur. is *-issaha*, Ś. Mg. *-issadha*. The 3. plur. ends in *-issantī*, in JM. AMg. very frequently in *-ihinti*, *-hinti* too Sr. fol. 51 teaches *-ire*: *hasehiire*, *hasihiire*.

1. According to Kī.'s *hohitthāmo* LASSEN, Inst. p. 353 will explain *hohissā*, *hohitthā* as abridgment of *hohissāmo*, *hohitthāmo*. But since *hohitthā* is also the 2. plural, the explanation is not plausible. One compares the free use of *āsi*, *ahesi*, *āhu*, *udāhu* and the 3. sing. preterite in *-itthā*. For the sake of brevity *i* is always pushed to the ending above.

§ 521. The examples for the future are regulated according to the present stem (§ 473) for the sake of facilitating abridgment. The future of *ji* is JM. *jiṇṇissai* (Erz. 22,29), AMg. *parājiṇṇissai* (Nirayāv. § 3); from *nī*, M. *nehii* = *nesyati* (G.223), JM. *nīnehii* = *nirnesyati* (Erz. 52,13), *nehinti* (Erz. 29, 15), AMg. *wanehii* (Ovav. §107), *vinehii* (Nāyādh. §87); *wanehinti* (Ovav. § 106), but from the present stem Ś. *ṇuṇṇāissam* (Ratn. 316,15), *avaṇṇāissam* (Śak.102,14;104,13), *wavaṇṇāissam* (Śak.137,3), *ṇāissadi* (Mṛcch.58,3), *āṇāissadi* (Mālatīm. 104,1), *ṇāissadha* (Karp. 33,8); Mg. *ṇāissam* (Mṛcch. 169,13). On Ś. *dāissam*, Mg. *dāissam* from *daya*-(to give) see §474.—In the future of *bhū* all the present stems are to be found, however, the dialects maintain distinction in their employment. M. A. use only *ho-*, which Ś. Mg. do not know. JM. *bhavissāmi* (Dvār. 501,38); Ś. *bhavissam* (Mṛcch. 9,12; Śak. 51,13; 85,7; Mālav. 52,19; Ratn. 315,16; 318,31; Karp. 8,7; 52,2), *anubhavissam* (Mālatīm. 278,9); Mg. *bhaviṣṣam* (Mṛcch.116,23); Ś. *bhavissasi* (Mṛcch. 4,6; Ratn. 296,25); Mg. *bhaviṣṣasi* (Śak. 116,4); AMg. JM.



*bhavissai* (Vivāhap. 844; Jiv. 239. 452; Uttar. 116; Ovav. § 103. 109. 114. [115]; Kappas.; Dvār. 495,27; 504,5; Erz. 11,35; Kk. 268,33;271,13,15); *Ś. bhavissadi* ( Mṛcch. 5,2; 20,24; Śak. 10,3; 18,3; Vikr. 20,20; Mālav. 35,20; 37,5; Ratn. 291,2; 294,9; Mālatim. 78,9; 89,8; 125,2 etc. ); Mg. *bhaviśśadi* ( Prab. 50,14 ); AMg. *bhavissāmo* ( Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Sūyag. 601 ); AMg. *bhavissaha* (Vivāhap. 234); JM. *bhavihinti* (Āv. 47,20); *Ś. bhavissanti* (Mālatim. 126,3). False is *havissadi*, *havissam* (Mālav. 37,19; 40,22), since the stem *hava* is used only after the prefix *pra*, as in *Ś. pahavissam* (Uttar. 32,4). *Ś. Mg.* use also the stem *huva-*: Mg. *huviśśam* (Mṛcch. 29,24; 32,19; 40,1; 118,17; 124,12); *Ś. huviśśasi* (Venis. 58,18); *Ś. huviśśadi* (Mṛcch. 22,14; 24,4; 64,18; Vikr. 36,6; 46,4. 6; 53,2. 13; 72,19; Mālav. 70,6; Venis. 9,21; Vṛṣabh. 47,11 etc. ); Mg. *huviśśadi* ( Mṛcch. 21,14. 15; 117,15; 118,16,17; Venis. 33,3); *Ś. huviśśanti* (Mṛcch. 39,4; Candak. 86,14). From the stem *ho-* are derived : *hośśāmi* ( Bh. 7,14; Hc. 3,167. 169; Kī. 4,16); M. *hośśam* ( Vr. 7,14; Hc. 3,169; Kī. 4,17; H. 743); A. *hosai* ( Hc. 4,388; 418,4), and *hose* (Prabandhac. 56,6; cf. § 166 ); *hośśāmo*, *hośśāmu*, *hośśāma* ( Bh. 7,13. 15; Hc. 3,167. 168; Kī. 4,18), mostly with *h* from *ṣ* ( § 263 ): JM. *hohāmi* ( Bh. 7,14; Hc. 3,167; Kī. 4,16; Āv. 26,36 ); *hohimi* ( Bh. 7,14; Hc. 3,167; Kī. 4,16 ); *hohissam* ( Kī. 4,17 ); JM. *hohisi* ( Hc. 3,166. 178; Erz. 62,31); M. JM. *hohii* (Hc. 3,166. 178; Kī. 4,15; G H.R.; Āv. 43,13; Erz. 37,1), *hohi* (Erz. 6,36; Dvār. 495,15; T. 7,10; Kk. 265,41; 270,43); before double consonants *hohi*: *hohi tti* (Dvār. 495,24); 1. plur. *hohāmo*, *hohāmu*, *hohāma*, *hohīmo*, *hohīmu*, *hohīma*, *hohīśśā*, *hohīthā* ( Bh. 7,13. 15; Hc. 3,167. 168), *hohissāmo*, *hohiithāmo* (Kī. 4,18); 2. plur. *hohiithā* ( Hc. 3,166; Kī. 4,15); 3. plur. M. JM. *hohinti* ( Bh. 7,12; Hc. 3,166; Kī. 4,15; H. 675; Sagara 2,15 ). In AMg. sometimes the stem *hō'kkha-* is met : *hō'kkhāmi* (Uttar. 63. 202), *hō'kkham* (Uttar. 63), *hō'kkhāi*, *hō'kkhanti* (Samav. 240 ff.). It is probably merely false, a reading deduced from \**bhosya-* ( § 265). Cf. also § 520. According to Hc. 37,18 from the precative too a future is derived : *hojjahimi*, *ho'jjahimi*, *ho'jjassāmi*, *ho'jjahāmi*, *ho'jjassam*; *ho'jjahisi*, *ho'jjahisi*; *ho'jjahii*, *ho'jjāhii*. Sr. fol. 53 reads *ho'jjehii*, *ho'jjihii*, *ho'jjāhii*.

1. Further examples in BLOCH, Vr. und Hc. 42. — 2. The forms, that are hitherto incapable of verification, have been quoted here without indication of the dialects.

§ 522. The roots in *r*, *ṛ* according to the 1. and 6. classes form in all the dialects the future, as in Skt. : *Ś. aṇusarissam* ( Viddhaś. 115,6), *visumarissam* = *visumarisyāmi* ( Śak. 14, 3 ), *visumarissasi* ( Śak. 89, 7 ), *visumarissadha* ( Śak. 86,6 ); *Ś. sumarissasi* ( Ratn. 313,6 ); *Ś. pariharissam* ( Śak. 25,1), *pariharissadi* (Vikr. 79,7); Mg. *palihaliśśadi* (Prab. 42,5; 47,7); *vihaliśśam* ( Mṛcch. 40,6 ); AMg. *viharissai* ( Ovav. § 114. [ § 115 ] ), *viharissāmo* ( Āyār. 2,2,3,3; 2,7,1,2; Vivāhap. 979 ), *viharissaha* ( Vivāhap. 234); JM. *viharissanti* (Kk. 269,38); *marissasi* (Mṛcch. 72,18); Mg. *malihīśī* ( verse; Mṛcch. 9,24 ); M. *aṇumarihii* ( R. 14,55 ); M. *harihii* ( H. 143 ); AMg. *tarihinti* (Uttar. 253) and *tarissanti* (Uttar. 567; Sūyag. 424), *nijjarissanti* (Ṭhāp. 108).—Of the roots in *-ai gai* forms: AMg. *gāhii* = *gāyati* ( Ṭhāp. 451 ); M. *uggāhii* ( R. 11,84 ); against that *Ś. gāissam* (Śak. 2,8; Viddhaś. 122,11; 128,4; Kāmsav. 8,16), Mg. *gāiśśam* ( Mṛcch. 116,20; 117,3); from *trai* the fut. is Mg. *palittāiśśadi* (Mṛcch. 12,10).

§ 523. Of the roots of the old *ska-* class *r* forms in JM. *acchihisi* (Āv. 11,11), *yam* JM. *pa'yacchissāmo* ( Dvār. 503,4 ). In the case of *gam* the formation from the stem *gami-* prevails, which is exclusively dominant *Ś. Mg.* The form *gacchissidi*, taught by Hc. 4,275 for *Ś.* is not attested by the text. So: JM. *gamissāmi* ( Erz. 60,19); *Ś. gamissam* (Mṛcch. 8,24; 9,7; 15,10; 54,19; Śak. 17,4; Ratn. 293,24; 296,26; 297,12; 314,26; Karp.

35,3; 108,4; 109,2; Nāgān. 42,7. 15; 43,10; Jivān. 42,17. 23; 43,17 etc.), *āgamissam* ( Karp. 22,7; 107,4 ); Mg. *gamiṣam* ( Mṛcch. 20,10. 14; 32,2; 97,1; 98,2; 112,18 ); Ś. *gamissasi* ( Mṛcch. 3,17; Śak. 24,15 ); AMg. *gamihū* ( Uvās. § 125; Vivāhap. 175; Nirayāv. § 27 ); A. *gamihī* ( Hc. 4,330,2 ); M. *samāgamissā* ( H. 962 ); Ś. *gamissadi* ( Mṛcch. 94,2; Śak. 56,14; Mālatīm. 103,7 ), *āgamissadi* ( Uttarak. 123,7; Karp. 105,3 ); Dh. *gamissadi* ( Mṛcch. 36, 23 ); AMg. Ś. *gamissāmo* ( Ovav. § 78; Karp. 36,6 ); AMg. *uvāgamissanti* ( Āyār. 2,3,1,2 ff. ). From the stem *gaccha-* are built : *gacchissāmi* ( JM. Āv. 21,10 ), *gacchissam*, *gacchihāmi*, *gacchihimi*; *gacchihisi* ( Hc. 3,172 ); AMg. *gacchihū* ( Hc. 3,172; Sr. fol. 52; Ovav. § 100.101; Uvās. § 90 ); *āgacchissā* ( Uvās. § 188 ); according to Sr. also *gacchehū*; *gacchissāmo*, *gacchihāmo*, *gacchihimo*, *gacchihissā*, *gacchihitthā*, *gacchihīha* ( AMg. Āyār. 2,3,3,5 ), *gacchihitthā*; *gacchihinti* ( Hc. 3,172 ). Beside them is found a future AMg. *gacchaṁ* ( Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171; Kī. 4,19; Sr. fol. 53; Thāp. 156. 285 ), according to Hc. also *gacchimi*, that according to the grammarians is inflected: *gacchisi*, *gacchi*, *gacchimo*, *gacchiha*, *gacchinti*, according to Sr. also *gacchei*. The hypothesis that *gacchaṁ* may have been formed on the analogy of *dacchaṁ*, *mōcchaṁ*, *vicchaṁ*, *roccaṁ*, *veccaṁ*, *vōccaṁ* (§ 525.526. 529) is convenient, but wholly improbable. We should assume a root *gacch*, deduced from *gacchāi*, and derive *gacchaṁ* from \**gacchsyāmi*, \**gacchsyāmi*. Cf. *so cchaṁ* § 531.

§ 524. Of the reduplicated roots of the first conjugation *pā* forms JM. *pāhāmi* = *pāsyāmi* ( Āv. 42,27 ); AMg. *pāham* ( Uttar. 593 [text *pāhim*] ), *pāhisi* ( Kappas. S. § 18 ), *pāhāmo* ( Āyār. 2,1,5,5; 2,1,9,6 ); M. *pāhinti* ( R. 3,21; text false °*he* ). The future of *sthā* is M. *thāhī* ( Pracandap. 47,4 ), Ś. *ciṭṭhissam* ( Śak. 30,9; Vikr. 15,5; Nāgān. 69,14; Karp. 22,2 ); Mg. *ciṭṭhissam* ( Candak. 42,11 ), *anuciṭṭhissam* ( Mṛcch. 40,11; cf. v. l. and § 303 ); Ś. *ciṭṭhissadi* ( Vikr. 43,8 ); AMg. Ś. *ciṭṭhissāmo* ( Nāyadh. 908. 939; Viddhaś. 61,8 ). — Ś. *uṭṭhissāmo* ( Mṛcch. 20,22 ) goes back to *uṭṭhāi*, AMg. *uṭṭhehinti* ( Vivāhap. 1280 ) to *uṭṭhei* (§ 483).

§ 525. The future from *drś* in M. JM. AMg. is *dacchaṁ* = *drakchsyāmi* ( Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171; Sr. fol. 52 ). The rules for *gam* (§ 523) hold good in this case too. One says: M. *dacchāmi* ( R. 11,77 ), *dacchimi* ( R. 11,85 ); M. *dacchihisi* ( H. 819; R. 11,93 [ to be read so with G; false S. GOLD-SCHMIDT p. 286 note 1 ] ); AMg. *dacchisi* ( Uttar. 679 = Dasav. 613,35, where correct is the text ); JM. *dacchihī* ( Erz. 24,12 ); M. *dacchihī* ( R. 14,55 ), *dacchāma* ( R. 3,50 ), *dacchihā* ( R. 3,23 [ so to be read ] ). Beside them one says also AMg. *pāsihū* from *pāsai* = *pāsyati* ( Ovav. [ § 115 ] ). To Ś. Mg. Dh. both the verbs are unknown : they use *ikṣ* with *pra*, that is known also to the rest of the dialects: M. *pēcchissam* ( H. 743 ), *pēcchihisi* ( H. 566 ); JM. *pēcchissāmo* ( Dvār. 505,28 ); Ś. *pekkhissam* ( Mṛcch. 4,11; 77,12; 93,16; Śak. 90,15; 125,15; Vikr. 11,2; 13,19; Prab. 37,13; 38,1 etc. ), *pēkkhissadi* ( Ratn. 300,1; Uttarak. 66,7 ); Mg. *pēkkhissam* ( Mṛcch. 40,10 ), *pēkkhissadi* ( Mṛcch. 123,22 ); Dh. *pēkkhissam* ( Mṛcch. 35,15. 17 ); A. *pēkkhimi* ( Vikr. 55,18 ). — As in the present (§ 484), in the fut. too *labh* may take a nasal in the root: Ś. *labhissam* = *lapsye* ( Cait. 83,2 ); Ś. *uvālabhissam* = *upālapsye* ( Priyad. 19,15 ); but also Ś. *lahissam* ( Mṛcch. 70,12 ); Ś. *vālahissam* ( Śak. 61,2; 130,4 ); AMg. *labhissāmi* ( Āyār. 2,1,4,5 ); JM. *lahissāmo* ( Erz. 13,30 ). From *sah* we find in AMg. the fut. *sakchhāmo* = Epic *śakchhāmaḥ* ( Āyār. 1,8,2,14 ). — From the contracted stems *khā-* and *dhā-* from *khāda-* and *dhāva-* (§ 165) the fut. *khāhū* and *dhāhū* are formed ( Bh. 8,27; Hc. 4,228 ). So Mg. *khāhī* ( Mṛcch. 11,11 ) in the verse, against *khāssam* ( Mṛcch. 124,10 ) in prose.

§ 526. Of the roots of the 6. conjugation *pracch*, corresponding to the present *puccaḥ* = *prechati*, forms the fut. Ś. *puccchissam* ( Mṛcch. 4,22;

81,1. 2. 10; Śak. 19,3; 50,4; Mālatīm. 103,10; Venīś. 59,1; Karp. 3,4 ); Mg. *puścīssam* (Prab. 50,46; 53,12); AMg. *pucchissāmo* (Āyār. 1,4,2,6; Ovav. § 38 ).—*sphuṭ* forms according to the present *phuṭtai* ( § 488, note 1 ), A. *phuṭṭisu* (Hc. 4,422,12); M. *phuṭṭihisi*, *phuṭṭihii* (H. 768.281 [so to be read]). *muc* forms *mōccham*=*moksyāmi* (Hc. 3,172; Ki. 4,19; Sr.fol. 53). The rules for *gam* ( § 523) hold good in this case. So M. *mōcchihii* (R. 4,49) and *mōcchhi* (R.3,30; 11,126). JM. says also *muñcīhii* (Dvār.504,11), Ś. *muñcissadi* (Vikr.72,20), as from *sic* Ś. *siñcissam* (Śak.15.4). On *mṛ* see §522.—From *viś* Ki. 4,19 teaches *viccham*, for which, as already LASSEN ( Inst. p. 351 ) has noted, *vēccham* would be expected, which the rest of the grammarians derive from *vid*. We find in the texts the forms of the *i*-stem only, as AMg. *apupavisissāmi*, *pavisissāmi* (Āyār.2,1,4,5), *pavisissāmo* (Āyār. 1,8,2,14); JM. *pavisihii* (Erz. 29,16 ); Mg. *pavisīssam*, *uvavisīssam* (Mṛcch. 36,1; 124,8).

§ 527. The roots of the 4. class mostly use the present stem: M. *kilammihisi* (G. 954 ), *kilammihii* (H. 196 ) from *kilammai* = *klāmyati* ( § 136 ); AMg. *siṅvissāmi* from *siṅvati* (Āyār. 1,6,3,1 ); M. *kuppissam* (H. 898 ); Ś. *kuppissadi* (Mṛcch. 94,7. 8; Uttarar. 66,9 ); but also Ś. *kuvissam* (Uttarar. 32,3; Viddhaś. 71,3 ); Ś. *ṇaccissam* (Viddhaś. 122,11; 128,5), *ṇaccissadi* (Cait. 57,12) from *nṛt*; AMg. *sajjihii*, *rajjihii*, *gijjihii*, *mujjihii*, *ajjhovavajjihii* from *saj*, *raj*, *grdh*, *muh*, *pad* (Ovav. § 111 ); AMg. *bujjihii* from *budh* (Ovav. § 116), *sijjihii* from *sidh* (Vivāhap. 175; Nirayāv. § 27; Ovav. § 116), *sijjihihii* (Ovav. § 128 ), *sijjhissanti* (Āyār. 2,15,16); JM. *sijjihii* (Erz. 28,16; 34,20; Dvār. 508,8); M. Ś. *vivajjissam* from *pad* with *vi* (H. 865; Mṛcch.25,15); AMg. *paḍivajjissāmi* (Uvās. §12.210), Ś. *paḍivajjissam* (Mālatīm. 117,5), Ś. *paḍivajjissadi* (Śak. 70,12; Nāgān. 22,7 ), AMg. *paḍivajjissāmo* (Ovav. § 38); M. *pavajjihisi* (H. 661); AMg. *uvavajjihii* (Vivāhap. 175; Nirayāv. § 27; Ovav. § 100. 101), *uvavajjissaha* (Vivāhap. 234), *samupajjihii* (Ovav. § 115), *uppajjissanti* (Thān. 80. 133); Ś. *sampajjissadi* (Vikr. 43,12); JM. *vaccihisi* (Erz. 77,33), M. *vaccihii* (H. 918) from *vaccai* ( § 202 ), but JM. *pavaissāmi* (Āv. 32,27), AMg. *pavaihii* (Ovav. § 115 ) from *vray*; M. *mañjihisi* (G. 954; H. 663 ), JM. *mannissai* (Erz. 12,35), Ś. *mañjissadi* (Uttarar. 95,2 [ so to be read ] ); JM. *vinassihisi* (Erz. 29,16 ), *viṇāsīhii* (Dvār. 495,17); M. *luggissam*, *luggihisi* (H. 375. 21 ), *luggihii* (G. 70), Mg. *anulluggīssam* (Caṇḍak. 42,12); A. *rūsesu* from the *e*-stem of *ruṣ* (Hc. 4,414; 4), like JM. *mannēhii* (Āv. 12,12) from the *e*-stem of *man*. Deviating from the present ( § 489) *śram* forms the future in M. *visammihii* (H.576 [so to be read]).—Corresponding to the present *jāi*, AMg. *ājyanti*, *ṇaccājyanti* (§487) the future of *jan* are AMg. *paḍāhisi* (Vivāhap. 946; Kappas. § 9; Nāyādh. § 26 ), *paḍāhii* (Ovav. § 104; Kappas. § 79; Nāyādh. § 51 ), *ṇaccājāhii* (Vivāhap. 1090; Thān. 523; Ovav. § 102 ), *ājāissanti* (Kappas. § 17 ). On *śak* see § 531.

§ 528. The verbs of the 10. conjugation and the similarly built causatives and denominatives form the future as in Skt. with regular elision of *y*: *kittāissam*, *kittāihimi* = *kirtayisyāmi* (Hc. 3,169); AMg. *dalaissai* (Vivāhap. 1288 ), *dalaissanti* (Ovav. § 108 ); Ś. *kuṭṭāissam* (Mṛcch. 18,5), *anūllāissam* = *anukūllayisyāmi* (Mālatīm. 267,8 ), *cūraissam* (Karp. 21,2 ), *vāraissadi*, *cintaissadi*, *ṇiattaissadi*=*nivartayisyati* (Śak. 55,2; 87,1; 91,6), *puloāissadi* (Vṛṣabh.22,9), *viṇoḍāissāmo* (Śak. 78,10), *visaḍjāissadha* (Śak. 86. 5 ), *saddāvaissam* = \**śabdāpayisyāmi* (Mṛcch. 60,1), *moāvaissasi* = \**mocāpayisyasi* (Mṛcch. 60,13); Mg. *gaṇāissam* (Śak. 154,6), *maḍamadāissam*, *tāḍāissam*, *liḥāvaissam*, *dūśāissam* (Mṛcch. 21,22; 80,5; 136,21; 176,6), *vāvādaissadi*=*vyāpādayisyati* (Venīś. 36,5). At Mṛcch. 128,14 Mg. *moḍāissāmi* with the ending *-mi* as against *moḍāissam* at Mṛcch. 113,1, is made certain prosodically.

On the contrary *Ś. nikkāmaṁsāmi* at *Mṛcch.* 52,9 is to be corrected as *°aṁsām*. In *M. AMg. JM.* we find the future also from the contracted form in *-e*: *M. mārehi* ( *H.* 567 ); *JM. vattehāmi* = *vartayisyāmi* ( *Āv.* 47, 26 ); *viṇāsehāmi* = *vināsayisyāmi* ( *Dvār.* 495,31 ); *nāsehi* ( *T.* 5,20 ); *melavehi* = *melayisyasi* ( *Āv.* 30,8 ); *jaṇehi* ( *Erz.* 12,28 ); *niwārehi* ( *Erz.* 8,21 ); *kahehinti* ( *Āv.* 26,36 ); *AMg. sehāvehi* = *\*saikṣāpayisyati, sikkhāvehi* = *sikṣāpayisyati* ( *Ovav.* § 107 ), *ceyēssāmo* = *cetayisyāmah* ( *Āyār.* 2,1,9,1; 2,2, 2,10 ), *sakkārehinti, sammānehinti, padivisaṅgehinti* ( *Ovav.* § 108 ), *vaṇimantehinti* ( *Ovav.* § 110 ), *saddavehinti* ( *Vivāhap.* 1276 ), *ṇōllavehinti* ( *Vivāhap.* 1280 ). Not seldom are the future of the denominatives formed without a suffix ( § 491 ), to which are attached the causative ( § 533 ): *Ś. kadhissām* ( *Mṛcch.* 80,25 ), *M. kahissām* ( *H.* 157 ), beside the usual *Ś. kadhāissām* ( *Mṛcch.* 19,2; *Śak.* 51,12; 105,7 ), *Mg. kadhāissām, kadhāissāsi* ( *Mṛcch.* 139,23; 165, 15 ); *AMg. \*kārāvissām* = *kārāpayisyāmi* = *kārayisyāmi* ( *Āyār.* 1,1,1,5 ); *Ś. khandissām* = *khaṇḍayisyāmi* ( *Karp.* 18,7 ); *M. puloissām* = *pralokayisyāmi* ( *H.* 743 ), *Ā. paloissām* ( *Mṛcch.* 104,21 ); *Ś. vaḍḍhāissām* = *\*vardhāpayisyāmi* ( *Śak.* 37,10 ), *vinṇavissām* = *viññāpayisyāmi, sussūissām* = *śusrūsayisyāmi* ( *Mṛcch.* 58,11; 88,11 ); *Mg. mālissāsi* = *mārayisyasi* ( *Mṛcch.* 125,7 ); *Ś. takkissadi* = *tarkayisyati* ( *Vikr.* 79,9; *v. l. cintissadi* ), *mantissadi* ( *Ratn.* 299, 9 ) beside *mantāissadi* ( *Mṛcch.* 54,1 ).

§ 529. Of the verbs of the 2. conjugation ending in *-ā*, *khyā* forms *AMg. pacāikkhissāmi* = *\*pratyaḥkhyisyāmi* ( *Āyār.* 2,1,9,2 ), *yā* *AMg. nijjāissāmi* according to § 487 ( *Ovav.* § 40 [so to be read with *Q* for *nijjāhissāmi* of the text] ), *JM. jāhii* ( *Erz.* 29,12; 35,5 ), *vā* *AMg. pariṇivvāhii* ( *Vivāhap.* 175; *Nāyādh.* 390 [so to be read] ), *parinivvāissanti* ( *Āyār.* 2,15,16 ), *snā* *Ś. ṇhāissām* ( *Mṛcch.* 27,14 ) according to § 487. — From *i* the fut. is *AMg. ēssāmi* ( *Thān.* 142 ), *ēssanti* ( *Sūyag.* 45. 56. 71 ); with the prefix *ā* *M. ehisi* ( *H.* 385 ), *M. AMg. ehii* ( *H.* 137. 784 [so to be read]. 855. 918; *R.* 10,79; *Āyār.* 2,4,1,2 [so to be read]; *Uvās.* § 187 ), *JM. ehī* ( *Erz.* 24,11 ), *ehinti* ( *Erz.* 29,13 ), *A. eṣi* ( *Hc.* 4, 414, 4 ). From this is found also a wholly isolated optative *M. ehijja* ( *H.* 17 ) standing there. — *rud* forms *roḥchām* = *\*rotsyāmi* ( *Vr.* 7,16; *Hc.* 3,171; *Sr.* fol. 53 ), in *Ki.* 4,19 *rucchām*, but *M. roissām* ( *H.* 503 ), *Ś. rodissām* ( *Mṛcch.* 95,23; *Nāgān.* 3,1 ), also *rudissāmo* ( *Mallikām.* 154,23 ). — From *soap* the fut. is *Ś. swissām* ( *Mṛcch.* 50,4; *Priyad.* 34,3 ), *Mg. suviṣṣām* ( *Mṛcch.* 43,12; *Prab.* 60,15 ), — *vid* has the fut. *veḥchām* = *\*vetsyāmi* ( *Vr.* 7,16; *Hc.* 3,171; *Sr.* fol. 53 ), but *Ś. vedissadi* ( *Prab.* 37,15 ), *AMg. vedissanti* ( *Thān.* 108 ). — *vac* forms *voḥchām* ( § 104; *Vr.* 7,16; *Hc.* 3,171; *Sr.* fol. 53 ). So *M. AMg. voḥchām* ( *Vajjālaga* 324,10; *Paṇhāv.* 331; *Ovav.* 184 [text *bo°*]; *Nandis.* 92 [text *bo°*]; *Jiyāk.* 1.60 ) and *voḥchāmi* ( *Vivāhap.* 59; *Paṇhāv.* 330; *Uttar.* 737. 897 ); but *AMg. also vakkkhāmo* = *vakṣyāmah* ( *Dasav.* 627,23 ), *paṇakkhāmi* ( *Sūyag.* 278. 284 ). In *Ki.* 4,21 *vacchihimi, vacchimi, vacchi* are edited. Cf. 4,20. The forms *roḥchām, veḥchām, voḥchām* and all similarly built ones are not used in *Ś. Mg.*, as *Mk.* fol. 70 expressly mentions and the texts attest. For their flexion the rules for *gacchām* ( § 523 ) hold good. = From *duh* the fut. is *duhiihi* ( *Hc.* 4,245 ).

§ 530. From *dā* the future is *AMg. JM. dāhāmi* ( *Āyār.* 2,1,10,1; *Uttar.* 743; *Erz.* 59,23. 34 )<sup>1</sup> and *dāham* ( *Vr.* 7,16; *Hc.* 3,170; *Ki.* 4,19; *Erz.* 10,24 ), according to *Hc.* also *dāhimi*; *AMg. dāhisi* ( *Āyār.* 2,1,2,4; 2,2, 3,18; 2,5,1,7; 2,6,1,5 ); *JM. dāhi* ( *Āv.* 43,22; *Erz.* ); *AMg. dāhāmo* ( *Āyār.* 2,5,1,10 ), *dāhāmu* ( *Sūyag.* 178; *Uttar.* 355. 358 ), *dāhiittha* ( *Uttar.* 359 ); *JM. dāhinti* ( *Erz.* 80,22 ). In *Ś. Mg.* the fut. *Ś. daissām* ( *Mṛcch.* 80,20 ), *Mg. daiṣṣām* = *\*dayisyāmi* ( *Mṛcch.* 31,6.8.15; 32,9.24; 33,22; 35,8; 80,19 etc; § 474 ); are formed from the stem *daya-*, corresponding to the present *dedi* = *\*dayati*.

We should read *dāissam* for Ś. *dāissam* (Karp. 112,5; Śak. ed. BÖHTLINGK 25,6; Priyad. 23,4) and *daïssanti* for *deïssanti* (Kāleyak. 2,13). — *dhā* has attested the old reduplicated stem also in the future (cf. § 500) in combination with *śrad*: AMg. *saddahissai* (Nāyādh. 1114—1116). Otherwise in combination with prefixes, in the future in AMg. the flexion points to °*dhat*°, °*hai* ( § 500 ): AMg. *pehissāmi*, metrically for *pi*°, as the ed. Calc. has (Āyar. 1,8,1,1), but Ś. according to the 4. conjugation: *pihāissam* (Viddhaś. 70,8); AMg. *saṁdhissāmi*, *parihissāmi* (Āyar. 1,6,3,1); also in Ś. *saṁdhihisi* (Bālar. 22,18), certainly against the dialect, in which \**saṁdhāissasi* is to be expected. — From *hā* AMg. has the fut. *viḥḥajhissāmo* (Sūyag. 633. 635), from *bhī* Ś. has *bhāissam*, *bhāissadi* (Śak. 140,11; 135,14).

1. At Āyar. 1,7,7,2 JACOBI twice reads *dāsāmi*, 2,5,1,11. 13 *dāsāmo* beside *dāhāmo*. At the first place the ed. Calc. reads *dalaïssāmi*, as also the v. l. has, at the second *dāsāmo*, at the third *dāsāmo*.

§ 531. Of the verbs of the 5. conjugation *ci* forms the fut. Ś. *avaciñissam* (Ratn. 295,25; Vṛṣabh. 58,20; Cait. 73,10), AMg. *ciñissanti*, *uvaciñissanti* (Thān. 107.108; Vivāhap. 62). According to Hc. 4,243 *ciñihii* would be passive; according to the form it is parasmaip. — *śru* forms according to the grammarians *so'ccham* (Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,171. 172; Kī. 4,19; Sr. fol. 53) with the flexion according to *gaccham* ( § 523). This *so'ccham* does not belong to *śru*, but to Vedic *śruṣ*, and, therefore, stands regularly for \**śrokyāmi*. The fut. from *śru* are Ś. *suñissam* (Mrcch. 60,7,9; Śak. 20,7; Vikr. 24,5; 31,1. 9; Mālav. 83,3 etc.), *suñissāmo* (Mallikām. 129,3; 132,9), Mg. *suñiśsam* (Mrcch. 21,21), JM. *suñissai* (Kk. 265,4), in AMg. also from the *e*-stem: *suñēssāmi* (Thān. 143), *suñēssāmo* (Ovav. § 38). — From *āp* AMg. forms the fut. *pāuñissāmi* (Āyar. 1,6,3,1), *pāuñihii* (Uvās. § 62; Ovav. § 100. 116)<sup>1</sup> corresponding to the present *pāuñai* ( § 504). The rest of the dialects derive it from the present stem *pāva*—: A. *pāvīsu* (Hc. 4,396,4); Ś. *pāvissasi* (Kāleyak. 7,6); M. *pāvihisi* (H. 462. 510), and so also against the dialect in Ś. (Vikr. 42,10); Mg. *pāvihīsi* (Mudrār. 177,6; [so to be read for *vahesi*; cf. v. l. and ZDMG. 39,125]); M. *pāvihii* (H. 918). — *śak* forms the future according to the 4. conjugation ( § 505); M. *sakkihisi* (Viddhaś. 64,1 [so to be read]); Ś. *sakkissāmo* (Cait. 75,15; text *sakissamha*); JM. *sakkissaha* (Kk. 265,11); also with the *e*-stem: JM. *sakkehii* (Āv.45,8), *sakkehī* (Dvār. 501,39).

1. So correctly LEUMANN, Aup. Ś. s. v. *pāuñ*; wrongly HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 108 on vr.

§ 532. The future of *chid*, *bhid*, *bhuj* according to the grammarians is formed: *chēccham*, *bhēccham*, *bhōccham* corresponding to Skt. *chestsyāmi*, *bhetsyāmi*, *bhoksyāmi* (Hc. 3,171; Sr. fol. 53). The flexion is as that of *gaccham* ( § 523). From *chid* are found: AMg. *acchindihinti* *vicchindihinti*, *vo'cchindihinti* (Vivāhap. 1277), from *bhid*: AMg. *bhidissanti* (Āyar. 2,1,6,9), for which one could expect *bhindissanti*, as for *bhidanti*, rather *bhindanti* from *bhuj*: AMg. *bhōkkehāmi* (Āyar. 2,1,11,1), *bhōkkehāsi* (Kappas. S. 18), *bhōkkehāmo* (Āyar. 2,1,5,5; 2,1,9,6). JM. has *bhuñjihī* (Erz. 6,36), likewise *bhuñjissai* (T. 5,18). According to Hc. 4,248 *saṁrundhiihii* would be fut. of the passive; according to the form it belongs to the parasmaipada.

§ 533. In all the dialects the fut. of *kr* is formed as in Skt.: AMg. JM. *karissāmi* (Āyar. 1,2,5,6; Thān. 149. 476; Dasav. 627,24; Nandīs. 354; Uttar. 1; Erz. 46,7); M. JM. Ś. *karissam* (H. 743.882; Erz. 11,31; Mudrār. 103,6; Nāgān. 43,7); Mg. *kalīśsam* (Mrcch. 96,13); A. *karīsu* (Hc. 4,396,4); M. *karīhisi* (H. 844); Ś. *karissasi* (Mrcch. 9,12; Śak. 58,2); A. *karīhisi* (Vikr. 55,19); AMg. *karīhii* (Vivāhap. 175); JM. *karissai* (Āv. 32,19; Erz. 5,22); AMg. *karissai* (Dasav. 627,24); Ś. *karissadi* (Prab. 39,9; 42,2;

Uttarar. 197,11); Mg. *kalaiśśadi* (Prab. 51,1; 58,15 [so to be read; see v. l.]); AMg. JM. *karissāmo* (Kappas. § 91. 128; Ovav. § 38; Erz. 3,11); M. *karissāma* (H. 897); AMg. Ś. *karissanti* (Vivāhap. 62; Ovav. [§ 105]; Nāgān. 43,11). Corresponding to the use of the *e*-stem in the present (§ 509), the same is used in fut. too, in Ś. Mg., however, always in the uncontracted form: AMg. *karēssam* (Vivāhap. 1255), but Ś. *karaiśsam* (Mṛcch. 60,11; 120,8; Śak. 59,10; 60,15; 76,2; 142,2), Mg. *kalaiśśam* (Mṛcch. 96,20; 124,11. 14; 125,5. 8; 127,6; 134,8; 165,1; Caṇḍak. 42,10), *kalaiśśasi* (Mṛcch. 32,19); M. JM. AMg. *karehii* (H. 724; Kk. 265,3 [so to be read]; Ovav. § 116 [the commentator has *kāhii*]), but Ś. *karaiśśadi* (Prab. 42,8), Mg. *kalaiśśadi* (Mṛcch. 140,6); JM. *karēssāmo* (Kk. 274,26) and *karehāmo* (Erz. 25,25); AMg. JM. *karehinti* (Ovav. § 105. 128; Äv. 43,18), AMg. *karēssanti* (Äyār. 2,15,16), but Ś. *karaiśśanti* (Śak. 142,4). In AMg. the fut. is formed from the stem *kuvva-* (§ 508) too: *viuvvissāmi* (Vivāhap. 1397 f.), *vikuvvissanti* (Vivāhap. 214. 215). M. JM. AMg. have, besides, frequently the future *kāham* = \**karyāmi*, that is inflected as *gacchām* (§ 523; Vr. 7,16; Hc. 3,170; Kī. 4,19; Sr. fol. 52). So: M. JM. *kāham* (H. 187; Erz. 80,18); JM. *kāhāmi* (Erz. 5,23; 83,8); according to Hc. and Sr. also *kāhimi*; M. AMg. *kāhisi* (H. 80. 90. 683; Uttar. 679 = Dasav. 613,35); M. AMg. JM. *kāhii* (Hc. 3,166; H. 410. 683; R. 5,4; Nirayāv. § 27; Äv. 32,7); JM. AMg. *kāhi* (Erz. 8,21; 71,8; Dvār. 495,18 [ *kāhi tti* ]; Dasav. 617,28); JM. *kāhāmo* (Erz. 15,13; 80,18; Sagara 3,15), *kāhiha* (Äv. 33,27), AMg. JM. *kāhinti* (Ovav. § 105; Uttar. 253; Äv. 43,36). A. *kisu* (Hc. 4,389) presupposes one \**kryyāmi*.

§ 534. From *jñā*, corresponding to Skt., AMg. forms *ñāhisi* = *jñāsyasi* (Sūyag. 106); *ñāhii* (Thān. 451), *nāhii* (Dasav. 617,28), *nāhi* (Dasav. 617,32. 34) = *jñāsyati*. In all the dialects the formation from the present stem *jāna-* is usable. So: M. Ś. *jāñissam* (H. 749; Mṛcch. 3,2; Ratn. 307, 26); M. *jāñihisi* (H. 528. 643), likewise A. (Vikr. 58,11); AMg. *jāñihii* (Ovav. § 115); Ś. *jāñissadi* (Mālav. 87,9; Ratn. 299,5. 7; Viddhaś. 114,5; Laṭakam. 6,6), *abbhañujāñissadi* (Mālav. 40,7), *ahijāñissadi* (Śak. 102,15); AMg. Ś. *jāñissāmo* (Sūyag. 962; Vikr. 23,18; 28,12); Mg. *yāñiśśamha*, false for *yāñiśśāmo* (Lalitav. 565,9). — From *krī* the fut. is Ś. *kiñiśśadi* (Caṇḍak. 52,4. 7), Mg. *kiñiśśam* (Mṛcch. 32,17; 118,14; 125,10); JM. *kiñihāmo* (Äv. 15); from *grah* Ś. *geñhissam* (Mṛcch. 74,19; 95,22; Ratn. 316, 22; Mudrār. 103,9), *geñhissadi* (Mṛcch. 54,5; 74,24; Kāleyak. 7,6), *añu- giñhissadi* (Pārvatīp. 30,18); AMg. *giñhissāmo* (Äyār. 2,2,3,2). JM. *ghēcchāmo* (Äv. 23,6) belongs, as *ghēppai* (§ 548), to a root \**ghṛp*, present \**ghivai* (§ 212), is therefore = \**ghṛpsyāmah*. — *bandh* forms AMg. *bandhissai* (Vivāhap. 1810 ff.), *bandhissanti* (Thān. 108); Ś. *añubandhissam* (Viddhaś. 14,13). According to Hc. 4,247 *bandhiihi* would be the future of the passive: according to the form it is in *parasmaipada*. — *bhan* regularly forms AMg. *bhañihāmi* (Jiyak. C. 11); M. Ś. *bhañissam* (H. 12.604; Mṛcch. 21,24; 24,20; Viddhaś. 72,2; Mallikām. 83,4 [text *pha*]); Mālatim. 265,1; 276,7); Ś. *bhañissasi* (Mṛcch. 58,8); M. *bhañihii* (H. 858,918); Ś. *bhañissadi* (Ratn. 304,1); JM. *bhañissaha* (Kk. 274,19); Ś. *bhañissadha* (Mālatim. 246, 7,); M. *bhañihinti* (G. 965). From the *e*-stem is built Mg. *bhañiśśam* (Mṛcch. 32,20).

#### PASSIVE.

§ 535. In Pkt. the passive is formed in a three-fold manner. Either 1) the Skt. form with *ya* is used after undergoing the alterations as required by the phonetic laws of Pkt.; after vowels, *-ya* then becomes *-jja* in M. JM. JŚ. AMg. A. and *-yya* in P., in Ś. Mg. it drops; after consonants it is assimilated with the consonant; or *-īya*, which in M. JM. JŚ.

AMg. A. becomes *-jja*, in Ś. Mg. *-īa*, in P. *-iyya*, 2) it enters into the root, or more frequently 3) into the present stem. Thence from *dā* one says M. JM. AMg. A. *dijjāi*, JŚ. *dijjādi*, P. *tiyyate*, Ś. Mg. *diadi*; from *gam* M. JM. AMg. *gammai*, *gamijjāi*, P. \**gamiyyate*, Ś. *gamiadi*, *gacchiadi*, Mg. \**gāsciadi*. Forms in Ś. *-ijja*, Mg. *-iyya* (mostly printed *-ijja*) are very often found in the texts; they are, however exceptional perhaps in verses, for Ś. Mg. false<sup>1</sup>. In D. *kahijjādi* (§ 103,15) for *kadhādi* and *sāsijjāi* (103,16) for *sāsiadi* (155,6) are not to be objected to (§ 26). The "uncharacteristic" passive in R. as *ārambhante* (8,82; particip.), *rumbhāi*, *rumbhanta* (s. v. *rudh*), *osumbhanta*, *nisumbhanta* (s. v. *sudh*) are false readings for *ārabhante*, *rubbhāi*, *rubbhanta*, *osubbhanta*, *nisubbhanta*, as the similar ones are often found in the manuscripts. Likewise the false reading *wabhūñjanto* (IS. 15,429) for *wabhujjanto* is false; *oçchundāi* (R.10,55) for which the manuscript C has *apphundāi* is not clear. The optative *vējjā*, *lahējjā*, *acchējjā* for *viñjējjā*, *lahijjējjā*, *acchijjējjā* (Hc. 3,160) are presumably purely metrical shortenings, as the fut. pass. AMg. *samucchiñjanti* for *samucchiñjanti* from *chid* (§ 549). Vr. 7,8; Hc. 3,160; Kī. 4,12; Mk.fol. 51 teach *-īa* and *-ijja* without distinguishing between the dialects; Mk. fol. 71 mentions in Ś. only *-īa* and forbids the forms like *dubbhāi*, *libbhāi*, *gammai* for Ś., to whom the texts correspond, taught by Vr. 7,9; 8,57—59; Hc. 4,242—249; Mk.fol. 62. The derivation of the "irregular passive", as *sippāi*, *juppāi*, *ādghappāi*, *dubbhāi*, *rubbhāi* etc. from the past passive participles according to false analogy, which JACOB<sup>2</sup> has given with the approbation of JOHANSSON<sup>4</sup>, is wholly wrong. See §266. 286. To the passive belong an indicative, an optative and an imperative; moreover, aor., fut., inf., pres. participle and preterite are formed from the passive. The endings as a rule are those of the *parasmaip.*; however, M. JM. JŚ. AMg. frequently, and P. according to the grammarians always have the endings of the *ātmanep.*, especially in the participle.

1. BOLLENSON in Malav. p. 223. The following paragraphs give examples of false forms.—2. S. GOLDSCHMIDT on R. 8,82 note 4 p. 256.—3. KZ. 28,249 ff.—4. KZ. 32,446 ff., where further literature.

§ 536. As in the future (§ 521), the examples for the passive are regulated according to the present stem § 473 ff. The roots in *-u*, *-ū*, without distinction of the class, may be conjugated according to the 6. class of Skt. (§ 473) and build their passive accordingly: M. *ñiphuvijjanti*. (H. 657), Ś. *ñiphuvādi* (Ratn. 303, 9) from *hnu*; *ruvvaī*, *ruvijjāi*, (Hc. 2,249), M. *ruvvasu* in the sense of the middle (H. 10) from *ru*; M. *thuvvasi stūyase* (G. 298), *thuvvaī = stūyate* (Hc. 4,242; Sr. fol. 54; G. 253); JŚ. *thuvvade* (Kattig. 401,351), AMg. *thuvvanti* (text *thuva°*) = *stūyante* (Vivāhap. 1232), JM. *thuvvanta-* (Erz. 24,2), *samthuvvanta-* (Āv. 7,26); beside *thuvvijjāi* (Hc. 4,242) from *stu*; *dhuvvaī*, *dhuvijjāi*, M. *vihuvvaī*, *vihuvvanta-*, *odhuvvanti* (R.), AMg. *uddhuvvamāñihim* (Ovav.; Kappas.) from *dhū*, *puvvaī*, *puvijjāi*, A. *puvijjē* (Piṅgala 2,107) from *pū*, *luvvaī*, *luvijjāi* from *lū*, *huvvaī*, *huvvijjāi* from *hu* (Vr. 8,57; Hc. 4,242; Kī. 4,74; Mk. fol. 58; Sr. fol. 54); from *śru*. M. JM. *suvaī*, *suvantī*, *suavamāṇa* (G. H. R.; Āv. 37,44; Erz.; Kk.), M. *suvanta-* (Karp. 51,3); AMg. *suvaē* (Sūyag. 154), *suvaī* (Sūyag. 277; text *cca°*), *suvantī* (Uttar. 280; text *cca°*); beside *suñijjāi* (Vr. 8,57; Hc. 4,242; Sr. fol. 54), *suñijjāe*, *suñāi*, *suñāe* (Sr. fol. 54); Ś. *suñādi* (Mr̥cch. 29,2; 64,6; 97,7; Śak. 50,12; 139,6; Ratn. 315,21; Prab. 14,9; Karp. 3,3; 24,3; 45,3; Vṛṣabh. 47,14; 51,7 etc.), *suñiyanti* (sic; Lalitav. 555,2), *suñiantī* (Śak. 58,1; Uttarar. 127,6; Prab. 8,8), *suñiādu* (Vikr. 48,9); Mg. *suñādi* (Mr̥cch. 45,1; 163,22; 169,18; Mudrār. 191,5; Venis. 35,18; 36,3); A. *suñijjē* (Piṅgala 2,107). JM. has also *summaī* (Erz. 11,16), as one \**sumāi* beside \**suvaī* is presupposed in accordance with § 261.

According to the grammarians ( Vr. 8,57; Hc. 4,242; Ki. 4,73; Mk. fol. 58 ) *ji* too, according to Hc. 4,243 *ci* too have the same formation of the passive: *civvai*, *ciñijjai*, fut. *civvihii*, *jivvai*, *jñijjai*, according to Hc. also *cimmaï* fut. *cimmihi*, which is to be explained likewise as JM. *summaü*. It is not correct to presume analogical formation according to the roots in -u, -ü with JACOBI, whose hypothesis is erroneous<sup>1</sup>, and JOHANSSON<sup>2</sup>. *civvai* is a regular passive from *civ* ( Dhätupätha 21,15 *civṛ ādānasamvaranayoḥ* ), *jivvai*, apparently from *jiv* ( Dhätupätha 15,85 *jivi pñinanārthak* ), that is equated as *jivv*. The case will be decided only when the meaning be settled with certainty. AMg. has *cijjanti*, *uvacijjanti*, *avacijjanti* ( Paṇṇav. 628. 629 ), Ś. *vicīadu* ( Vikr. 30,15 ). According to Hc. 3,160 the passive from *bhū* is *hoiāi*, *hoijjai*. In Ś. it is *bhaviādi* in *aṇubhaviādi* ( Ratn. 317,5 ), *aṇuhaviādi* ( Nāgān. 4,5 ), and *aṇuhuviādi* ( Kāleyak. 9,22 ), *abhibhaviādi* ( Mālatim. 130,5 ), particip. *ahibhūtamāṇa* ( Śak. 16,10 ), in Mg. *bhaviādi* ( Mṛcch. 164,10 ) and *huvādi* ( Venīs. 33,6. 7; 35,8 ), both in the sense of the fut. parasmaip. ( § 550 ). On *pahubpai* see 286. — From *nī* the passive is M. *nijjai* ( G. H. R. ), JM. *nñijjanta-* ( Āv. 24,4 ), Ś. *ñiādi* ( Śak. 78,8 ), *āñiādi* ( Vikr. 31,5; Karp. 26,8 ), *āñiādu* ( Karp. 26,7 ), *ahñiādu* ( Śak. 3,5 ), *aṇuñiāmāṇa* ( Mṛcch. 23,23. 25 ); Mg. *ñiādi* ( Mṛcch. 100,22 ).

1. KZ. 28,255. — 2. KZ. 32,449. Falsely also P. GOLDSCHMIDT, Specimen p. 71; GN. 1874, p. 513; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29,494.

§ 537. The roots in -r form the passive mostly from the present stem: M. *dharijjai* ( R. ), fut. *dharijjihii* ( H. 778; so to be read ); Mg. *dhalīadi* ( Prab. 50,10 ); M. *aṇusarijjanti* ( G. 627 ); M. *ñivvarijjajae* ( H. 204 ); M. A., *samarijjai* = *smaryate* ( R. 13,16; Hc. 4,426 ), JM. *sumarijjaü* ( Erz. 15,3 ), Ś. *sumariādi* ( Mṛcch. 128,1 ). The roots in -r̄ form the passive as in Skt. or according to the analogy of the roots in -r: Ś. *kīranta-* from *kṛ* ( Bālar. 199,10 ) against the dialect, in which *kīrānta-* was to be expected.: *jirāi* ( also = *jiryati* ) and *jarijjai* ( Hc. 4,250 ), AMg. *nijjarijjai* ( Uttar. 885; so correctly in the commentary ); M. JM. *tirāi* ( Hc. 4,250; G. H. R.; Erz. ), *tirae* ( H.; Erz.; Dvār. 498,21 ) and M. *tarijjai* ( Hc. 4,250; G. ), AMg. *viyarijjai* ( Uttar. 354 ). Conversely *hṛ* follows the roots in -r̄: M. AMg. *hīrasi* ( G. 726; Uttar. 711 ); M. JM. *hīrāi* ( Vr. 8,60; Hc. 4,250; Ki. 4,79. 80; Mk. fol. 62; H. R.; Āv. 35,13 ), M. *hīranti* ( G. ), *hīranta-* ( H. ), AMg. *avahīranti* ( Vivāhap. 890; Paṇṇav. 398 ff. ), *avahīramāṇa* ( Vivāhap. 890; Paṇṇav. 404 ); but Ś. *avaharīami* ( Uttarar. 97,1; text °ri° ), *avaharīasi* ( Nāgān. 95,14 ), *avaharīadi* ( Dhūrtas. 13,5 ), *avaharīadu* ( Mṛcch. 25,6 ); *uddhariādi* ( Mālatim. 246,5 ); Mg. *āhaliādu* ( Prab. 63,4 ). Cf. Ki. 4,79.80. Thence false in Ś. *hīrasi* ( Bālar. 174,9 ). From *ḥṛ* are found M. *pūrijjanta-* ( H. 116 ), *ahīūrjjanti* = *abhīpūryante* ( G. 872 ); JM. *āūrjjamāṇa* ( Erz. 24,5 ) and M. *pūrai*, *āūrāmāṇa*, *ḥṛipūranta-* ( R. ). On *vāhippai* beside *vāharijjai* see § 286, on *kr̄* § 547.

§ 538. From the *ai-* roots the passive are: M. JM. *gijjanta-* ( H. 644; Kk. 264,2 ); JM. *gijjanti* ( Erz. 40,19 ); AMg. *parigijjamāṇa* ( Nāyādh. § 117 ); P. *giyyate* ( Hc. 4,315 ); Ś. *ñijjhādi* ( Mālav. 60,6 ); from the verbs of the old -ska- class: M. *acchijjai* ( H. 83 ); Ś. *icchādi* ( Mudrār. 57,4 ), Mg. *iśādi* ( Śak. 118,6 ). Like *rammāi*, *ramijjai* ( Vr. 8,58 ), P. *ramiyyate* ( Hc. 4, 315 ) formed from *ram* are formed from *gam* M. JM. *gammāi* = *gamyate* ( Vr. 8,58; Hc. 4,249; Ki. 4,13; Sr. fol. 54; H. R.; Erz. ), AMg. *gammanāi* ( Ovav. 56, p. 63,13 ), *samaṇugammanā-* ( Ovav. [ § 37 ] ) and ° *gammamāṇa* ( Nāyādh. § 103. 105 ); M. *gammaü* ( H. 715 ), fut. *gammāhi* ( Hc. 4,249; H. 609 ), partly with an active meaning; M. *gamijjanti* ( G. 846; so to be read ); Ś. *gamādu* ( Mālatim. 285,5; printed °mi° ), *gacchādi* ( Śak. 25,2; Vikr. 22, 10. 15 ), *avagacchādi* ( Mudrār. 58,4 ), *āacchādi* ( Nāgān. 19,11 ). For *aṇugacchijjanti* in Mṛcch. 25,10 we have in Ś. correctly *aṇugacchānti*; M.



*sañjamijjanti* ( G. 289 ). — From *dhau* ( to wash ), corresponding to the flexion according to the 6. conjugation (§ 482), are formed the passive M. particip. *dhuvvanta-* ( H. R. ) and *dhuvvamāṇa*.

§ 539. From *pā* ( to drink ) the passive forms are M. *pijjaī* ( H. ), *pijjae* ( Karp. 24,12 ), *pijjanti* ( G. ), *pijjanta-* ( Karp. 10,8 ), Ś. *piviadi* ( Mṛcch. 71,7; Vikr. 9,19 ), as we should read at Mṛcch. 87,13 too for *pīadi* and at Vikr. 48,15 with the v. l. for *pīadi*, imp. Ś. *piviadu* ( Mṛcch. 77,11 ). Against the dialect is Ś. *pijjanti* Śak. 29,5, for which we should read *pivānti*, in all cases with the remaining recensions *pīanti* ( Kashmir recension *pīante* ). False is Mg. *pijjae* ( Prab. 28,15 ) too, as Bb. M. P. too have; *piviadi* would be correct. — *sthā* forms Ś *anuciṭṭhiadi* ( Mṛcch. 4,13 ). imp. *anuciṭṭhiadu* ( Mṛcch. 3,7; Śak. 1,9; Ratn. 290,28; Prab. 3,5; Nāgān. 2,17 ). Kī. 4,14 teaches *thīāi*, *thijjāi*.

§ 540. Besides the usual formations *khañijjāi* ( Hc. 4,244 ), JM. participle *khanmamāṇa* ( Erz. 39,7 ), from *khan* is mentioned as passive *khammaī* too ( Hc. 4,244; Sr. fol. 56 ). So M. *ukkhammanti*, *ukkhammanta-*, *ukkhammiava* ( R. ). The form is not to be separated from *jammaī* from *jan* ( Hc. 4,136 ) and *hammaī* from *han* ( Vr. 8,45; Hc. 4,244; Sr. fol. 56 ) beside *hañijjāi*. So M. *āhammūti*, *ñihammaī*, *ñihanmanti*, *pañhammanta-* ( R. ); AMg. *hammaī* ( Āyār. 1,3,3,2; Sūyag. 289 ), *hammanti* ( Uttar. 668. 1008; Pañhāv. 289 [commentary correctly]; Sūyag. 294. 431 ), *hammantu* ( Pañhāv. 129 ), *paḍihammejjā* ( Thāṇ. 188 ), *viñihammanti* ( Uttar. 156 ); AMg. JM. *hammamāṇa* ( Sūyag. 278. 297. 393. 647. 863; Pañhāv. 202; Vivāgas. 63; Nirayāv. 67; Erz. ); AMg. *vihammamāṇa* ( Sūyag. 350 ), *suhammamāṇa* ( Sūyag. 270 ). It is wholly improbable to assume a formation on the analogy of *gammāi* from *gam* with JACOBI<sup>1</sup> and JOHANSSON<sup>2</sup>. *jammaī* points to the fact that there occurred denominatives from *janman*, Pkt. *jamma-*, *hanman*, Pkt. *hamma-*, *\*khanman*, Pkt. *khamma-*<sup>3</sup>. Cf. § 550. 557. On *khuppaī* see § 286.

1. KZ. 28,254.—2. KZ. 32,449.—3. Mk. fol. 57 teaches *khammaī* like *hammaī* (§ 550) as active.

§ 541. From *dyś*, corresponding to Skt. *dyśyate*, is regularly formed M. JM. *disai* ( Hc. 3,161; Sr.fol. 56; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk. ); M. *disae* ( Karp. 54,10 ), *āisanti-* ( H. R. ); M. AMg. *disanti* ( Karp. 4,10; Dasāv. 635,12 ); AMg. *dissai* ( Āyār. 1,2,3,3 ), *adissamāṇa* ( Āyār. 1,2,5,3; Sūyag. 646 ); Ś. *disadi* ( Mṛcch. 50,24; 138,23; 139,8; Vikr. 7,3; 10,4; 39,6; 40,6; Ratn. 295,10; Nāgān. 52,8 etc. ), *disadha* ( Karp. 3,8 ), *disanti* ( Śak. 99,12; Viddhaś. 71,9; 119,13; Mālatim. 201,2 ), *disadu* ( Karp. 54,4 ), Mg. *disadi* ( Lalitav. 565,8; Mṛcch. 138,24; 139,10. 11; 147,4. 15; 168,18 ), *disanti* ( Mṛcch. 14, 11 ). — *labh* forms M. *labhāi* = *labhyate* ( Hc. 4,249; H. R.; Mṛcch. 153,17 ), as we should read in JM. too for *lajjhāi* ( Erz. 60,16 ), that is wrongly read; AMg. fut. *lubbhīhi* in the active sense ( Dasav. 624,14 ); Ś. *labbhadi* ( Śak. 23,14 ); beside it *lahijjāi* ( Hc. 4,249 ), as in A. ( Piṅgala 1,117 ), and in Ś. Mg. from the nasalised present stem (§ 484. 525 ); Ś. *lambhīadi* ( Mālatim. 217,3 ), *lambhīāmo* ( Mālatim. 240,4 ), *uvālabhīadi* ( text ° *bhijjāi*, Mallikām. 218,8 ); Mg. *ālambhīadi* ( Mudrār. 194,2; to be so read; cf. v. l. and ed. Calc. samvat 1926 p. 162,8 ). — *vah* has the passivum M. AMg. JM. *vubhāi* ( Hc. 4,245; Kī. 4,79 [text *va*°]; Mk. fol. 62; G. H.; Erz. ), M. *ñivubhāi* ( R. ). So also we should at H. 275 read *vubhāsi* for *ujjhāsi* ( cf. WEBER on it ) and Dasav. 635,8 *vubhāi* for misread *vujjhāi*. Cf. § 266. Hc. 4,245 teaches *vahijjāi* too. According to Mk. fol. 72 in Ś. *vahīadi* alone is used.

§ 542. Of the roots of the 6. conjugation *pracch* forms the passivum M. JM. AMg. *puccijjāi* : M. *puccijjanti* ( particip.; H. ); JM. *puccijjāmi* ( Erz. ); AMg. *puccijjanti* ( Paṇṇav. 388 ); Ś. *puccīasi* ( Viddhaś. 118,8 ), *puccīadi*

(Mṛcch. 57,18; 72,25).—*kr̥t* has in AMg. *kiçcāi* (Uttar. 177).—*muc* forms in M. JM. AMg. *muccāi* = *mucyate*; M. *muccāi*, *muccanti* (G.), *muccanta*-(R.); JM. *muccāmi*, *muccāe* (Erz.); AMg. *muccāi* (Vivāhap. 37), *muccae* (Uttar. 243), *muccanti* (Kappas.; Ovav.), *muccējjā* (1. sing.; Uttar. 624), *muccējja* (3. sing.; Sūyag. 104; Uttar. 247), *ṣamuccāi*, *vimuccāi* (Āyār. 1,3, 3,5; 2,16,12); JŚ. *vimuccādi* (Pav. 384,60); but Ś. *muñciadu* (Mudrār. 247,7; [so to be read for *muñcijjadu*, *muñcadu* of the editions]) in the face of the fut. *muccissadi* (Śak. 138,1; Vikr. 77,16 [so to be read]).—From *lup* is found M. *luppanta*-(G. 384), AMg. *luppāi*, *luppanti* (Sūyag. 104), from sic JM. *siccanto* (Dvār. 504,10), AMg. *abhisiccāmāni*, *parisiccāmāna* (Kappas.), *samsiccāmāna* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2); Ś. *siccanti* (Mudrār. 182,1); so to be read with the Calc. editions ], *siccāmānā* (Mālatim. 121,2). On *sippāi* see § 286, on *mṛ* § 477. *chippāi*, *chivijjāi*, which Hc. 4,257 derives from *spṛs*, belong to *ksip* (§ 319).

§ 543. For the verbs of the 4. conjugation the characteristic examples are : M. *paḍibujjhijjāi* = *pratibudhyate* (G. 1172); A. *rūsijjāi* = *rusyate* (Hc. 4,418,4). The verbs of the 10. conjugation, the causatives and the similarly formed denominatives mostly build the passive, as in Skt., through the insertion of the passive element within either the root or the stem, excluding *-ya*, *-aya*, Pkt. *-a*, *-e*: *kāriai*, *kārijjāi*, *karāvīai*, *karāvijjāi*, *hāsīai*, *hāsijjāi*, *hasāvīai*, *hasāvijjāi* (Vr. 7,28. 29; Hc. 3,152. 153; Sr. fol. 55. 56). M. *chejjanti* (G. 1198), Ś. *chedanti* (Mṛcch. 71,4)=*chedyante*; M. *tosijjāi* = *toṣyate* (H. 508), *samathijjāi* = *samarthyate* (H. 730), *kavalijjāi* = *kavalīkriyate* (G. 172), *paḥāmijjanta* = *paḥāmr̥myamāna* (R. 7,69); JM. *mārijjāi* = *māryate* (Erz. 5,34), *mārijjāu*, *mārijjāmi* (Erz. 5,26; 32,26); AMg. *āghavijjanti* = *ākhyāpyante* (Nandīs. 398. 427. 428. 451. 454. 456. 465 ff.), *piḍḍai* = *piḍyate* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4); Ś. *ṣabodhīami* = *ṣabodhye* (Śak. 29,9), *vāvādiadi* = *vyāpādyate* (Mṛcch. 41,7; Uttarar. 97,1; Mudrār. 250,2; Venīs. 35,20), *sāmpadhāriadi* = *sāmpradhāryatām* (Vikr. 22,19), *viṣṇaviadi* = *viṣṇāpyate* (Skt. 30,21), *jivāviadi* = *jivyate* (Mṛcch. 176,7), *avadāriadi* = *avātāryatām* (Karp. 26,9), *sukkhavīanti* = *ṣoyante* (characteristically \**ṣuṣkāpyante*; Mṛcch. 71, 4); A. *ṭhavīje* = *sthāpyate* (Piṅgala 2,93. 101). Exceptions are found in the case of the denominatives in M. : *kajjalājjāi* (R. 5,50); *valājjāi* (G. 1028), *kaṇḍājjanta*-(H. 67), *maṇḍalājjanta*-(S. 1034). From *kathaya*-the regular passive are: M. *kahijjāi* (Hc. 4,249), *kahijjanti*, *kahijjāu*, *kahijjanta*-(H.); AMg. *parikahijjāi* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5; 1,4,1,3); D. *kahijjādi* (Mṛcch. 103,15); Mg. *kadhīyidu* (sic; Lalitav. 566,9); A. *kahijjāi* (Piṅgala 1,117), *kahīje* (Piṅgala 2,93. 101). Beside Hc. 4,249 teaches also *katthai*, that is found in AMg. (Āyār. 1,2,6,5) and phonetically must have been \**kacchāi* (§ 280). Perhaps it belongs to *katth*. AMg. *ṣakathāi* (Sūyag. 234) is = \**prakathate*. On *ādhappāi*, *ādhavīai*, *viḍhappāi*, *viḍhavijjāi*, *viḍhappādi* see § 286.

§ 544. Of the verbs of the 2. conjugation *yā* has the passivum A. *jājjijāi* (Hc. 4,419,3); in AMg. is found *paṭṭiādi* (§ 487). On the roots in *-u*, *-ū* see § 356. *rud* has Ś. *rodīadi* (§ 495), *svap* in M. *suppāu* = *supyatām* (H.), in Ś. *sviadi* (Karnas. 18,20). *vac* forms *vuccāi* (Hc. 3,161; § 337); AMg. *vuccāi* (Uttar. 3; Vivāhap. 34, 35. 102. 928; Kappas.; Ovav.; Uvās. etc.), *vuccāi* (Uttar. 2). *ṣavuccāi* (Āyār. 1,1,4,3. 5,1,1. 1,6,1; 1,2,2,1. 6,2. 4; 1,4, 1,2; 1,5,3,3; Vivāhap. 202. 374 f. 409. 444; Rāyap. 144 ff.), *ṣavuccāi* (Sūyag. 351); *vuccanti* (Sūyag. 978. 979. 994 ff.; Dasav. 629,22), *vuccamāna* (Sūyag. 393; Vivāhap. 149); Ś. *vuccāmi* (Karp. 32,9), *vuccāsi* (Śak. 12,8), *vuccādi* (Mṛcch. 77,12; 79,2; 87,12; 138,2. 3; Viddhaś. 128,1 [text *uccadi*]; Bālar. 96,12 [text *uccadi*]), *vuccanti* (Mṛcch. 29,7); Mg. *vuccādi* (Mṛcch. 36, 11).—Form *duh*, besides *duhijjāi* is taught *dubbhāi*, from *lih*, besides *lihijjāi*, also *libbhāi* (Hc. 4,245; Kī. 4,79; Mk. fol. 62; so also at Vr. 8,59 we

should read *libbhai*; cf. v. 1.). On this see § 266. JM. has *dujjhañ* (Āv. 43, 11), fut. *dujjihii* (Āv. 43, 20), probably a false reading for *dubbhañ*, *dubbhii*. Cf. *lajjhai*, *vujjhai* § 541. On *sāsai*, D. *sāsijai* from *sās* see § 499, on *hammāi*, *hanijjai* from *han* § 540.

§ 545. From *dā*, corresponding to Skt. *diyate*, the passive is M. JM. A. *dijjai* (H. R.; Erz.; Hc. 4,438,1; Piṅgala 1,121), M. also *dijjae* (H.; Karp. 76,7; 89,9), A. also *dije* (Piṅgala 2,102. 105), *dijjau* (Piṅgala 2,106) in the active sense, 3. plur. *dijjahī* (Hc. 4,428; Piṅgala 2,59[so to be read]), JŚ. *dijjai* (Kattig. 401,345); Ś. *dīadi* (Mṛcch. 55,16; 71,6), false *dijjadi* (Mṛcch. 49,7; Karp. 61,9), *dijjantu* (Karp. 113,8), *dijjandu* (Viddhaś. 124,14), beside the correct *dīadu* (Karp. 103,7); Mg. *dīadi*, *diadu* (Mṛcch. 145,5); P. *tiyyate* (Hc. 4,315). — To *dhā* belong AMg. *āhijjai* = *ādhīyate* (Sūyag. 603. 674 ff.), *āhijjanti* (Āyār. 2,15,15; Jiv. 12; Kappas.), explained by the commentators with *ākhyāyate*, *ākhyāyante*. From *hā* the passive forms are Ś. *parihāsi* (Śak. 51,5), *parihādi* (Mālatim. 212,4), *parihāmāṇa* (Karp. 76,1). On *huvañ*, *hunijjai* from *hu* see § 536. Of the roots of the 5. conjugation the following form the passive: *ci*: *ciñijjai*, *civoaṅ*, AMg. *cijjanti*, Ś. *viñadu* (§ 536), *dhu*: *dhuñijjai*, *dhuvañ* (§ 536), *śru*: *suñijjai*, *suvañ*, JM. *summañ*, Ś. *suñiadi*, Mg. *suñiadi* (§ 536), *āp*: Ś. *pāviadi* (Viddhaś. 43,2), A. *pāviat* (Hc. 4,366), *śak*: Ś. *sakkīadi* (Viddhaś. 87,2; Cait. 84,5; 85,13; 258,16), Mg. *sakkīadi* (Mṛcch. 116,6).

§ 546. The roots of the 7. conjugation form the passive mostly as in Skt., more seldom from the present stem: M. *chijjai*, *chijjanti*, *vo'chijjai* (R.); JM. A. *chijjai* (Erz.; Hc. 4,357,1; 434,1); Ś. *chijjanti* (Mṛcch. 41,2), fut. *chijjissadi* (Mṛcch. 3,16). — M. JM. *bhijjai*, *bhijjanti*, *bhijjanta-* (G. R.; Erz.), M. fut. *bhijjihisi* (H. 202); Mg. *bhayyadi*, imp. *vibhayya* (Mṛcch. 118, 12. 21; see § 506). — M. *bhijjai*, *bhijjanti*, *bhijjanta-* (G. H. R.); AMg. *bhijjai* (Āyār. 1,3,3,2), *bhijjau* (Vivāhap. 1230), *bhijjamāṇa* (Uvās. § 218); Ś. *ubbhijjadu* (Karp. 83,1), *ubbhijjanti* (Viddhaś. 72,3; text °*adi*). — M. *bhujjanta-*, *wahujjanta-* (G.); JM. *bhujjai* (Erz.); AMg. *bhujjai* (Uttar. 354); but also *bhuñijjai* (H. 4,249); JM. *paribhuñijjai* (Dvār. 500,36); Ś. *bhuñiadi* (Śak. 29,6). — M. *jujjanta-* (R.), and in the meanings "it is proper", "it accords with" = Skt. *yujyate* always M. *jujjai* (H. 924), *ujjai* (H. 12), JŚ. *jujjade* (Kattig. 403,380), Ś. *jujjadi* (Mṛcch. 61,10; 65, 12; 141,3; 155,21; Śak. 71,10; 122,11; 129,15; Vikr. 24,3; 32,17; 82,17 etc.), in the usual meaning, on the contrary: Ś. *niunñiāmi*, *niunñiāsi* (Karp. 18,3,2), *niunñiadi* (Mālatim. 22,5 [so to be read; see p. 372]); *paññiadi* (Karp. 19,8), *paññiadi* (Mṛcch. 9,7). On *jupjai* see § 286. For *rudh* Hc. 4,245 teaches *rundhijjai* and *rubbhai*, in conjunction with the prefixes *anu*, *upa*, *sam* 4,248: *anu-*, *wa-*, *sam-* °*rujjhai*, °*rundhijjai*. In the text are found M. *parirujjai* (G. 434); Ś. *uvarujjadi* (Vikr. 82,15 v. 1.; cf. 131,10 ed. Bombay). M. *rubbhai*, *rubbhanta-*, *rubbhamāṇa* (R.), JM. *rubbhai* (Āv. 41,9) are passive from *rubh* (§ 507).

§ 547. *kr* forms the passive in M. JM. usually *kīrañ* (Vr. 8,60; Hc. 4,250; Kī. 4,79; Mk. fol. 62; Sr. fol. 54), therefore, as *hṛ*, according to the analogy of the roots in *-ṛ* (§ 537). So M. *kīrañ*, *kīrae*, *kīranti*, *kīrañ*, *kīranta-* (G. H. R.); JM. *kīrañ* (Erz.; Āv. 9,23; 13,26; Dvār. 497,7), *kīrañ* (Kk. 269,37; so to be read); JŚ. *kīrañ* (Kattig. 399,320; 401, 350). Sometimes AMg. has the same form (Vivāhap. 135. 796; Ovav. § 116. 127. 128), *kīramāṇa* (Daśav. 629,5), *kīranta-* (verse; Āyār. 1,8,4,8); it is mentioned as *kīrate* for P. by Hc. 4,316 and by Rājaśekhara (pro ex. Bālar. 176,16 [kīrañ]; 224,17 [kīrañ]); 228,8 [kīrañ]; Karp. ed. Bomb. 22,4 [kīrañ]) and used by later writers like Bilhaṇa, Karṇas. 53,16 (kīrañ) in Ś. too, what perhaps is simply a contribution of the edition, as Karp. 22,4 Konow (p. 19,7) correctly has *kāriadi*. Hc. 4,250 mentions also *karijai*, and so A. has *karije* (Piṅgala 2,93. 101. 102. 105) and

*karijjasu* (Piṅgala 1,39. 41. 95, 144; 2,119). Hc. 1,97 further has *kijjāi* = *kriyate* in *duhākijjāi*, *dohākijjāi*, and according to Hc. 4,274 *kijjadi* and *kijjade* will be used in Ś. So stands *kijjadu* in Ś. (Lalitav. 562,24), elsewhere, however, in none of the texts. *kijjāi* is found in M. at R.13,16, and it is the usual form in A. : *kijjāū* (Hc. 4,338; 445,3) in the sense of the fut. active (§ 550), *kijjāū* (Piṅgala 1,81<sup>a</sup>) in the active sense, *kijjahī* (so to be read; text °hī) = *kriyante* (Piṅgala 2,59). On A. *kijjasu*, *karijjasu* see § 461. 466. In AMg. the only prevalent form in prose is *kajjāi* = \**karyate* (Āyār. 1,2,1,4; 1,2,2,3. 5,1; Sūyag. 656. 704. 838 ff.; Ṭhāṇ. 291; Vivāhap. 52. 99.136.137.182.346.444.1406; Paṇṇav. 636 ff.), *kajjanti* (Āyār. 1,2,5,1; Vivāhap. 47. 50. 52. 1302; Ovav. § 123. 125), *kajjamāna* (Sūyag. 368; Vivāhap. 840), *duhā*, *tihā* (Vivāhap. 141). In Ś. are used exclusively *kariādi* (Mṛcch. 18,11; 69,10; Śak. 19,6), *alamkariādi* (Śak. 19,5), *kariānti* (Śak. 77,4; Ratn. 293,21), *kariādu* (Śak. 54,1; 168,15; Karp. 22,9; 26,3; 63,6; 68,2; 113,8; Viddhaś. 99,5), in Mg. *kaḷādi* (Mudrār. 154,4; 178,7), *kaḷādu* (Mṛcch. 39,21; 160,6).

§ 548. *jñā* forms, according to Hc. 4,252, *ñajjāi*, *nāijjāi*, *jāñijjāi*, *ṇavvāi*, according to Kī. 4,81 *jāñiāi*, *āñiāi*, *ñajjāi*, *ṇavvāi*, *ñajjāi*, *ṇavvāi*. Of them *ñajjāi* = *jñāyate* is the current form in M. (G. H. R.), JM. (Erz.), AMg. (Uvās.; Nirāyāv. [in JM. AMg. *ñajjāi*]). Ś. has *jāñiādi* (Ratn. 300,8; 318,12; Vṛṣabh. 45,10; 47,10; Karp. 28,2; Viddhaś. 119,4), *jāñiādu* (Nāgān. 84,5), behind *ṇa* (not) *āñiādi* (§ 170; Mṛcch. 74,9; 88,25; Mālatim. 285,5; Nāgān. 38,3 [so to be read]), A. *jāñiāi* (Hc. 4,330,4) corresponding to it. In lieu of *ṇavvāi* Triv. 2,4,84 and Sr. fol. 56 have *ṇappaī*, that stands in place of *ādḥappaī*, *vidḥappaī*, i.e. = *jñāpyate*. Accordingly one \**ṇavvāi*, of which the regular passive is *ṇavvāi*<sup>1</sup>, is to be deduced from the causatives such as Ś. *āṇavedi*, *viṇṇavedi*. — *kri* forms Ś. *vikkīñiādi* (Karp. 14,5), *vikkīñiānti* (Mudrār. 108,9; [so to be read]); *pū* has *puvvaī*, *puñijjāi*, A. *puñijje*; *lū* has *luvvaī*, *luñijjāi* (§536), *granth* has Ś. *ganthiānti* (Mṛcch. 71,3 [text *gathī*]). From *grah* the passive forms are *gēñhijjāi* (Hc. 4,256; Kī. 4,82) and *gahijjāi* (Sr. fol. 56), Ś. *aṇṇagahādu* (Vikr. 21,10). M. JM. AMg. A. use for it *gheḥppāi* = Pāli *gheḥppati*, which the Indian grammarians (Hc. 4,256; Kī. 4,82; Mk. fol. 62; Sr. fol. 56) and the European scholars drag to *grabh*, however, belongs to the parallel root \**ghṛp* (§ 212). So M. *gheḥppāi*, *gheḥppae*, *gheḥppanti*, *gheḥppanta-* (G. H. R.; Ānandavardhana in Dhvanyāloka 62,4; Viśvanātha, Sāhityadarpaṇa 178,3); JM. *gheḥppāi* (Kk. 273,37), *gheḥppanti* (Erz. 67,12; Āv. 36,42); AMg. *gheḥppejjā* (Paṇhāv. 400); A. *gheḥppāi* (Hc. 4,341,1), *gheḥppanti* (Hc. 4,335). Falsely in Ś. (Mallikām. 101,6; 144,8). In the verse stands *gējjhāi* = *gṛhyate* in AMg. Dasav. N. 655,5. 6. Kī. 4, 82 teaches also *gheḥppiijjāi*. — *bandh* forms *bajjḥāi* = *badhyate* (Hc. 4,247); AMg. *bajjḥāi* (Uttar. 245); JŚ. *bajjhadi* (Pav. 384,47); Ś. *bajjhanti* (Mṛcch. 71,2); according to Hc. 4,247 also *bandhijjāi* (Pav. 384,47); Ś. *bajjhanti* (Mṛcch. 71,2); according to Hc. 4,247 also *bandhijjāi*. — From *bhaṇ*, which in the present behaves according to the 9. conjugation (§ 514), the passive is M. *bhaṇṇāi* = *bhaṇyate* (Hc. 4,249 [so to be read]; Kī. 4,13; H. R.), *bhaṇṇāi* (G. R.; Śak. 101,16), *bhaṇṇamāna* (H.), *bhaṇṇanta-* (R.), and *bhaṇijjāi* (Hc. 4,249), *bhaṇijjāū* (H.); A. *bhaṇijje* (Piṅgala 2,101), perhaps also *bhaṇijjasu* (Piṅgala 1,109; cf. § 461); JM. *bhaṇṇāi* (Erz.; Kk.); Ś. *bhaṇiādi* (Mṛcch. 151,12; Prab. 39,3). False is Ś. *bhaṇijjānti* (Prab. 42,5; P. °jjanti, M. °jjamānā) for *bhaṇiānti*, as Bb. 93,4 reads (only wrongly °ni°).

1. Wholly wrong is S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29,494; JACOBI, KZ. 28,255, JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,449 f.

§ 549. From the passive is found in AMg. an aorist : *muccimsu* (Sūyag. 790), and in almost all the dialects a future, which too is wholly

likewise formed, like the fut. Parasmaip. from the present stem of the parasmaip. So: 1. M. *kalijjihisi* from *kal* ( H. 225. 313 ), *khajjihii* from *khād* ( H. 138 ), *ḍajjihisi* ( H. 105 ), *ḍajjihii* ( Hc. 4,246 ) from *dah*, *ḍisihii* ( H. 619; R. 3,33 [so to be read] ), *dharijihii* ( H. 778 ); JM. *ḍajjihii* ( Āv. 32,25 ); *khammihii* from *khan* ( Hc. 4,244 ).—6. AMg. *muccihii* ( Ovav. § 116; Nāyādh. 390 [text °*himiti*]; Vivāhap. 175 ), *muccissanti* ( Āyār. 2,15.16 ), but also *paṃō'kkhasi* = *pramoksyase* ( Āyār. 1,3,1,2; 1,3,3,4 ); Ś. *muccissadi* ( Śak. 138,1; Vikr. 77,16 [so to be read] ); AMg. *uvalippihii* ( Ovav. § 112 ).—4. JM. *khō'ttijjihii* ( Āv. 32,2 ) from *khuttai* ( Hc. 4,116 ).—10. Causatives and denominatives: AMg. *mārijjissāmi* ( Uvās. § 256 ); JM. *chiddijjihii* ( Āv. 33,2 ) from *chidraya-*, *vāvājjissāi* ( Erz. 43,22 ).—2. *hammihii* from *han* ( Hc. 4,244; cf. § 540. 550. 557 ); AMg. *paḍihammihii* ( Nāyādh. § 30 ); *dubbhiihii* ( Hc. 4,245 ), JM. *dujjihii* ( Āv. 43,20; cf.; however § 544 ).—5. *civvihii*, *cimmihii* from *ci* ( Hc. 4,242. 243; cf. § 536 ); M. *jhijihisi* from *kṣi* ( H. 152. 628 ); M. *samappihii* ( H. 734. 806; R. 5,4 ).—7. M. *bhajjihisi* from *bhañj* ( H. 202 ); AMg. *vo'ccijjihinti* from *chid* with *vyud* ( Sūyag. 1011 ), *samucchiñhinti*, metrically for *samucchiñjihinti* ( Sūyag. 869 ), Ś. *chijjissadi* ( Mṛcch. 3,16 ); Ś. *ahiujjissadi* from *yuj* with *abhi* ( Uttarar. 69,6 ); *samrujjihii* ( Hc. 4,248 ).—8. AMg. *kajjissāi* ( Vivāhap. 492 ); JM. *kirihii* ( Āv. 16,9 ).—9. *bajjihii* ( Hc. 4,247 ), Ś. *bajjhissāmo* ( Mṛcch. 109,19; see § 488, note 4 ) from *bandh*; JM. *ghē'ppihii* from \**ghṛp* ( Āv. 7,5 ).

§ 550. The passive is sometimes used in the sense of parasmaipadam. WEBER has rightly compared such forms with the deponentia of Latin<sup>1</sup>. So: M. *gammihisi* ( H. 609 )<sup>2</sup>, uncertain *gammasu* ( H. 819 ) in the sense of the causative: M. *gasijjihii* ( H. 804 ); M. *ḍisihisi* ( R. 15,86 ), where, however, C has *dakṣihisi*, i. e. *dacchihisi* ( § 525 ); M. *pijjaī* ( Hc. 4,10; H. 678 )<sup>2</sup>; M. *bhaññihisi* ( H. 906 )<sup>3</sup>; *hammāi* = *hanti* ( Vr. 8,45; Hc. 4,244; Kī. 4,46; Mk. fol. 57; Sr. fol. 56; cf. § 540 ), particip. pres. ātmanep. AMg. *vihammāṇa* ( Uttar. 787 ); fut. AMg. *hammihanti* ( Thāṇ. 512 ); AMg. *labbhiihii* ( Dasav. 624,14 ); A. *dijjaū*, *kijjaū* ( § 545. 547; cf. § 461. 466 ). The future too is used prevalently in the active sense, in which the metre might have often associated. Very interesting is that the present passive in Mg. A. is sometimes used in the sense of the fut. parasmaip., therefore, "I am made" is used in lieu of "I shall make". For Mg. Mk. fol. 75 teaches in the Parasmaip. *bhavissadi* and *bhuvādi*. So Mg. *bhaviadi* ( Mṛcch. 164,10 ) and *huviadi* ( Venīś. 33,6. 7; 35,8 ) "he will be", *vāvāḍiāsi* "thou wilt kill" ( Mṛcch. 167,25 ), *pivāṣiāsi* ( so to be read; Venīś. 34,6 ) "that thou wilt be thirsty"; A. *kijjaū* ( Hc. 4,338. 445,3 ) "I shall make".

1. WEBER, Hāla<sup>1</sup> p. 64, where, however, all the examples are false, likewise, excluding *samappihii* and *ḍisihisi*, the examples in S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 29,492 and on R. 15,86 p. 325 note 10.—2. WEBER on Hāla 609.

#### CAUSATIVUM.

§ 551. As in Skt. the causative is formed by insertion of *-e-* = Skt. *-aya-* into the strengthened root: *kārei* = *kārayati*, *pāḍhei* = *pāḍhayati*, *wa-sāmei* = *upaśāmyati*, *hāsei* = *hāsayati* ( Vr. 7,26; Hc. 3,149; Kī. 4,44; Sr. fol. 55 ). Cf. § 490. The roots in *-ā* add *-ve-* = Skt. *-paya-*: M. *nivvāve'nti* = *nivvāpayanti* ( G. 524 ); Ś. *nivvāvedī* ( Mālatīm. 217,5 ), fut. *nivvāvaissāñ* ( Mālatīm. 266,1 ), past passive participle *nivvāvīda* ( Mṛcch. 16,9 ); AMg. *āghāvei* = *ākhyāpayati* ( Thāṇ. 569 ); Mg. *pattīvāvāissāñ* ( Mṛcch. 139,12 ) from *yā* with *prati* ( § 281. 487 ); PG. *aṇuvatthāveti* = *anuvrasthāpayati* ( 7,45 ); AMg. *thāvei* = *sthāpayati* ( Nirayāv. § 4; Kappas. § 116 ); AMg. *thāvēmi* ( Erz. 43,32 ); Ś. *samavatthāvēmi* = *samavasthāpayāmi* ( Vikr. 27,6 ); *paḍjvatthā-*

*vehi* = *parvavasthāpaya* (Vikr. 7,17), *paṭṭhāvia* (absol.; Mrcch. 24,2), *paḍiṭṭhāvehi* (Ratn. 295,26); Mg. *stāveṇi*, *stāvia* (absol.), *stāvāśśam* (Mrcch. 97, 5; 122,11; 132,20; 139,2 ), *paṣṭāvia* (absol. Mrcch. 21,12 ); A. *paṭṭhāviai* (passive; Hc. 4,422,7); AMg. *ṇhāveha* = *snāpaya* (Vivāhap. 1261). *jñā* forms the caus. from the present stem: JM. *jāṇāve* (Hc. 3,149; Erz.), *jāṇā-viyaṃ*, *jāṇāvium* ( Kk. ); M. *jāṇāveum* ( H. ). With prefixes it is formed with shortening of the root-vowel, as in Skt. too: AMg. JM. *āṇave* ( Nir-yāv.; Kappas.; Erz.); AMg. *āṇavemāṇa* (Sūyag. 734), *paṇṇavemāṇa* (Ovav. § 78); Ś. *āṇavesi* (Mrcch. 94,9), *āṇavedi* ( Lalitav. 563,21. 29; 564,23; 568, 11; Mrcch. 4,19; 7,3; 16,2 and very frequently ), *āṇavedu* ( Mrcch. 3,7; Śak. 1,8; Nāgān. 2,16 etc.), but *āṇāvidavvaṃ* (Mrcch. 58,13) beside *viṇṇā-davvā* ( 58,12 ), hence with GODABOLE 167,8 to be read *āṇā°*; *viṇṇavemi* ( Mrcch. 78,10 ), *viṇṇavedi* ( Mrcch. 74,6; 96,5; Śak. 138,10; Vikr. 12,13 etc.), *viṇṇavemo* ( so to be read according to § 455; Śak. 27,7 ), *viṇṇavehi* ( Mrcch. 27,14; 74,21; Vikr. 16,20; Mālatīm. 218,1 ), *viṇṇavissam*, *viṇṇā-davvā* (Mrcch. 58,11. 12), *viṇṇavidam* ( so to be read; Vikr. 48,8 ), *viṇṇā-adi* (Vikr. 30,21); Mg. *āṇavedi* (Śak. 114,1), *viṇṇavia* (absol.; Mrcch. 138, 25; 139,1). As *jñā*, also the other roots ending in *-ā* shorten the vowel in M. JM. AMg. So particularly often *sthā*: M. JM. AMg. *ṭhavei* ( G.H.R.; Erz.; Kk.; Uvās.; Kappas. etc.; cf. Hc. 1,67 ); M. *ṭhavijjanti* ( G. 995 ), *utṭhavesi* ( H. 390 ), *samṭhavehi* ( G. 997 ); AMg. *uvatṭhaveha* ( Nāyādh. § 130 ); A. *ṭhavehu* ( Piṅgala 1,87. 125. 145 ).—M. *nimmavesi* = *nirmāpaya* ( G. 297 ); AMg. *āghavemāṇa* = *ākhyāpaya* ( Ovav. § 78 ), *āghaviya* = *ākhyāpita* ( Paṇhāv. 376. 431. 469 ), *āghavijjanti* = *ākhyāpyante* ( Nandis. 398.427.428. 451. 454. 456. 465 ff.), inf. *āghavittae* ( Nāyādh. § 143 ). As in Skt., certain roots in *-i*, *-ī* too have the same formation: Ś. passive *jaāviasi* = *jāpyase* ( Śak. 31,11 ); AMg. *ūsaveha* ( Vivāhap. 957 ), *ussaveha* ( Kappas. § 100 ) = *ucchrā-payata*; Ś. *bhāvesi* from *bhī* ( § 501; Mrcch. 91,19 ). From the present stem is built *kināve* ( Thān. 516 ), *kiṇāvae* ( Āyār. 1,2,5,3 ), *kiṇāvemāṇa* (Sūyag. 609) from *krī*; Ś. *vicīṇāvedī* ( so to be read; Mudrār. 54,1 ) from *ci*; AMg. *allijāve* ( Nāyādh. 434 ) from *lī*.

§ 552. The element *-ve-* = Skt. *-paya-* is employed in Pkt. for formation of the causative also from the roots in vowels other than *-ā*, *-i*, *-ī*, and in diphthongs and consonants. As a rule it is added to the present stem in *-a*, which is mostly lengthened, wherein the analogy according to the *-ā*-roots might have taken a hand. This formation is seldomer than the causative in *-e-* = *-aya-*. So: *hasāve* ( Vr. 7,26; Hc. 3,149; Sr. fol. 55 ), *hasāvia* ( Hc. 3,152 ), also M. *hāsāvia* ( Hc. 3,153 = H. 123 ); AMg. *paṇṇāvemāṇa* from *pac* (Sūyag. 609); M. *ramāvēṇti*, *sahāvēṇti* ( H. 325. 327 ); Ā. *kappāveṇi* from *kṣ* ( Mrcch. 105,3 ); Ś. *ghaḍāvehi* ( Mrcch. 95,21 ), M. *vihāḍāvia* ( G. 8 ) from *ghaṭ*; Ś. *jivāvehi* ( Uttarar. 63,14 ), *jāvesu* ( Viddhaś. 84,4 ), *jivāvedu* ( Mrcch. 326,3 ), *jivāviadi* ( Mrcch. 176,6 ), *jivāvia* (absol.; Mālatīm. 215,1 ), *jivāvidā* ( Mrcch. 173,4; 177,16 ); Mg. *jiṇāvidā* ( Mrcch. 171,14 ); AMg. *dalāve* (Vivāgas. 168); AMg. *samārambhāve* (Āyār. 1,1,2,3; 1,1,3,5), *samārambhāvējā* (Āyār. 1,1,2,6; 1,1,3,8 ); Ś. *ṇivattāve mi* ( Mrcch. 77,15 ); Mg. *palivattāvehi* ( Mrcch. 81,17.19 ); Ś. *vadḍhāveṇi* ( Karnas. 21,8 ); Ś. *dhovāvedī* ( Mrcch. 45,9 ); JM. *abhuwagacchāvia* from *gam* with *abhi* and *upa* ( Āv. 30,9 ); AMg. *pijāvae* from *pā* ( to drink; Dasav. 638,26 ).—AMg. *nicchubhāve* ( Nāyādh. 823,824. 1313 ) from *nicchubhā* from *k<sub>subh</sub>* with *ni* ( Nāyādh. 1411; Vivāhap. 114; Paṇnav. 827. 832. 834 ); Ś. *paḍicchāviadi* ( Mrcch. 69,12 ) from *iṣ* with *prati*; Ś. *pucchāvedī* from *pracch* ( Viddhaś. 42, 4 ); JM. *melavehisi* ( Āv. 30,8 ); Ś. *moāveṇi*, *moāvehi* ( Śak. 27,11; 24,2 ), M. *moāvia* ( Mrcch. 41,17 ) from *muc*; Mg. *lihāveṇi* ( Mrcch. 133,1 ) from *likh*.—*wasamāve* ( Hc. 3,149 ) from *śam*; *tosavia* from *tuṣ*, *sosavia* from *suṣ* ( Hc. 3,150 ); Ś. *lohāvedī* ( Śak. 61,3 ).—AMg. *vadhāve* (Vivāgas. 170) from

*vedhei* ( § 304. 490 ). — *M. ruāvei, ruāvia, roāvia* ( H. ), *Ś. rodāvida* ( Mṛcch. 21,1 ) from *rud.*—From *dā* ( to give ) is built in JM. a double form *dāvāvei* in the meaning “ to cause to give ” ( Erz. ).—*Ś. sunāvidā* ( Mālav. 31,8 ).—AMg. *chindāvae* ( Dasav. 638,30 ).—*karāvei, karāvia, kārāvei* ( Vr. 7,27; Hc. 3, 149. 152. 153; Kī. 4,44 ); AMg. *kāravemi* ( Uvās. § 13. 14. 15 ), *kāruveha* ( Kappas. § 57. 100 ); JM. *kāravei* ( Erz. 30,7 ), *kārāviya* ( Erz. ).—JM. *gēṅhāvemi* ( Āv. 34,19 ).

§ 553. For *-e, -ve-* are found dialectically, particularly in A., not seldom *-a-, -va-*, it may be that here we have the formation according to the model of the denominativa or a flexion, which might have arisen from forms originally contracted and regularly shortened before doubled consonants ( § 491 ). So: *hasāvai* ( Hc. 3,149; Sr. fol. 55 ); *ghadāvai* ( Hc. 4, 340 ), *ugghādāi* ( Hc. 4,33 ) beside *Ś. ghadāvehi* ( Mṛcch. 95,21 ); *vīppagālai = vīppagālayati* ( Hc. 4,31 ); *uddālai = uddālayati* ( Hc. 4,125 ); *pādāi = pātayati* ( Hc. 3,153 ) beside *M. pādei* ( R. 4,50 ), *Mg. pādemi* ( Mṛcch. 162,22 ); *bhāmāvai* ( Hc. 3,151 ) from *bhram*; A. *uttārahi* ( Vikr. 69,2 ) beside *Ś. odāredi* ( Uttarar. 165,3 ), *padāredi* ( so to be read; Prab. 15,10 ); JM. A. *mārvai* ( Hc. 3,153; Erz. 5,32; Hc. 4,330,3 ) beside *M. māresi, mārehisi* ( H. ), *mārei* ( Mudrār. 34,10 ), *Ś. māredha* ( Mṛcch. 161,16; 165,25 ), *Mg. mālemi* ( Mṛcch. 12,5; 123,3 ), *mālehi* ( Mṛcch. 123,5; 124,2. 17; 165,24 ), *māledu* ( Mṛcch. 125,8 ), *māledha* ( Mṛcch. 165,23; 166,1; 168,8; 171,18 ); for *Mg. mālantam* ( Mṛcch. 123,22 ) is to be read *mālentaṁ*; A. *mārei* ( Hc. 4,337 ); *hāravai* ( Hc. 4,31 ); A. *vāhahi* ( Piṅgala 1,5<sup>a</sup> ) beside *Ā. vāhehi* ( Mṛcch. 109,18 ), *Mg. vāhesi* ( Mṛcch. 122,15 ); *melavai* ( Hc. 4,28 ) from *mīl* ( § 486 ) beside JM. *melavehisi* ( § 528 ); *nāsavai, nāsai* ( Hc. 4,31 ) from *naś*; AMg. *vedanti* ( Paṇnav. 786 ff. ), *veyanti* ( Jīv. 281 ff. ) = *vedayanti*; *nimmavai = nirmāpayati* ( Hc. 4,19 ) beside *M. nimmavesi* ( G. 297 ); *ādhavai, vidhavai* from *dhā* ( § 286. 500 ); *M. thavai* ( G. 980 ), *saṁthavanti* ( H. 39 ); *paṭṭhavai, paṭṭhāvai* ( Hc. 4,37 ); A. *pariṭhavahu, saṁṭhavahu* ( Piṅgala 1,10. 85 ) beside *thāvei, thavei* ( § 551 ); *karāvai* ( Hc. 3,149 ); *viṅṅavai* ( Hc. 4,38 ) beside *Ś. viṅṅavedi* ( § 551 ); *palāvai* from *lū* with *pra* ( Hc. 4,31 ).

§ 554. From *dṛś* Hc. 4,32 teaches the causative *dāvai, dāisai, dakkhāvai, darisai*. Of them *dāvai* is found ( also in Sr. fol. 57 ) in *M. dāvanteṇa* ( H. ); more often forms with *-e-*: *M. dāvemi* ( Ratn. 322,5; *taṁ te dāvemi* according to Dhanika on Daśarūpa 42,6 for *taṁ taṁ dāvemi* of the editions ), *dāvei, dāventi, dāvae, dāveha, dāvēnti, dāvia* ( H. R. ), *dāvijjau* ( Ratn. 321, 32 ), *dāvīti* ( Karp. 56,7 ); JM. *dāviya* ( Erz. ), *dāvia, dāvijjasu* ( Rṣabhap. 10. 49 ); *Ś. dāvīda* ( Mudrār. 44,1 ). The word is = Marāṭhi *dāveṇi*<sup>2</sup>. The derivation from *dī*<sup>2</sup> is false. *dāvei, dāvai* stand for *darṣayati, darṣati* from *dṛpa samdīpane* ( Dhātupāṭha 34,14 ) according to § 62. To the same root belong Skt. *darṣana* ( mirror ) and *M. addā, AMg. JM. addāga, addāya* ( mirror; § 196, where we should read = \**ādāpaka = \*ādarpaka*<sup>3</sup> ). *dāisai* occurs in AMg. *dāisanti = darśayanti* ( Sūyag. 222 ), *M. dāisantiṁ = darśayantiṁ* ( G. 1055; without v. l. ); more frequently with *-e-*; *M. dāisantiṁ* ( G. 1054 ); JM. *dāisei, dāiseha* ( Erz.; Kk. ); *Ś. dāiseṁi* ( Mṛcch. 74,16; Mālatim. 38,9 ), *dāiseṁi* ( Mṛcch. 90,21; Śak. 167,10 ), *dāisehi* ( Ratn. 321, 20 ), *dāiseduṁ* ( Mudrār. 81,4 ); before doubled consonants ( § 490 ): *dāisaanti, dāisaamha* ( Prab. 42,7; Uttarar. 77,3; 113,2 ); fut. *dāisaissam* ( Śak. 63,9; Ratn. 311,4 ), *dāisaissasi* ( Śak. 90,10 ), *dāisaissadi* ( Mālatim. 74,3; 78,7 ); *Mg. dāisaante* ( Śak. 114,11 ).—*dāisai* ( also Hc. 3,149 ) occurs in JM. as *dāisei* ( Erz. ). According to Mk. fol. 74 it occurs in the form *dāisedi* in Āvanti. In the Mṛcch., that sports in Āvanti, at 70,5 the Vidūṣaka uses it: *dāisaanti*; at 100,4 it stands in D.: *dāiseṁi*.—*dakkhāvai*, in Sr. fol. 57 *dakkhāvai*<sup>3</sup> is a causative form *dakkhai* and = Marāṭhi *dākhavēṇi*, Gujarāṭi *dākhavavūṁ*<sup>3</sup>; A. *dēkkhāvahi* ( Vikr. 66,16 ) is a causative from *dēkkhai*

The South Indian manuscripts of the dramas write *dakkhāi*, whilst the Nāgarī MSS., partly the South Indian too, write *dēkkhāi*<sup>4</sup>, which Hc. 4, 181 teaches and what is frequent in A. (Hc. s. v. *dēkkhāi*, Piṅgala 1,87<sub>a</sub>), on the other hand, it is false, for Ś. which requires *pekkhādi*<sup>5</sup>. *dakkhāi* and *dēkkhāi*, which the inscriptions of Aśoka too have, *dakkhāi*, what is attested by Singhalese in *dakinawa*, *dēkkhāi*, that all the modern Indian languages, including Gypsy, have<sup>6</sup>, both go back to one \**drkṣati*, that occurs in *amū-drkṣa*, *iḍrkṣa*, *etādrkṣa*, *kidykṣa*, *iādykṣa*, *sadykṣa*<sup>7</sup>. The derivation from the future<sup>8</sup> is miscarried to *e*, which goes back to *i*; it is possible to explain<sup>9</sup> the forms differently, likewise to assume an analogy according to *pekkhāi* for *dēkkhāi*<sup>10</sup>. On AMg. *dehāi* see § 66.—From *bhram* the causative are also *bhamāḍai*, *bhamāḍei* according to Hc. 3,151; 4,30, for which the synonymous form *tamāḍai* (Hc. 4,30) stands, beside *bhāmei bhamāvai*, *bhamāvei*. Gujarātī has the same causative formation<sup>11</sup>. Hc. 4,161 teaches *bhammaḍai*, *bhamāḍai*, *bhamāḍai* also as a substitute for the simplex *bhram*.—On the fut. of the caus. see especially § 528 too, on the passive § 543.

1. GARREZ, JA. 1872,20,204.—2. WEBER, ZDMG. 26,741; 28,424; on H. 315.—3. FISCHER on Hc. 4,32.—4. FISCHER, GGA. 1873,46 f.; Vikramorvaṣīya p. 616 f.; Die Recensionen der Śākuntalā p. 11 f.—5. FISCHER, De Kālidāse Śākuntalī recensionibus p. 32 f.; KB. 7,453 ff.; 8,144 ff.—6. FISCHER, KB. 7,458; 8,146; JOHANSSON KZ. 32, 463; BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,161; POTT, Zigeuner 2,304; MIKLOSICH, über die Mundarten und die Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europas 7,43.—7. WEBER, KB. 7,764 who, however, wrongly sees therein at Bhag. 1,414,3; IStr. 3,150; H. 1 p.260; KB. 7,486; IS. 14,69 ff. "an old reduplication of a hitherto wanting desiderative formation".—8. CHILDERS in MUIR, OST. 2,23 note 40; KB. 7,450 f.; Dictionary s. v. *passati*; FISCHER, KB. 7,459; 8, 147.—9. P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874,509 ff.; JOHANSSON, KZ. 32,463 f.; Shāhbāzgarhi 2,24.—10. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 1,162; cf., however, 3,45 f.—11. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 3,81; HOERNLE, Comp. Gr. p. 318 f.

#### DESIDERATIVE.

§ 555. The desiderative is formed as in Skt.: AMg. *digicchanta* = *jighatsat* (Āyār. 1,8,4,10); *jugucchāi*, *juucchāi* (Hc. 2,21; 4,4) = *jugupsate*; M. *juucchāi*, *juucchasu* (R.); AMg. *dugucchāi*, *dugumchāi*, *duucchāi*, *duumchāi* (Hc. 4,4; cf. § 74. 215), *dugumchamāna* (Āyār. 1,2,2,1; Sūyag. 472. 525), *dugamchamāna*, *dugamchānija* (Uttar. 199,410), *adugucchiya* (Āyār. 2,1,2,2), *Ś. jugucchedi*, *jugucchanti* (Mālatim. 90,5; 243,5), *juucchida* (Anarghar. 149, 10; Bālar. 202,13), *adijuucchida* (Mallikām. 218,7. 12), *jugucchāṇa* (Vid-dhaś. 121,10; so to be read); Mg. *adiyuuscida* (Mallikām. 143,4. 15; so to be read); *ciicchāi* (Hc. 2,21; 4,240) = *cikitsati*; AMg. *tigicchāi* (Uttar. 601), *tigicchiya* (Uttar. 458), *vitigicchiya* (Thān. 194), *vitigicchāmi* (Thān. 245), *vitigimchāi* (Sūyag. 727 f.), *vitigimchiya* (Vivāhap. 150); Ś. *cikicchidava* (Śak. 123,14). Cf. § 74. 215.—Mg. *pivāśiāsi* (Venis. 34,6; cf. § 550); Ś. *bubhukkhida* = *bubhukṣita* (Vṛṣabh. 19,5); *licchāi* = *lipsate* (Hc. 2,21); AMg. JM. *sussūsai* (Dasav. 637,30. 32; Erz. 31,13) = *śusrūṣate*; AMg. *sussūsamāna* (Dasav. 636,6. 10; Ovav.); Ś. *sussūsāissam* (Mṛcch. 88,11), *sussūsāidum* (Mālav. 29,12), *sussūsidaava* (Mṛcch. 39,23); Mg. *śussūtida* (Mṛcch. 37,11).

#### INTENSIVE.

§ 556. The intensive is formed as in classical Skt. strengthened vowel in the reduplication show: *cakkammai* for \**cākammai* = \**cākramyate* (Hc. 4,161).—AMg. *khokhubbhamāna* (Paṇhāv. 169. 210; Ovav.; Kappas.) from *kṣubh*.—AMg. *jāgarai* = *jāgarti*, *jāgaramāṇie* (Vivāhap. 116), *jāgaranti* (Āyār. 1,3,1,1), *jāgaramāṇassa* (Vivāhap. 170), *paḍijāgarējjā* (Dasav. 636,6),



*paḍijāgaramānī* (Uvās.; Kappas.); *M. jagganti* (Dūt. 5,12), *jaggesu* (H. 335), *paḍiaggia* = \**pratiaggita* (G.); *Ś. jaggedha* (Mṛcch. 112,3); *A. jaggeva* (Hc. 4,438,3); causative AMg. *jaggāvāi* (Āyār. 1,8,2,5); *M. jaggāvīa* (R. 10,56); AMg. *bhibbhisamāna* for \**bhebbhisamāna*, \**bhēbbhisamāna* from *bhisāi* = *bhāsati* (§ 482; Nāyādh. § 122; Jiv. 481 [ *bhijjha*° ]. 493 [ *mijjhī*° ]. 541 [ *mijjhīsamānī* ]), *bhibbhisamāna* (Jiv. 105; cf. v. l. on Nāyādh. § 122); AMg. *lāppai* (Sūyag. 414), *lāppamāna* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3; 1,2,6,1). In the reduplication *M. caṅkammanta-* (H.), *caṅkammia* (R.), *caṅkamia* (Karp. 47,6), JM. *caṅkamijāvva* (Āv. 23,12) = *caṅkramyate*; *dhumḍhullāi* Hc. 4,161.189), *dhamḍhallai* (Hc. 4,161), *dhamḍholai* (Hc. 4,189) have a nasal vowel. For *tuṅṅṅanto* (Kāvya prakāśa 271,5 = H. 985) we should, according to the best manuscripts or the text and the commentary read with Abhinavagupta on Dhvanyāloka 116,7 *dhumḍhullanto*. This reading is proved also by the quotation of the shophe in other unpublished rhetoricians.

#### DENOMINATIVE.

557. The denominatives are formed, as in Skt., either by 1) addition of the verbal endings directly to the stem of the noun, 2) or to the stem in *-a* = Skt. *-ya*, before which the final vowel of the noun is lengthened or 3) to the stem of the causative Pkt. *-e-*, *-ve-*, *-va-*. The first type of denominative is more frequent in Pkt. than in Skt.: AMg. *appiṇāmi* = \**arpaṇāmi* (Nirayāv. § 23; Nāyādh. 1313; text °*ppa*°), JM. *appiṇai* (Āv. 44,3) from *arpaṇa*; AMg. *paccaḍḍhiṇāmi* = \**pratyarpaṇāmi* from *pratyarpaṇa* (Nirayāv. § 20), *paccaḍḍhiṇai* (Vivāgas. 222; Rāyap. 231; Kappas. § 29; Ovav. § 42. 44. 46 [so to be here read throughout]), *paccaḍḍhiṇāmo* (Nirayāv. § 25), *paccaḍḍhiṇanti* (Vivāhap. 503. 948; Jiv. 625. 626; Uvās. § 207; Kappas. § 58. 101; Nāyādh. § 33. 100. p. 610; Nirayāv. § 4. 24), *paccaḍḍhiṇējjā* (Paṇṇav. 844; Ovav. § 150), *paccaḍḍhiṇāhi* (Ovav. § 40. 41. 43. 45; Nirayāv. § 22; Kappas. § 26), *paccaḍḍhiṇaha* (Vivāgas. 222; Vivāhap. 503. 948; Jiv. 625. 626; Kappas. § 57. 100; Nirayāv. § 20. 21. 24; Uvās. § 206), *paccaḍḍhiṇijjāi* (Nirayāv. § 25), *paccaḍḍhiṇittā* (Nāyādh. 607. 610. 614); *khammāi* = \**khanmatī*, *jammāi* = \**janmatī*, \**hammāi* = *hanmatī* (§ 540); *M. dukkheḍḍhāmi* (R. 11,127) from *dukkha*, as *suhāmi* (H. 617) from *sukha*<sup>2</sup>; *dhavalai* (Hc. 4,24); *nimmānai* (Hc. 4,19; Ki. 4,46; Mk. fol. 54) from *nirmāna*; *A. paḍiḍḍimbi* (Hc. 4,439,3); *A. pamāṇahu* = *pramāṇayata* (Piṅgala 1,105); *paḥuppai* = \**prabhulvati* (§ 286); *M. maṇḍanti* (G. 67); *missai* (Hc. 4,28) from *miśra*; *vikkai* (Hc. 4,240) from *vikreya*; *A. sukkahī* (Hc. 4,427,1) from *suśka*. More examples see under § 491 and cf. § 553.

1. LEUMANN, Aup. S. s. v. seeks in *paccaḍḍhiṇ* the present stem of *praty-arp*. According to JACOBI, KZ. 35,573, note 2 *iṇai* is the derivative syllable, by which probably the same is meant as in LEUMANN. That a noun *paccaḍḍhiṇa* is not found is naturally no ground against the aforesaid explanation.—2. These and similar forms may be considered as contracted from *dukkhaḍḍhāmi*, *suhaḍḍhāmi* (§ 553).

558. As in Skt., in Pkt. too, the usual formation of the denominative is that with *-a-* = Skt. *-ya-*. The syllables *-āa-* in M. JM. AMg. are not seldom contracted: *M. atthāi*, *atthānti* = \**astāyate*, \**astāyanti* from *asta* (G. R.); from the frequent *atthamā* (G. R.) = *astamita* have been deduced *atthamāi* (R.) and a substantive *atthamaṇa* (H. R.); AMg. *amarāyāi* (Āyār. 1,2,5,5); *M. alasāi*, *alasānti* (H.); *M. umhāi*, *umhāanta*, *umhāmāṇa* (G.) from *umḥāya-*; *Ś. kuravaādi* = *kurabakāyate* (Mṛcch. 73,10); *garuāi*, *garuāi* (to become a teacher; to behave like a teacher; Hc. 3,138); Mg. *cilāadi* = *cirāyati* (Śak. 115,9); *M. taṇuāi*, *taṇuāi*, *taṇuāe* = \**tanukāyati* (to become thin; H.); *M. dhūmāi* (H.); AMg. *mamāyamaṇa*, *amamāyamaṇa* from *mama* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3; 1,2,5,3); *lohiāi*, *lohiāi* (Hc. 3,138); *M. samjhāi*

(G. 632), Ś. *sañjhāadi* (Mṛcch. 73,12) = *samdhyaṃyate*; Ś. *sīdalāadi* = *śitalāyati* (Mālatīm.121,2); M. *suhāai*(H.), Ś. *suhāadi* (Śak.49,8) = *sukhāyati*. Worthy of being particularly mentioned are the numerous denominativa that express onomatopoeically, a sound a strong physical or mental movement, etc. They are found mostly also in the modern Indian dialects, many in Skt. too, here partly only in the basic form, to which they are traced back<sup>1</sup>. The examples *damadāmāi*, *damadāmāi* (Hc.3,138) "does *damadama*", used for the sound of a drum, = Marāṭhī *damadamṇem*<sup>2</sup>, indicate the type. More seldom they are formed as the causativa. So: Ś. *kaḍakaḍāanta-* (Mālatīm. 129,4). — Ś. *kurukurāasi* (so to be read; cf. v. 1.; Hāsya. 25,7), *kurukurāadi* (Mṛcch. 71,16; Ratn. 302,8), *kurukurāanta-* (Karp. 14,3;70,1); *kurukuri* (ardently desired; Deśin. 2,42), according to which *kurukura* in Hc., Uṇādi-gaṇasūtra17); AMg. *kiḍikiḍiyābhūya* (Vivāgas.201.242[text here °*ḍibhū*]). — AMg. *kuukūvamāṇa* (Vivāgas. 201); JM. *khalakkhalei* (Erz.); AMg. *gumagumāyanta-* (Kappas. § 37), also *gumagumanta-*(Ovav. § 4), *gumagumāyāya* (Ovav. § 5); Ś. *ghumaghumāadi* (Jivān. 43,3)<sup>3</sup>; AMg. *gulugulēnta-* (for the trumpet of the elephant; Ovav. § 42), *gulugulēnta-* (Uvās. § 102); AMg. JM. *gulugulāyāya* (Paṇhāv. 161 [°*la*°]); Vivāhap. 253; Ovav. § 54 p. 59,7; Erz.); JM. *ghurughuranti* (for the grunting of the wild boar; Erz. 43,10); Mg. *ghulaghulāmāṇa* (Mṛcch. 117,23), from which Skt. *ghurughura* in Hc. l. c. and others; *ṭṛiṭillaī* with dissimilation (Hc. 4,161); M. *tharathareī* (H. 187 [so to be read with v. 1.]. 858), *tharathareṇī* (H. 165 [so to be read with R]); JM. *tharatharantī* (Āv. 12,25; text °*ha*°); Ś. *tharathareī* (Mṛcch. 141,17; so to be read with GODABOLE 388,4), *tharatharāanta-* (Mālatīm. 124,1) = Skt. *tharatharāyate*, Marāṭhī *tharatharṇem*, Urdū *tharatharānā*<sup>4</sup>, Gujarāṭī *tharatharvun* "to tremble"; AMg. *dhagadhaganta-* (Nāyādh. 340), explained as *jāvvalyamāna*, *dhagadhagāyāya* (Kappas. § 46); Ś. *dhagadhaggaamāṇa* (Jivān. 89,2); JM. AMg. *dhamadhamēnta-* (Erz.; Uvās.), Ś. *dhamadhamāadi* (Nāgān. 18,3); JM. *phuraphuranta-* (Erz.85,5); Ś. *phuraphurāadi* (Mṛcch. 17,15); AMg. *maghamaghēnta-* (Ovav. § 2; Nāyādh. § 21 [°*ghi*°]; Rāyap. 28. 111; Jiv. 543; Samav. 210), *maghamaghanta-* (Kappas. [also °*ghi*°]; Rāyap. 60. 190; Jiv. 499; Vivāhap. 941); M. *mahamahāi* (Hc. 4,78; H. ), JM. *mahamahāyāya* (Pāyāl. 197) = Marāṭhī *maghamaghṇem*, Gujarāṭī *maghamaghvun*<sup>5</sup>; AMg. *masamasāvijjāi* (Vivāhap. 270.383); AMg. JM. *misimisanta-*, *misimiseṇta-*, *misimisinta-* (Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Kappas.; Rāyap. 44; Āv. 40,6), usually *misimisimāṇa* or °*sēmāṇa* (Vivāgas. 121. 144; Nāyādh. 324. 456. 612. 651. 1172; Vivāhap. 236. 237. 251. 254. 505. 1217 etc.; Nirāyāv.; Uvās.) is explained as *dedīpyamāna* and taken into Skt. as *miṣamiṣāyate*; Ś. *silasilāadi* (Jivān. 43,3); M. *simisimanta-* (H. 561), Ś. *simisimāanta-* (Bālar. 264, 2); M. *surasuranta-* (H. 74) = Marāṭhī *surasurṇem*<sup>6</sup>; JM. *sulusulēnta-* (Erz. 24,29). — M. *dhukkādhuḱkai* (H. 584) = Marāṭhī *dhukadhukṇem*<sup>7</sup>; AMg. *harāharāyāya* (Paṇhāv. 161) have a strengthened vowel. Cf. also Ś. *susuāadi* (Mṛcch.44,3) "does *su-su*" and Ś. *sāsāsi*, Mg. *kākāsi* (Mṛcch. 80, 14. 15) derived from *sā* and *kā* respectively.

1. BEAMES, Comp. Gr. 3,89 ff.; ZACHARIAE, GGA. 1898,465 ff, who has collected together the Pkt. examples, particularly from H.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 3,138.—3. JACOBI on Kappas. § 36 p. 105; cf. ZACHARIAE, l.c. p. 466 note 2.—4. STENZLER on Mṛcch.141, 17 p. 309.—5. FISCHER on Hc. 4,78; cf. JACOBI on Kappas. § 32 p. 104.—6. WEBER on H. 74.—7. WEBER on H. 584.

§ 559. Built according to the pattern of the causativa the denominativa are: AMg. *uccārei* (caus.) *vā pāsavaṇei vā khelei vā siñghāṇei vā vantei vā pittei vā* (Vivāhap. 112); AMg. *uvakkhadei* = \**upaskṛtayati* (Nāyādh. 425. 448), °*dinti* (Nāyādh. 856), °*dējja*, °*āie* (Āyār. 2,2,2,2), °*ḍeu* (Uvās. § 68),

°*deha* (Nāyādh. 483), more frequently *uvakkhadāvei* (Vivāgas. 124. 133. 195. 204. 205. 231. 233; Nāyādh. 430. 632. 734. 736. 1423. 1496), °*dāvinti*, °*dāvēnti* (Kappas. § 104; Nāyādh. § 114), °*dāvēnti* (Nāyādh. § 114; p. 425. 448. 482; Vivāhap. 228); AMg. *nhānei* = \**snānayati* (Jiv. 610), *nhāñēnti* (Vivāhap. 1265); *teavai* = \**tejāpayati* from *tea* = *tejah* (Hc. 4,152); JM. *dukkhāvei* (Āv. 42,14. 18), caus. from *dukkhāmi* (§ 557); *duhāvai* = \**dvidhāpayati* (splits; Hc. 4,124); JM. *dhīrāvīa* (Sagara 8,14); AMg. *piṇaddehi* (Nāyādh. 775 [text °*ddhai*]. 779); Ś. *piṇaddhāvīda* (Sak. 74,1); M. *biṇnei* (text *vi*°; H. 685) = *diviṇayati*; M. *bhasanemi* (so to be read; H. 312) from *bhasman* (ashes); AMg. *mailinti* (Panhāv. 111), *mailīya* (Vivāhap. 387), M. *maile*, *maileñti*, *maīlanta*, *maīlījīai* from *maīla* (black)<sup>1</sup>; M. *lahuei* = *laghayati* (G.1148); M. *saccavai* = *satyāpayati* (Hc. 4,181; Ki. 14 in DELIUS, Radices p. 11; the edition has at 4,66 false *saccara*), *saccavīa* (Pāiyāl. 78; G.H.R.; Sak. 120,7); Ś. *saddāveṃi* = *śabdāpayami* (Mṛcch. 50,24), *saddāveṃi* (Sak. 138,2); AMg. *saddāvei* (Kappas.; Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv. etc.); Ś. *saddāvedī* (Mṛcch. 54,8; 141,16), *saddāvehi* (Mṛcch. 54,5), *saddāvaiṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 60,1), *saddāviadi* (Mṛcch. 150,17); JM. AMg. *saddāvēnti*, °*vīnti*, *saddāvīya* (Erz.; Kappas. etc.), causative from *saddei* = *śabdāyati*; AMg. *sikkhāvei* (Nāyādh. 1421 f.), Ś. *sikkhāvehi* (Ratn. 293,17) from *sikṣā*; Ś. *sīdalāvedī* (Uttarar. 121,7) from *śītala*; Ś. *sukkhāvēnti* (Mṛcch. 71,4), Mg. *suṣkāvaīṣṣam* (Mṛcch. 133,15) from *suṣka*; M. *suhāveṃi*, °*veṃi*, °*vēnti* (G. H.), Ś. *suhāvedī* (Mālikā. 201,17) from *sukha*.

1. Cf. ZACHARIAE, GN. 1896, 265 ff., who traces *maīla* back to \**mydila'*. See also § 595 note 5.

## VERBAL NOUNS.

### a) PARTICIPLES.

§ 560. The present participle of the *parasmaipada* is formed from the present stem with the ending *-anta*, extended from the strong ending *-anti*, which is inflected according to the *a*-declension (§ 397. 473—514). Dialectically, especially in AMg., we find numerous forms which show the flexion of Skt. (§ 396), in an isolated manner formed also according to the pattern of the nouns having a single stem, (§ 398). In all classes the feminine ends in *-anti*: AMg. *asanti* = *asatyām* (Ovav. § 183), JM. *santi* (Erz. 8,22), but in the meaning "chaste" M. *sāi* (H.) = *sati*, "not chaste" *asāi* (H.) = *asati*; AMg. *ējñenti* = \**eyantim* (cf. § 561; Dasav. 635,10), *vinimujanti* = *vinimujcanti* (Jiv. 542), *aṇuhōnti* = *anubhavanti* (Paṇṇav. 137); M. *apāvanti* = *apāpnuvati* (H.483); Ś. *huvanti*, *pekkhanti*, *gacchanti* (Lalitav. 555,5; 560,11; 561,14.), *pasamsanti* = *prasamsantyah* (Bālar. 289,2), *uddivanti*, *bhaṇanti*, *padhanti* (Mṛcch. 2,22; 41,20; 44,2) etc. According to Vr. 7,11; Hc. 3,182 the feminine may be formed also from the weak stem of the verbs of the first conjugation: *hasāi* = \**hasanti* = *hasanti*; *vevai* = \**vepanti* = *vepamānā*.—Particip. fut. *parasmaip. are*: AMg. *āgamissam* (nom. neuter and accus. masc.; Āyār. 1,3,3,3), *bhavissam* = *bhaviṣyat* (Kappas. § 17), that may be derived also from *bhaviṣya*, as in JM. *bhaviṣsacakkavaṭṭi* (Erz. 12,25) and Ś. *bhaviṣsakuṭṭaṇi* (Viddhaś. 51,11; Karp. 13,2). The participle in the *parasmaipada* has the same ending for the causative (§ 551-554), the desiderative (§ 555), the intensive (§ 556) and the denominatives.

§ 561. The participle present *ātmanepada*, without distinction of conjugation, is built from the present stem (§ 473-514) mostly in *-māna* = Skt. *māna* (Vr. 7,10; Hc. 3,181). It is particularly frequent in AMg. in which the particip. pres. *parasmaipada* has, on the other hand, entirely receded back<sup>1</sup>. It often stands in AMg. beside the finite verb in the *parasmaipada*. So e.g. *aḍamāṇe aḍai* (Vivāhap.191); *phusamāṇe phusaī* (Vivāhap.

354.355); *paccakkhāi paccakkhamāṇe* (Vivāhap.607); *haṇamāṇe haṇai, saddahāi asaddahamāṇe, samvēllamāṇe samvēllei* (Vivāhap. 849 f. 1215. 1325 ); *pehāi, pehamāṇe* (Paṇṇav. 435); *vigiñcamāṇe vigiñcai* (Āyār.1,3,4,3); *pāsamāṇe pāsai, suṇamāṇe suṇai, mucchamāṇe mucchāi* (Āyār. 1,1,5,2,3 ), *āikkhamāṇā āikkhaha* (Ovav. § 59). As in Pāli in AMg. JM. too, from *as* (to be) is formed an ātmanepada present participle *samāṇa* (Āyār. 2,1,1,1 ff.; Thāṇ. 525.526; Vivāgas. 13.116.239; Paṇhāv. 67; Vivāhap. 263.271.1275.1388; Paṇṇav. 436; Uvās.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.; Erz.; Sagara 4,9; Āv. 29,16;35,25 etc.). — *emāṇa* = *pravīsan* (Deśin.1,144) is = *ayamāna*, AMg. *ējjamāṇa* (Uvās. § 81.215. 261; Vivāgas.229; Nāyādh.487.491.514.575.758.760 etc.; Vivāhap.1207) = *eyamāna*; cf. *ējjantiṃ* § 560.—To the precativē belongs *hojjamāṇa* (§ 466).

I. WEBER, Bhag. 1,432.

§ 562. The ātmanepada participle has the same ending in the future: AMg. *esamāṇā* (Thāṇ. 178), in the causative (§ 551-554), the desiderative (§ 555), intensive (§ 556), the denominatives (§ 557-559). In the passive partly the ending of the parasmaipada is used, particularly in Ś. Mg., partly that of the ātmanepada, especially in AMg. (§ 535-548).— In place of *-māṇa*, sometimes in AMg. is found *-mīna*: *āgamamīna* (Āyār. 1,6, 3,2; 1,7,4,1; 1,7,6,2; 1,7,7,1 ); *samaṇujāṇamīna* (Āyār. 1,6,4,2; 1,7,1,3 ); *ādḥāyamīna* (Āyār. 1,7,1,1; 1,7,2,4. 5 ); *anādhāyamīna* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2 ); *apariggahamīna* (Āyār. 1,7,3,1); *amamāyamīna* (Āyār. 1,7,3,2 ); *āsāemīna* = *āsādayamāna* (Āyār. 1,7,6,2 ); *anāsāyamīna* (Āyār. 2,3,2,4 ); *nikāmamīna* (Sūyag. 405); *bhisamīna* (Nāyādh. § 122; Jiv. 481. 493 [commentary °mā°; cf. 541 *bhisamāṇi* ]), *bhibbhisamīna* (§ 556). The form that is found also in the inscriptions of Aśoka<sup>1</sup> is almost restricted to Āyār., and in many cases has the v.l. *-māṇa*. Cf. § 110.—Very seldom is the ending *-āṇa*=Skt. *-āna*: AMg. *bujābu jāṇā* = *bruvanto*, 'bruvantaś ca (Sūyag. 334). *vihammāṇa* stands for *vihammamāṇa*=*vighnan* (Uttar. 787), in case one does not like to equate it as = *\*vihammāna* (cf. § 540.550), *vakkamāṇa* (Nāyādh. §46-50) for *vakkama-māṇa*, as e. g. at Kappas. § 74. 76.77 stands; the v.l., however, has there also under § 74. 76 *vakkamāṇa*. For *-āṇa* M. has *-īna* in *melīna* ( H. 702 ) from *melai* from *mil* (§ 486). Cf. Skt. *āsina*, as also Pkt. has.

I. BÜHLER, ZDMG. 46, 72, whose explanation, however, is incorrect. See § 110.

§ 563. The feminine has the ending *-māṇī* according to Vr. 7,11, but according to Hc. 3,182 *-māṇī*. In AMg. the ending throughout is *-māṇī*: *samāṇī, samlavamāṇī, āhāremāṇī, abhisiccāmāṇī, uddhuvamāṇīhiṃ* ( Kappas. ); *bhuñjamāṇī, āsāemāṇī, uvadamsemāṇī*, (Uvās. ); *paccanubhavamāṇī, parihāyamāṇī, uddhuvamāṇīhiṃ* ( Ovav. ); *visattāmāṇīhiṃ* (Thāṇ. 312 ); *royamāṇī* (Vivāgas. 84; Vivāhap. 807); *sujamāṇīe* (Vivāhap. 116), *dehamāṇī* (Vivāhap. 794. 795); *viṇimmujamāṇī* (Vivāhap. 822); *ējjamāṇīo* (Nirayāv. 59); *duruhamāṇī* (Dasav. 620.33 ); *jāgaramāṇīe* (Vivāhap. 116); *paḍijāgaramāṇī* (Kappas.; Uvās.); *dajjhamāṇīe, dijjamāṇīhiṃ* (Uttar. 284. 362); *dhikkārijjamāṇī* ( Kappas. ); Uvās. ); *dajjhamāṇīe, dijjamāṇīhiṃ* (Uttar. 284. 362 ); *dhikkārijjamāṇī, thukkārijjamāṇī* (Nāyādh. 1175). Likewise in JM.: *samāṇī* ( Kk. 260,29; Erz. 36,14; false °nā 53,5 ); *kāremāṇīo, pehamāṇīo* (Āv. 11,14; 17,10 ); *paḍicchamāṇī, jhāyamāṇī, paloemāṇī, kuṇamāṇī, khannamāṇīe, nivaḍamāṇī, rujamāṇī* (Erz. 8,14;11,19;17,8; 23,13; 39,7; 43,19), *kāremāṇī* (Dvār. 503,30). From M. WEBER has in H.: *pasūamāṇāe* (123), *bhaṇṇamāṇā* (145), *jampamāṇā* (198), *majjamāṇāe* (246), *veamāṇāe* (312), but *jampamāṇīe* (389). The recession R has only at 198 °nā, otherwise throughout °ṇīe, also at 145, where it reads *bhaṇṇamāṇīe*, the recession of Bhuvanapāla (IS.16,1 ff.), throughout has °ṇī, °ṇīe, as also mostly S and T. ī is not merely a characteristic for R<sup>1</sup> and Bhuvanapāla, that is to say both Jaina recessions. On the basis of the usual agreement of M. with JM. AMg. for M. ī, not ā,

will be correct. In other texts in M. the examples are wanting. In Ś. the femin. always ends in *-ā*: *ṇivattamāṇā*, *vattamāṇā*, °*ṇāe* (Vikr. 5,11;35,11.12); *apadivajjamāṇā* (Vikr. 52,14); *ahibhūaamāṇā*, *āulimāṇā*, *ahināṇḍimāṇā* (Śak. 16,10; 17,12; 79,10); *bādhimāṇā* (Vikr. 28,1); *arunimāṇā* (Mṛcch. 23,23. 25); *siccāmāṇā* (Mālatim. 121,2).—P: has *cintayamāṇī* (Hc. 4,310).

1. WEBER, Hāla<sup>2</sup> p. xxix; cf. on H. 123.

§ 564. The past passive participle, as in Skt., is formed with the suffixes *-ta* and *-na*. Deviating from Skt. *-ta* in certain cases is added directly to the roots; in which in Skt. it comes after the *i*-stem: *ohaṭṭha* (ridiculed; Deśin. 1,153) = \**apahasta* = *apahasita* (§ 155); *khuṭṭa* (torn; Deśin. 2,74; cf. § 568); *laṭṭha* (attracted towards another; lively; friendly; Deśin. 7,26) = \**laṣṭa* = *laṣita*. In AMg. the word is *lāḍha* according to § 66.304 (Āyār. 2,3,1, 8; Sūyag. 401; Uttar. 76.453.454), explained by the commentators as *sāḍhu*, *sāḍhvanuṣṭhāne taṭpara*, *sadānuṣṭhānatayā pradhāna*, etc. Cf. also Skt. *rāḍhā* M. *vuttha* (Pāiyāl. 225; R. 11,88. 90), *vuvuttha* (G. 538), *paṭṭha* (H. R.); JM. *paṭṭha* (Āv. 23,7; 25,7), *paṭṭha* (Erz.); M. *paṭṭha* (R. 4,50), for which, according to C we should read *pariuttha* (Deśin. 6,13) or *pariuttha* (G. 540) from *vas* (to live) = \**vasta* with secondary transition of a to u (§104. 303). Beside them is found the regular M. *usia* = *uṣita* (G. 484. 933) and from the present stem M. *vasia* (Pāiyāl. 225; G. H.), *uvvasia*, *pavasias* (H.), Ś. *uvvasiḍa* (Mṛcch. 54,16).—M. *niattha* = \**nivasta* (Karp. 46,12) from *vas* (to dress), AMg. *paṇiṣattha* = \**pranivasta* (Ovav. § 38]). JM. *niṣatthiṣa* (Erz. 59,31) is *nivastrita*. Cf. § 337.—JM. *tuṭṭa* = *truṭṭa* (Erz. 71,28), A. *tuṭṭai* (Hc. 4,356).—AMg. *anālatta* = \**anālatta* (Uvās. § 58); JM. *samlatta* (Erz.).—A. *tinta* = *timita* (Hc. 4,431,1).—M. *guttha* = \**guphta* = *guphta* (H. 63; Karp. 69,8; 73,10)<sup>1</sup>. *grah* adds, as in the infinitive (§ 574) and the absol. (§ 586), the ending to the *-i*- and not to the *-ī* stem (Hc. 1,101); M. *gahia* (G. H. R.; Śak. 120,6) JM. *gahiṣa* (Erz.; Āv. 17,11; 18,4; Dvār. 500,20; 501,2; Kk.); AMg. *gahiṣa* (Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.); JŚ. Ś. *gahida* (Pav. 389,1; Mṛcch. 3,23; 15,5; 50,2; 53,10; Śak. 33,14; 40,4; 96,9; Vikr. 19,16; 31,13; 80,15. 20); Mg. *gahida* (Mṛcch. 16,14. 17. 21; 133,7; 157,5) and *gihida* (Mṛcch. 112,10). The texts of the dramas very often have *gahida* and *gihida*, the forms, that are correct in verses only, as Mg. *gahida* (Mṛcch. 17,1; 170,15).

1. Differently WEBER on H. 63.

§ 565. Very frequently in all the dialects the past passive participle is formed from the present stem. Examples in order of sequence of the present stem are: *tavia* (Hc. 2,105) beside Ś. *samtappida* (Mṛcch. 7,18;8,16) according to the class 4 and the common *tatta* = *taṭta*; AMg. *tasiṣa* beside *tattha* = *trasta* (Vivāhap. 1291); Ś. *jaṇida* = *jāta* (Lalitav. 561,3; Mṛcch. 28,8); M. *asahia* = *asoḍha* (G.); AMg. *jaṭṭha* = *iṣṭa* (offered; Uttar. 753); A. *jiṇia* (§ 473); Ś. *anubhaviḍa* (Karp. 33,6) = *anubhūta*; M. *vāharia* = *vyāhṛta* (Śak. 88,1); M. *osaria* = *avasṛta* (G. H. R.), *samosaria* (G. H.); AMg. JM. *samosariṣa* = *samavasṛta* (H.; Vivāgas. 151; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 31,22; cf. § 235); Mg. *niṣṭalidaṣṭa* = *niṣṭataya* (Lalitav. 566,15); Ś. *sumarida*, Mg. *sumalida* = *smṛta*, M. *visaria*, *visaria*, JM. *vissariṣa*, JŚ. *visarida*, Ś. *visumarida* = *vismṛta* (§ 478); Mg. *gāida* (Mṛcch. 117,4); Ś. *ṇijjhāida* (Mṛcch. 93,15; Vikr. 52,11); JM. *acchiṣa* from *ṛ* (Āv. 26,28; Erz. 33,30); M. *icchia* (H. R.), AMg. JM. *icchiṣa* (Uttar. 702; Vivāhap. 161.946; Ovav. § 54; Uvās.; Kappas.; Āv. 39,6; Kk. 274,26; Erz.); Ś. *icchida* (Vikr. 20,19), AMg. JM. *paḍicchiṣa* (Ovav. § 54; Vivāhap. 161. 946; Āv. 39,6); Ś. *paḍicchida* (Mṛcch. 77,25; 161,5; Śak. 79,9; Mālatim. 140,9; 250,5), both of them belong to *iṣ*, not to *iṣ* (§ 328); *jigghia* = *ghṛta* (Deśin. 3,46); Ś.

*anucittihida* (Mṛcch. 54,2; 63,25; Vikr. 80,15; Mālav. 45,14;70,3; Mud r. 266,3); M. *pucchia* (H.), JM. *pucchiya* (Erz.; Sagar.2,8), Ś. *pucchida* (Mṛcch. 28,21; Mālav. 6,10), beside AMg. *puṭṭha* (Uttar. 31. 113); Ś. *niṅhuidā* (Śak. 137,6); M. *naccia*, *paṇaccia* from *nrt* (H.); AMg. *paḍiyāikkhiya* (Kappas.; Ovav. § 86) beside *pacakkhā*=*pratyākhyāta* (Ovav. § 87); AMg. *buiya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,20; 1,8,2,1; Uttar. 509) = *\*bruvita*, *ahābuiya* = *\*yathābruvita* (Sūyag. 531) from the present stem *bruva-* (§494); *duhia*=*dugdha* (Deśin. 1,7); A. *hāṇia*=*hata* (Piṅgala 1,85. 146<sup>a</sup>) beside *hatta* (§ 194); Ś. *ācakkhida* (§ 499); M. AMg. JM. Ś. *ādhatta* (Pāiyal. 240; Hc. 2,138; G. H.; R. s. v. *rabh*; Thān. 511; Vivāhap. 34,433; Paṇṇav. 540; Rāyap. 78; Erz.; Dvār. 496,13; 498,14. 37; Sagara 4,5; 7,11; T. 6,20; 7,3. 15; Āv. 12,24; 44,2; Mallikām. 223,12; 252,13); M. *samādhatta* (H.); M. JM. Ś. *vidhatta* (Hc. 4,258; G.R.; Erz.; Mṛcch.2,23; Anarghar. 275,7;290,2), A. *vidhattāū* (Hc. 4,422,4) from the stem *dadh-* from *dhā* = *\*dhatta* for *hita*, in case one does not like to drag it to the causative (§ 286). Cf. § 223. *\*dhatta* perhaps in AMg. sticks to *nidhatta* (v. l. *nihatta*; Thān. 496, explained by the commentator with *nikācīta* [sic], *niscīta*; *jadha* (relinquished; Hc. 4,258), AMg. *vijaḍha* (Uttar. 1045. 1047. 1052. 1055. 1058. 1066. 1071. 1074. 1077. 1095; Jiv. 236 f.), *vippajadha* (Āyār. 1,6,6,6; Nirāyāv. § 16; Vivāgas. 239; Nāyādh. 435. 442. 1167. 1444; Vivāhap. 454; Aṇuog. 50. 596 [text here *\*dḍha*]) from a root *jah* for *\*jādha*, with a short vowel according to § 67, deduced from the present *jahāi* (§ 500); AMg. also *vippajahiya* (Nāyādh. 1448); AMg. *tacchiya* (Uttar. 596); JM. *vitthariya* = *vitṭta* (Erz.); Ś. *viciṇḍa* = *vicīta* (Mālatim. 297,5); A. *pāvia* (Hc. 4,387,1); A. *bhañjia* (Piṅgala 1,120<sup>a</sup>); AMg. JM. *viuvviya* (Ovav.; Nāyādh.; Āv. 30,18) and *veuvviya* (Āyār. p.127,14; Dvār.507,28) from *viuvvāi* (§508); cf. *vikurvita*; M. *jāṇia* (Hc. 4,7), *jāṇida* (Mṛcch. 27,21;28, 17. 24;29,14;82,15;148,23;166,9; Mudrār. 184,4; Viddhaś. 29,2), *aṇabhijāṇida* (Mṛcch. 153,2), *pacabbhiṇḍa* (Uttarar.61,7; 62,7); Mg. *yāṇida* (Lalitav. 566,8); A. *jāṇiu* (Hc. 4,377; 423,1; Vikr. 55,1 [so to be read]). M. has *nāa* (R.), JM. *nāya* (Erz.; Kk.), Ś. in compounds usual *nāda*=Skt. *jñāta*, as *abbhaṇuṇṇāda* (Śak. 84,11; Vikr. 12,14; 29,13; 39,20; 46,3; 84,2; Mudrār. 46,8), *viṇṇāda* (Mṛcch. 37,21; Śak. 73,5; 168,15; Vikr. 29,21;80,4; Mālav. 46,16;47,3), *aviṇṇāda* (Mālav. 34,7), *paḍiṇṇāda* (Mālav. 13,9;85,2); Ś. *kiṇida*, *vikkīṇida* from *kri* (§511).— On *nia* = *nīta* and composita see § 81, on *khāa*, *dhāa* § 165, on *āa* § 167, on *chūḍha* and composita § 166, on *uvvīḍha* § 126, on *\*vutta*, *\*vūḍha* and composita § 337, on the participle AMg. Mg. in *-ḍa* § 219, on *ūsadha*, *nisadha*, *visadha*, *samosadha* § 67; on causative, desiderative, intensive, denominative § 551-559. The feminine ends in *-ā*, only in A. sometimes also in *-ī*, as *ruddhī* = *ruddhā*, *diṭṭhī* = *drṣṭā* (Hc. 4,422,14; 431,1).

§ 566. The suffix *-na* is used not only in the same cases as in Skt., but has undergone a very great extension<sup>1</sup>: *khaṇṇa* (cavity; Deśin. 2,66), beside AMg. JM. *khatta* (Deśin. 2,66; Vivāgas. 102; Erz.)<sup>2</sup>, AMg. *ukkhatta* (Vivāgas. 214), M. *ukkhāa* (H.), *ukkhāa* (G. R.), *samukkhāa* (H.); cf. Vr. 1,10; Hc. 1,67; JM. *khaya* (Erz.) and *khaniya* (Erz.), *ukkhaya* (Erz.); Ś. *ukkhanida* (Uttarar. 100,7; so to be read). — M. Ś. *cukka* from *\*cukna* (Pāiyal. 191; H. R.; Viddhaś. 63,1) from *cukkaī* (Hc. 4,177), Ś. *cukkadi* (Viddhaś. 93,2), which is common in the new Indian languages<sup>3</sup> and stands as *cukk* in Dhātupāṭha too<sup>4</sup>. — M. *chikka* (touched; Pāiyal. 85; Hc. 2, 138; H. 481 [so to be read with R]) = *\*chikna* from *\*chik*, a guttural side-form from *\*chip*, *chivai*<sup>5</sup>. — M. JM. AMg. *ḍakka* (bitten; Hc. 2,2; H. s. v. *daś*; Erz.; Paṇḥāv.65.537; Thān.431) = *\*dakna*, also in the sense of “sized

with teeth" Deśin. 4,6 ). — *diṅṇa*, JM. AMg. also *dinna*, from \**didna* with the old reduplication vowel *i*<sup>9</sup>, very frequent in all the dialects (Vr. 8,62; Hc. 1,46; 2,43; Pāīyal. 184); M. (G.H.R.); JM. (KI. 11. 15; Āv. 17,20; 27,13; Erz.; Kk.; Rṣabhap.); AMg. ( Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovay. etc. ); JŚ. (Kattig. 402.363.364.366); Ś. (e.g. Mṛcch. 37,8;44,3;51,23; Śak. 59,7;159,12; Vikr. 48,2; Ratn.291,1); Mg. (Mṛcch.113,20;117,7;126,7; Śak.113,8); A. (Vikr. 67,19; Hc. s. v. *dā* ). Hc. 1,46 teaches also *datta*, that stands at PG. 7,48 as *datā* = *dattā*, but elsewhere found only in proper nouns, as *dattajasa* (PG. 6,21), *devadatto* ( Hc. 1,46 ), Ś. *somadatto* ( Vikr. 7,2 )<sup>7</sup>.—M. *budda*, *ābudda*, *ñibudda* ( H. 37; so to be read ), *vinibudda* ( G. 490 ) from *brud*, *vruđ*, with the denominatives *buddāi*, *āuddāi*, *ñiuddāi* (Hc.4,101; cf. Vr. 8,68).—Ś. *bhulla* for \**bhulna* ( Karp. 113,1 ) from which *bhullaī*, occurring in the new Indian languages<sup>8</sup> (Hc. 4,177).—M. *ummilla* ( G. H. R. ), *ñimilla* ( G. R. ), *opimilla* ( R. ) = \**mīlna* from *mīl*.—*mukka* from \**mukna* from *muc*, very frequent in the main dialects (Hc. 2,2); M. *mukka*, *ava*<sup>o</sup>, *ā*<sup>o</sup>, *ummukka*, *pa*<sup>o</sup>, *pađi*<sup>o</sup>, *pari*<sup>o</sup> ( G. H. R. ); JM. *mukka* ( Āv. 23,21; Erz.; Rṣabhap.; Kk. ), *āmukka* ( Āv. 38,12 ), *pa*<sup>o</sup>, *pari*<sup>o</sup>, ( Erz. ), *vi*<sup>o</sup> ( Erz.; Rṣabhap. ); AMg. *mukka* ( Uttar. 706. 708; Uvās.; Kappas. ), *ummukka* ( Paṇṇav. 136; Uttar. 1037 ), *vinimukka* ( Uttar. 755 ), *vipṇamukka* ( Vivāhap. 186. 263. 455. 1351 [ *a*<sup>o</sup> ]; Uttar. 1; Paṇṇav. 134. 483 ), *vimukka* ( Paṇṇav. 134. 136. 137. 848 ); Ś. *mukka* ( Mṛcch. 71,9; 109,19; Vikr. 43,15; 47,2; Prab. 45,11; Bālar. 24,9; 195,9;202,16; 204,19 etc. ), *ṭamukka* ( Bālar. 246,13; Uttara. 84,2 ), *vimukka* ( Bālar. 170,14;203,14;210,2; Pras. 35,2; Venis. 62,7;63,11.12;65,8;66,9 ); Mg. *mukka* ( Mṛcch. 29,19. 20; 31,23. 25; 32,5; 136,16;168,4; Prab. 50,14; 56,10 ); Dh. *mukka* ( Mṛcch. 31,24;32,1 ); A. *mukkāhā* ( Hc. 4,370,1 ). Hc. 2,12 mentions also *mutta*, that falsely occurs in Ś. *ṇamutta* ( Uttar. ar.20,12 ). *muktā* ( pearl ) always becomes *muttā* and *muktika* always *mōttia*<sup>9</sup>; cf. Ś. *mukka-mōttia* ( Bālar. 195,9 ).—*ragga* ( Hc. 2,10 ) = \**ragna* = Skt. *rakta*; thereform *ragga* ( dress coloured in saffron; Pāīyal. 261; Deśin. 7,3 ); found in the text is only *raita* : M. JM. Ś. ( H.; Erz.; Mṛcch. 71,3; 73,12; Śak. 134,13; Mālav. 28,17; 45,11 ); M. *latta* ( Mṛcch. 129,1; Nāgān. 67,6 ).—M. *rikka* = \**rikṇa* from *ric* ( Pāīyal. 218; Deśin. 7,6 ) = "a little" ( H. ), *airikka* ( H. ), *pairikka*, *pavirikka* = *pravirikka* ( G. H. R. ); M. JM. *virikka* ( G.; Āv. 47,21; Erz. ), according to Deśin. 6,71 also in the meanings "wide", "exclusive"; *aṇarikka*, *avarikka* ( deprived of favourable opportunity; Deśin. 1,20 ); beside it M. *ritta* = *rikta* ( Pāīyal. 218; H. ), *airitta* ( R. 14,51; v. 1. <sup>o</sup> *rikka* ). — M. *runṇa* ( Vr. 8,62; Hc. 1,209; G. H. R. ), *orunṇa*, *ṇarunṇa* ( R. ), but Ś. *rudida* ( Śak. 33,4; Ratn. 314,32; Uttara. 20,12; Caṇḍak. 95,10; Vṛṣabh. 50,5; Dhūrta. 11,12 ).—M. JM. AMg. Ś. *lukka* ( torn; separated by violence; with extracted hairs; extracted; concealed ) = \**lukna*, from *luñc*<sup>10</sup> ( Hc. 2,2; H. R.; Erz.; Kappas.; Viddhaś. 27,4 ); *ullukka* ( Deśin. 1,92 ); M. Ś. *ñilukka* ( H. R.; Viddhaś. 51,7 ), JM. *nilukka* ( Āv. 23,14 ) with the denominatives *luḷkaī*, *ullukkaī*, *nilukkaī* ( Hc. 4,55. 116 ), JM. *nilukkantehiṃ*, *nilukkanto*, ( Āv. 23,17. 19 ).—M. *hikka* ( concealed; abolished; Hc. 4,258; G. ) beside \**likka* = \**slikna* ( § 210 ), form which the denominatives *hikkaī*, *likkaī* ( Hc. 4,55 ). —M. *sikka* = \**sikna* from *sic* ( Karnaś. 14,4 ) beside the usual *sitta* = *sikta*. —*sakka* = \**ṣvaṣṇa*<sup>11</sup> "in *osakka* ( gone away; Pāīyal. 178; Deśin. 1,149 ) beside M. *ṇarisakka* ( H. 608 ). — AMg. *soḷla* = *sūd+na* = *sūdita*, *soḷlaja* ( § 244 ).—On *junṇa* and *composita* see § 58, on *ṇumanna* § 118, on *uvvōḷla* § 107, on *hūṇa* and *composita* § 120. The femin. ends in *-ā*, in A. only sometimes in *-ī*, as *diṅṇī* ( Hc. 4,401,3 ).

1. On further extension of the suffix *-na* in Pkt. rightly S. GOLDSCHMIDT, Prākṛitica p. 8, note 2; JOHANSSON, Shāhbāzgarhi 1,185. Elsewhere, as already remarked by

JOHANSSON, all the etymologies of S. GOLDSCHMIDT, that come here into consideration, are false, likewise those of P. GOLDSCHMIDT, GN. 1874,520 ff. Cf. also FISCHEL, BB. 6, 85 f.—2. Falsely equated as = *khātra* by JACOBI, Erz. s. v; see § 90. — 3. FISCHEL on Hc. 4,177. — 4. WEBER on Hāla 465. — 5. Not correct—WEBER, on Hāla 481. — 6. FISCHEL, BB. 15,126. — 7. FISCHEL on Hc. 1,46. — 8. FISCHEL on Hc. 4,177. — 9. STENZLER on Mṛcch. 29,20; FISCHEL on Hc. 2,2. Cf. § 61<sup>e</sup>. — 10. False WEBER on Hāla 49.—11. WEBER on Hāla 608.

§ 567. *i* with *palā* is conjugated, as in Skt., according to the l. class: M. *palāaha* (R. 15,8; so to be read with C), *palāanta-* (G. H.), *palā-ivva* (R. 14,12; so to be read with the v.l.), *vivalāi*, *vivalānti*, *vivalānta-*, *vivalāamāna* (G. H. R.); JM. *palāyaji* (Āv. 19,22; Erz.), *palāyamāna* (Āv. 18,1; Erz.), *palāyasu* (Erz. 9,37), *palāium* (Āv. 19,16); Ś. *palāiduyāma* (Mallikām. 225,11); Mg. *palāsi* (Mṛcch. 9,23; 11,7; 132,3), imp. *palā mha* (Caṇḍak. 73,2), particip. pres. *palāanti* (Mṛcch. 16,22), absolutive *paalāia*, fut. *palāisām* (Mṛcch. 120,13; 171,15). Contraction too is found according to the analogy of the roots in *-ai* and in *-ā* (§ 479. 487): Mg. *palāmi* (Mṛcch. 22,10), *palāsi* (Mṛcch. 11,21); Dh. *palāsi* (Mṛcch. 30,7); M. *vivalāi* (G. 934). Accordingly beside the usual M. *palāia* (H. R.), Ś. *palāida* (Vikr. 46,5), Mg. *palāida* (Mṛcch. 12,19) = Skt. *palāyita* is formed, from a contracted stem *palā*, also a present past passive participle M. *palāa* = \**palāta*, *vivalāa* = \**vīpalāta* (R.), JM. *palāya* (Āv. 23,15; 32,5; Erz.), to which belongs also *palāa* (thief; Deśin. 6,8). Cf. § 129. 243. In JM. the participle has also the suffix *-na*: *palāna* (Erz.), for *ā* of which there appears *i* in Dh. in *papālīṇu* = *prapalāyita* (Mṛcch. 29,15; 30,1), as in the pres. participle in *-mīṇa*, *-iṇa* (§ 562).

§ 568. Deviating from Skt., in Pkt. the past passive participle from a number of roots, is formed with *-ta*, which in Skt. have only *-na*: M. *khudīa* (Hc. 1,53; G. H. R.), Ś. *khudīda* (Mṛcch. 162,7; Anarghar. 157,9; Uttarr. 11,10 [so to be read]) = \**ksudīta* = Skt. *ksuṇṇa*<sup>1</sup>; M. *ukkhudīa* (H. R.); also *khuffa* (broken into pieces; Deśin. 2,74), beside JM. *khunna*, M. *khunṇa* (Pāiṇal. 222; H. 445). To other roots belong *khunṇa* (wrapped round; Deśin. 2,75) and Ā. *khudīda* (run away; Mṛcch. 100,12)<sup>2</sup>. — *chāia* (covered; Hc. 2,17; Triv. 1,4,22) = \**chādīta*, equated by grammarians as = *sthaḡita*<sup>3</sup>, beside the usual *channa* = Skt. *channa*. — *viddāa* (Hc. 1,107), JM. *viddāya* (Āv. 17,32) = \**vidrāta* = Skt. *vidrāṇa*. — AMg. *amilāya* (Kappas. § 102) = \**amlāta* = Skt. *amlāna*. — M. *lua* (Hc. 4,258; Deśin. 7,23; R.) = \**lūta* = Skt. *lūna*.

1. FISCHEL, BB. 15,125 f.—2. STENZLER ON Mṛcch. 100,12 p. 288.—3. FISCHEL, BB. 15,125.

§ 569. A parasmaipada past participle is found in AMg. *puṭṭhavam* = *sprṣṭavān* (Āyār. 1,7,8,8), but in the passive sense. Elsewhere only in later day writers and uncritical editions: Ś. *kidavanto* [sic], *sudavandeṇa* [sic], *bhuttavanteṇa*, *uttavanto* (Jivān. 40,26; 42,15; 53,11; 87,3); *bhaṇidavanto*, *gadīdavanto*, *calīdavanto* (Cait. 38,13; 128,5; 130,18); *peḷkhiḡavanto* [text *peḷsi*], *āadavanto*, *adivāhidavando* [sic], *aṇubhūdavando* [sic] (Mallikām. 155,18; 209,1; 222,12); *samṇādīavando* [sic], *pesīdavanto* (Adbhutad. 58,10; 119,25); Mg. *gadīdavanto* [sic], *gīliavante* (Cait. 150,5. 6); feminine. Ś. *paḡicchiḡavavādī* (Viddhaś. 43,6); *ṇīdavavādī* (Mallikām. 259,3).

§ 570. The particip. necessitatis in *-avya* is not seldom built from the present stem: *haseavya*, *hasiavya* = *hasitavya* (Hc. 3,157; Ki. 4,39); AMg. JM. *hojavya* = *bhavitavya* (Kappas.; Erz.), Ś. Mg. *hodavya*, JŚ. Ś. also *bhavidavya*, Mg. also *huvidavya* (§ 475. 476); JM. *acchiavya* (Dvār. 500,9; 501,8); Ś. *avagacchiḡavya* (Mṛcch. 66,3); AMg. *ciṭṭhiavya* (Vivāhap. 163), Ś. *avagacchiḡavya* (Mṛcch. 66,3); AMg. *ciṭṭhiavya* (Vivāhap. 163), Ś. *avucchiḡavya* (Mudrār. 50,4); AMg. *pucchiavya* = *praṣṭavya* (Sūyag. 986. 989. 992), *puccheavya* (Kappas.), Ś. *pucchiḡavya* (Śak. 50,5; Hāsy. 27,13); AMg.



*vigñiciyava* from *vikrt* (§ 485; Dasav. N. 646,3); M. *rūsiava* (H.); AMg. *pāsiyava* from *paś* (Paṇṇav. 667; Kappas.); Ś. *saṃtappidava* (Mṛcch. 94,3), *naccidava* (Priyad. 19,11. 12; 26,6; 27,5; Karp. 4,1); AMg. *paritāveyava* = *paritāpayitavya*, *uddaveyava* = *uddrāvayitavya* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1), *dameyava* = *damayitavya* (Uttar. 19); Ś. *sumarāidava* (Priyad. 14,7); Ś. *āsīdava* (Priyad. 14,3); JM. *soyava* = *svaptavya* (Āv. 39,16), Ś. *suvidava* = *suidava* (Mṛcch. 90,20; Śāk. 29,7); Ś. *dādava* (Cait. 84,6. 13; Jivān. 43,12. 15; Priyad. 10,23), *sunidava* (Mudrār. 227,6) beside *sodava* (Śāk. 121,10), M. *soava* (R. 2,10), JM. *soyava* (Āv. 33,19) from *śru*; AMg. *bhūñijava* (Panhāv. 363. 537); AMg. *bhuñijava* (Vivāhap. 163), beside *bhōttava* (Hc. 4,212; Kī. 4,78); AMg. *jāñijava* (Paṇṇav. 666; Kappas.), *parijāñijava* (Āyār. 1,1,1,5,7); Ś. *jāñidava* (Priyad. 24,16); Mg. *yāñidava* (Lalitav. 565,7); JŚ. *nādava* (Kattig. 401,352; text °*ja*°); JŚ. *muñedava* (Pav. 380,8; text °*ja*°); Ś. *geñhidava* (Mṛcch. 150,14; Vikr. 30,9), whilst *ghēttava* (Vr. 8,16; Hc. 4,210), AMg. *parighe'ttava* (Āyār. 1,4,1,1; 1,5,5,5,4; Sūyag. 647 f. 699. 783. 789), *oghe'ttava* (Kappas.) belong to \**ghṛp* (§ 212). According to Hc. 4,211 *vac* forms the particip. nec. *vo'ttava*, and so it stands in Ś. in Vikr. 23,15. But since in Ś. the infinitive is never *vo'ttum*, but always *vattum* (§ 574) we should read, with the ed. Bomb. 40,9 and the Drāvidian recension 630,14 ed. FISCHER = 39,4 ed. PANDIT, *vattava*, as stands also at Mṛcch. 153,15 and JM. AMg. have (Erz.; Sūyag. 994. 996; Vivāhap. 139. 204; Kappas.; Ovav.). *vo'ttava* is to be assigned to M. — From *rud* is built *ro'ttava* according to Vr. 8,55; Hc. 4,212. M. *rotava* is found in the text (H.). From *kr* are built the forms M. *kāava* (Vr. 8,17; Hc. 4,214; H. R.), AMg. JM. *kāyava* (Āyār. 2,1,10,7; Dasav. 630,11; Erz.), JŚ. Ś. *kādava* (Pav. 386,11 [text °*ja*°]; Lalitav. 554,6; Mṛcch. 166,4; 327,1; Vikr. 48,13; Prab. 11,7; Priyad. 11,10). Mg. *kādava* (Mṛcch. 161,7) = *kartavya* (§ 62). From *muc* Hc. 4,212 teaches *mo'ttava* = *moktavya*. — In A. the endings are *-ie'vvaū*, *-ēvvaū* *-evā*; *kariēvvaū* = *kartavyam*; *marie'vvaū* = *martavyam*; *sahēvvaū* = *sodhavyam*; *soevā* = *svaptavyam*; *jagge'vā* = *jāgartavyam* (Hc. 4,438; cf. Kī. 5,52). *-ēvva* is to be considered as the basic form, to which goes back *-evā*, from which the extended formation is *-ēvvaū*, with the suffix *-ka*, nom. acc. neut. *-kam*. *-ēvva* is = Skt. *-eyya*, with transition of *ya* into *va* certainly visible elsewhere in A too (§254). The participial meaning occurs in Vedic *stuseyya*, perhaps also *śapatheyya*; cf. *didrṅṣeya*. According to Kī. 5,55 *-evvaūm* is used also in the sense of the infinitive.

571. *-aniya* appears in M. JM. AMg. as *-añijja*, in Ś. Mg. as *-añia*, corresponding to the formation of the passive (§ 535; cf. 91); AMg. *pūyāñijja* (Kappas.; Ovav.), Ś. D. *pūañia* (Mṛcch. 28,7; 101,13); AMg. *vandañijja* (Uvās.; Kappas.), Ś. *vandañia* (Mṛcch. 66,17); M. AMg. JM. *karañijja* (H.; Āyār. 2,3,3,16; 2,4,2,5; Erz.), Ś. *karañia* (Vikr. 36,8; Nāgān. 4,15), false *karañijja* (Śāk. 2,5; Vikr. 43,6), where the v. l. has the correct *karañia* JM. *sārakkhañijja* (Āv. 28,16. 17) = *saṃrakṣaṇiyya*, Ś. *rakkhañia* (Śāk. 74,8); AMg. *darisañijja* (Āyār. 2,4,2,2; Ovav.), *daṃsañijja* (Uvās.; Ovav.), Ś. *daṃsañia* (Śāk. 132,6; Nāgān. 52,11). Yet stands in AMg. in Āyār. 2,4, 2,2 *darisañijam*, immediately beside *darisañie* (sic; ed. Calc. correct °*sa*°) and in § 4 *darisañiyam*, Sūyag. 565 *darisañiya* [sic], JM. *daṃsañio* (Erz. 60,17), M. *dūsahañio* (H. 363). On the other hand in Ś. Mg. very often the forms in *-ijja*, as Mg. *palihalañijja* (Prab. 29,8), but ed. Bomb. 74,2; ed. P. p. 32 and ed. M. p. 37 rightly *palihalañia*, as in Ś. *pariharañia* (Śāk. 52,15). In Mālav. 32,5 all the manuscripts have Ś. *sāhañijje*, at all other places in Mālav. the manuscripts waver (BOLLENSON on Mālav. p. 223). Deviations from the rule, therefore, are simply the errors of manuscripts, as in the case of the passive, and are to be corrected. From the present stem

are built AMg. *vippajahanijja* (Nāyādh. § 138) and Ś. *pucchanā* (Mṛcch. 142,6).

§ 572. *-ya* is employed essentially as in Skt.: *kajja*, Mg. *kayya* = *kārya* in all the dialects very frequently; JM. *dullaṅgha* = *durlaṅghya* (Sagara 3,16); *dujjha* = *dohya* (Deśin. 1,7); JŚ. *neya*, JM. *neya* = *jñeya* (Pav. 381, 20; Erz.); AMg. *pejja* = *peya* (Uvās.; Dasav. 629,1), *kāyapijja* = *kākapeya* (Dasav. 628,41; so to be read), whilst *piḅba* (water; Deśin. 6,46; cf. Introduction p. 7; Triv. 2,1,30) = *\*piḅya* is derived from the present stem *piḅa-*; AMg. *bhāvva* = *bhāvya* (Kappas. § 17,22); AMg. *ānappa*, *vinnappa* = *ājñāpya*, *viññāpya* (Sūyag. 253. 256); AMg. *vacca* = *vācyā* (Sūyag. 553 ff.); AMg. *vojjha* from *\*vahya* = *vāhya* (§ 104; Nāyādh. § 65), therefore, from the present stem, as M. AMg. Ś. *gejjha* (Hc. 1,78; Karp. 29,4; 81,4; Jiv. 500; Bālar. 75,19), M. *hatthaggejjha* = *hastagrāhya* (R. 10,43), M. *dugghejjha* (R. 1,3; Sāhityadarpaṇa 332,13 = Kāvya prakāśa 330,8 [so according to the best manuscripts instead of *duḅkham jam* of the edition] and often cited; Sarasvatik. 155,3 [text °jjam]; Acyutaś. 62 [text °gga°]), Ś. *anuggejjha* (Mṛcch. 24,21), Mg. *duggēyha* (Caṇḍak. 42,8; text *duggējja*, v. l. *duggea*), A. *duggējjha* (Erz. 76,19) = *\*grhya* from the present stem *grha-* (§ 512).

#### b) INFINITIVE.

§ 573. The formation of the inf. in *-tum* is distinguished from that of Skt. inasmuch as that in Pkt. the ending is added to the pure stem or to the present stem in *i*. So to the present stem: JM. *gāitum* (Erz.), Ś. *gāidum* = *gāitum* (Mudrār. 43,2); Ś. *gacchidum* (Śak. 62,11), *anugacchidum* (Mudrār. 261,2) beside *gamidum* (Vṛṣabh. 19,11) and *gantum*, that is usual in all the dialects; JM. *piḅitum* (Āv. 42,8) beside *pāitum* (Āv. 42,8; 45,6), as also AMg. (Āyār. 1,1,3,7), M. (H. R.) and Ś. *pāidum* (Śak. 105, 14) have; Ś. *anucittidum* (Mṛcch. 102,19) beside *thādum* (Nāgān. 14,9) and JM. *utthitum* (Āv. 33,14); Mg. *khādum* (Mṛcch. 123,7) from *\*khādi* from *\*khādi* = *khādāti*, beside JM. *khāitum* (Erz.), Ś. *khādidum* (Vikr. 25,19); JM. *ñihāitum* = *nikhātum* from *khan* (Erz. 66,2); *haseitum* (Hc. 3,157) from the *e*-stem beside *hasitum*; M. *pucchitum* (Sarasvatik. 14,17), Ś. *pucchidum* (Mṛcch. 88,20; Mālav. 5,4. 17), Mg. *puścīdum* (Caṇḍak. 42,9) = *praścīdum*; M. *paḍimūñcitum* (R. 14,2) beside *mōttum* = *moktum* (Hc. 4,212); M. *ñaccitum* (H.); M. *rūseitum* (H.), at the same time according to the *e*-conjugation. On the inf. of *bhū* see § 401. 402. The verbs of the 10. class and the similarly built causatives and denominatives generally add *-tum* to the present stem in *-e, -ve*: M. *jāṇāveitum*, *ñivāheitum* = *nivāhayitum*, *pasāveitum* = *prasādayitum*, *laṅgheitum* = *laṅghayitum* (H.); AMg. *vāreitum* = *vārayitum* (Sūyag. 178); *parikāheitum* = *parikāhayitum* (Ovav. § 183); *paribhāveitum* = *paribhāyitum* (Nāyādh. § 124); JŚ. *cāledum* = *cālayitum* (Kattig. 400,322); Ś. *kāmedum* = *kāmayitum* (Mālav. 235,3), *kāredum* (Mudrār. 46,9), *dhāredum* (Mṛcch. 166,14; 326,12), *daṁsedum* = *darśayitum* (Mudrār. 81, 4); Mg. *aṅgikalāvedum*, *sośāvedum*, *soḍhāvedum*, *pośāvedum*, *luṇāvedum* (Mṛcch. 126,10; 140,9). More seldom is the uncontracted form: Ś. *ñiattāidum* = *nivartayitum* (Vikr. 46,17), *tāḍāidum* (Mālav. 44,16), *sabhājāidum* (Śak. 98,8), *sussūsāidum* (Mālav. 29,12); Mg. *mālaidum* (Mṛcch. 164,19). On the other hand, from the *a*-stem (§ 491) are frequently derived: M. *dhāritum* (H.), Ś. *dhāridum* (Vikr. 15,3; 40,7); Ś. *māridum* (Mṛcch. 160,14; Śak. 146,8), Mg. *mālidum* (Mṛcch. 170,2) beside *māledum* (Mṛcch. 158,24), JM. *māreitum* (Erz. 1,25); M. *vaṇṇitum* = *vaṇṇayitum*, *veāritum* = *vitārayitum* (H.); AMg. *saṁveditum* (Āyār. p. 137,18); JM. *cintitum*, *paḍibohitum*, *vāhitum* (Erz.); Ś. *kadhīdum* (Śak. 101,

9; 144,12 ), *avatthāvidum* = *avasthāpayitum* ( Uttarar. 112,9 ), *ñivedidum* ( Śak. 51,3 ); Mg. *paśtidum* = *prārthayitum* ( Lalitav. 566,8 ).

§ 574. Examples of the 2. conjugation are : *paccaḥakkhidum* = \**pratyācaṣṭum* ( Śak. 104,8 ); Ś. *avaciṇedum* ( Lalitav. 561,8 ) beside M. *ucecum* ( H. ); JM. *pāveum* = *prāntum* ( Erz. ); Ś. *sunidum* ( Vikr. 26,5; Mudrār. 38,2; Venis. 99,6; Anarghar. 61,6; 110,4 ), beside M. AMg. JM. *soum* ( H. ; Āyār. p. 136,14; Erz. as absol. § 576 ); Ś. *bhuñjidum* ( Dhūrtas. 6,21 ) beside M. AMg. *bho'ttum* = *bhoktum* ( Vr. 8,55; Hc.4,212; cf. Ki. 4,78; Nāyādh. § 124; Dasav. N. 649,16 ); AMg. *ubbhindum* ( Dasav. 620,15 ) beside *bho'ttum* ( Dasav. 634,9 ); Ś. *jānidum* ( Lalitav. 567,18; Śak. 119,2; Ratn. 309,22 ) beside JM. *nāum* ( Erz.; as absol. § 576 ), Ś. *viññādam* ( Vikr. 24,13 ); AMg. *giñhum* ( Nirayāv. § 20; as absol. § 576 ), JM. *geñhum* ( Erz. ), Ś. *geñhidum* ( Mr̥cch. 94,12 ) beside M. *gahum* ( H. ), whilst M. *ghè'ttum* ( Vr. 8,16; Hc. 4,210; R. ) belongs to \**ghr̥p* ( § 212 ); Ś. *aṇubandhidum* ( Mālav. 6,18 ) beside M. *bandheum* ( citation under Hc. 1,181 ).—From *rud* the inf. is M. *ro'ttum* ( Vr. 8,55; Hc. 4,212; cf. Ki. 4,78; H. ), but Ś. *rodidum* ( Śak. 80,8 ); from *vid* according to Vr. 8,55 *ve'ttum*; from *vac* in M. JM. AMg. *vo'ttum* ( Hc. 4,211; H. ; Erz.; Dasav. N. 646,21 ), but in Ś. *vattum* ( Śak. 22,2; 50,9; Vikr. 30,2; 47,1 ); *svap* forms in M. *so'ttum*=*svāptum* ( H. ), in JM. *soum* ( Dvār. 501,7 ) from \**sotum* of *sovaī* ( § 497 ); *kr* has in M. JM. AMg. *kāum*=*kartum* ( § 62; Vr. 8,17; Hc. 4,214; G. H. R. ; Erz.; Āv. 30,10; Dasav. N. 644,28 ), M. *paḍikāum* ( H. ); Ś. *kādum* ( Lalitav. 561,13; Mr̥cch. 59,25; Śak. 24,12; Vikr. 29,14; Karp. 41,6; Venis. 12,6 ) and *karidum* ( Śak. 144,12 ); Mg. *kādum* ( Mr̥cch. 123,7 ).

§ 575. Deviating from Skt., from the *i*-stem are formed : M. JM. *marium* = *martum* ( H. ; Erz. ), Ś. *maridum* ( Ratn. 316,5; 317,15; Caṇḍak. 93,9 ); JM. *pariharium* ( Erz. 58,24 ), Ś. *viharidum* ( Vikr. 52,6 ), beside M. *vāhatum* = *vyāhartum* ( R. 11,116 ); JM. *samākariśum* = *samākraṣṭum* ( Dvār. 498,31 ); M. *ukkhivium* = *utkseptum* ( H. ), Ś. *khividum* ( Vikr. 25,16 ), *ñikkhividum* ( Mr̥cch. 24,22 ); M. JM. *dahium* ( R. ; Erz. ), Ś. *dahidum* ( Śak. 72,12 ) = *dagdhum*; JM. *samdhium* = *samdhātum* from the present \**samdhāi* ( § 500 ), Ś. *aṇusamdhidum* ( Mr̥cch. 5,4 ); Ś. *ramidum* = *rantum*, *ahiramidum* = *abhiraantum* ( Mr̥cch. 28,4; 75,2 ).

§ 576. In AMg. the form in *-tum* is considerably seldom. In addition to the forms referred to in the foregoing paragraphs may be mentioned: *jiwium* ( Āyār. 1,1,7,1 ); *adaṭṭhum*, *agghaum*, *aṇāsāum* ( Āyār. p. 136, 22. 31; p. 137,7 ); *aṇusāsiim* ( Sūyag. 59 ); *dāum* = *dātum* ( Āyār. 2,1,10,6; 2,5,1,10; Uvās. § 58; Nāyādh. § 124 ); *aṇuppadāum*=*anupradātum* ( Uvās. § 58 ) = JŚ. *dādum* ( Kattig. 403,380; text *dāum* ); *bhāsiim* = *bhāsitum*, *pavium* = *plavitum* ( Sūyag. 476. 531. 508 ). Most of these inf. stand in verses. More frequently the form is used as absolutive : *ujjhium* in the sense of *ujjhita* ( Sūyag. 676 ); *tarium* ( Sūyag. 950 ); *gantum* ( Sūyag. 178; Āyār. 2,4,2,11,12; Kappas. S. § 10 ); *daṭṭhum*=*draṣṭum* ( Āyār. 1,4,4,3; Sūyag. 150 ); *niddè'thum* = *nirdeṣum* ( Dasav. N. 643,38 ); *laddhum* = *labdhum* ( Āyār. 1,2,4,4; 1,2,5,3; p. 15,32; Sūyag. 289,550; Uttar. 157. 158. 169. 170; Dasav. 631,26; 636, 20 ); *bhitum* = *bhè'ttum* ( Kappas. § 40 ); *kāum* = *kartum* ( Sūyag. 84; Dasav. N. 643,34 ), *puraokāum* ( Nandis. 146; Kappas. S. § 46. 48; Ovay. § 25.126 ); *āhantum* ( Āyār. 1,8,3,4 ); *parighè'ttum* ( Paphāv. 489. 495 ), *gaheum* ( Sūyag. 296 ). Prevalently is used the form in this meaning too in verses, but it is not restricted to AMg., but is used frequently in JM. too, more seldom in M. as absol.<sup>1</sup>. Hc. teaches thus *daṭṭhum*, *mo'ttum* ( 2,146 ), *ramium* ( 3,136 ), *ghè'ttum* ( 4,210 ). Examples from JM. are: *gantum* ( Āv. 7,31; Erz. 5,22;

Kk. II, 508,18); *daṭṭhum* (Āv. 24,4; Kk. III, 510,31. 38); *jīṇiṇiṇiṇi* = *jetum* (Āv. 36,42); *kahūm* = *kathayitum* (Erz. 7,11); *kaddheum* (Erz. 74,30); *ṭhāvūm* = *sihāpayitum* (Erz. 7,5); *viheum* = *vidhātum* (Kk. s. v.); *soum* = *śrotum* (Erz. 2,9; 11,34; 12,5; Kk. s. v.); *kāum* (Āv. 7,17); *nām* = *jñātum* (Erz. 12,11); *ghētūm* = *\*ghṛptum* (Āv. 22,29; 23,7; 31,7). M. has: *paliviṇiṇi* = *pradīpayitum*; *bhaṇiṇiṇi*; *bhariṇiṇi*, *mōttiṇiṇi*; *valiṇiṇi*; *lahiṇiṇi*; *pāviṇiṇi* (H. 33. 298. 307. 334. 360. 364. 484. 490. 516. 595); *jāniṇiṇi* = *jñātum* (R. 14, 48). The form can be derived from the absol. in *-ūna* (§ 586), therefore, *kām* can be traced back to *kāūna*, with dropping off of the *a*, as in A. *puttem* = *putreṇa*. The similar change of meaning in A. (§ 579), however, makes it probable that in fact dialectically the inf. has been used as the absolutive, as reversely the absol. too is employed as the infinitive (§ 585. 588. 590).

I. WEBER, Bhag. I,433; H.<sup>1</sup> p. 66.

§ 577. As in Skt., in Pkt. too, there stands the inf. in *-tu* before *kāma* and *manas*: AMg. *akkhiviukāma* = *ākṣeptukāma*, *giṇhiukāma* = *grahitukāma*, *uddāleukāma* = *uddālayitukāma* (Nirayāv. § 19), *jiviukāma* (Āyār. 1,2, 3,3), *vāsiukāma* = *varṣitukāma* (Thān. 155), *pāukāma* (from *pā* "to drink"; Nāyādh. 1430), *jāṇiukāma*, *pāsiukāma* (Paṇṇav. 666. 667), *saṃpāviviukāma* (Kappas. § 16; Ovav. § 20; Dasav. 634,39); JM. *padibohiukāma* = *pratibodhayitukāma* (Erz. 3,37), *kaddhiukāma* (Dvār. 506,36); Ś. *jivīdukāma* (Mudrār. 233,3), *vattukāma*, *ālihidukāma* (Śak. 130,11; 133,11), *viṇṇaviidukāma* (Mahāv. 103,9), *sikkhidukāma* (Mṛcch. 51,24), *paṃajjīdukāma* = *pramārṣṭukāma* (Vikr. 38,18), *daṭṭhiukāma* (Mālatim. 72,2; 85,3); *tāḍiṇiṇiṇi* = *tāḍayitumanāḥ* (Karp. 70,7). It is used independently too with the entry of the suffix *-ka*: *ālēddhuam* = *\*ālegdhukam* = *āledhum* (§ 303; Hc. 1,24; 2,164); AMg. *aladdhujam* = *\*alabdhukam*, in the sense of the absol. (Dasav. 636,19). This last form makes it apparent that the forms in *-ṭtu*, *-ittu*, used as the absol. too in AMg. JM., are originally infinitive, therefore, do not go back to Skt. *-tvā*, which regularly appears as *-ttā* (§ 582). So AMg.: *kaṭṭu* = *kartu*<sup>o</sup> in the sense of *krtvā* (Hc. 2,146; Āyār. 1,6,3,2; 2,1,3,2. 11,1; 2,2,2,3; 2,3,1,9. 2,21. 3,15. 16; Sūyag. 288. 358; Bhag.<sup>1</sup>; Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovav.; Dasav. 631,29; 641,37 etc.); *puraokaṭṭu* (Ovav.); *avahaṭṭu* = *apahartu*<sup>o</sup> (Āyār. 2,6, 2,1; Sūyag. 233; Ovav.; Bhag.); *abhihaṭṭu* (Āyār. 2,6,2,2), *ahaṭṭu* (Āyār. 1,2,4,3; 1,7,2,1. 2. 3; 1,7,7,2; 1,8,2,12; 2,1,1,11; 2,1,2,4; 2,1,5,5. 6,4), *samāhaṭṭu* (Sūyag. 410), *appāhaṭṭu* (Sūyag. 582), *nīhaṭṭu* (Āyār. 2,1,10,6; 2,6,2,2), *uddhaṭṭu* (Āyār. 2,3,1,6; Sūyag. 222. 243), *sāhaṭṭu* = *saṃhartu*<sup>o</sup> (Āyār. 2,3,1,6; Vivāhap. 237. 254; Vivāgas. 90. 121. 144. 157; Uvās.; Kappas.; Ovav.; Nirayāv. etc.); *adaṭṭu* = *adraṣṭu*<sup>o</sup> (Kappas. S. § 19; so to be read); *ḍandittu* (Kappas.); *caṭṭu* = *tyaktu*<sup>o</sup> (Uttar. 45. 411); *saḥēttu* (Dasav. 614,27); *pavissittu* = *praveṣṭu*<sup>o</sup> (Dasav. 631,5); *āittu* from *ādriyate* (Āyār. 1,4,1,3; commentary = *ādāya*, *grhītā*); *tarittu* = *taritū*<sup>o</sup>, *\*khavitū* = *ksāpayitū*<sup>o</sup> (Dasav. 636,3,4); *paṃajjittu* = *pramārṣṭu*<sup>o</sup> (Dasav. 630,20); *viṇṇaṭṭu* (Āyār. 1,5,6,2); *wasamkamittu* (Āyār. 1,7,2,1. 3; 1,7,3,3); *viyaḥittu* from *vijahāi* from *hā* (§ 500; Āyār. 1,1,3,2); *suṇittu* = *śrotū*<sup>o</sup> (Dasav. 642, 16); *durūhittu* (Sūyag. 293); *chindittu*, *bhuñjittu* (Dasav. 640,21; 641,36); *jāṇittu* (Āyār. 1,2,1,5; 1,2,4,2; 1,4,1,3; 1,5,2,2; 1,6,2,1; Dasav. 630,34). — JM. *gantū* (Kk. II, 506,34); *kaddhittu* (Erz. 10,38); *paṇamittu*, *ṭhavitū* = *sihāpayitū*<sup>o</sup>, *vandittu* (Kk. 260,11; 268,4; 276,7); *uttarittu* (Kk. 506,25; 511,7); *jāṇittu*, *paṇadittu* = *prakaṭayitū*<sup>o</sup>, *thunittu* = *stotū*<sup>o</sup> (Kk. III, 514,16. 17. 20), *viññhittu* = *vinidhātū*<sup>o</sup> (Erz. 72,23), almost exclusively in verses. The duplication of *t*, since in the inf. it goes back to AMg. *-ttae* = *-tave* (§ 478), can hardly be explained from dependence upon the absol. in *-ttā*

= *-tvā*. Earlier the forms, in which reduplication must enter on phonetic grounds, such as *kaṣṭu*, *sāhaṣṭu*, had been of influence or there occurred a shifting of the accent. Cf. § 578.

1. WEBER, Bhag. 1,433 f.

§ 578. In AMg. the most usual form of the inf. is that in *-ttae*, *-ittae*. Infinitive like *pāyae* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2; 2,1,9,1. 2; 2,1,10,7; 2,2,2,2; 2,6,1,10; 2,7,2,4. 5. 6; Nāyādh. § 144; Ovav. § 96) = Vedic *pātave* beside *pivittae* (Ovav. § 80. 98), *bhō'ttae* (Āyār.; Nāyādh. l. c.; Ovav. § 96; Sūyag. 430) = Vedic *\*bho'ktave* beside *bhuñjittae* (Ovav. § 86), *vatthae* (Āyār. 2,2, 2,10; Kappas. S. § 62) = Vedic *vāstave* [in AMg., however, from *vas* "to live" ] make it certain that one has not to think with WEBER<sup>1</sup> about the Vedic absolute in *-tvāya*, but rather with E. MÜLLER<sup>2</sup> about the Vedic inf. in *-tave* occurring in Pāli and in the Leṇa-dialect, in which the ending enters also into the *i-* and *ī-* stems : *āvitave*, *ācāritave*, *srāvitave*, *hāvitave*<sup>3</sup>. The duplication of *t* points to the accent on the final (§ 194). Consequently one may more correctly base the infinitive on *-tavaī*, which in the Veda has a double accent. AMg. *ittae* (Kappas. S. § 27) is hence to be equated as = Vedic *ē'tavaī*, likewise *pāyave* = *pātavaī*; with *gamittae* is compared Vedic *yāmitavaī*, with *piñidhattae* (Ovav. § 79) Vedic *dātavaḥ*. This inf. is prevalently formed from the present stem: *hō'ttae* (Kappas. S. § 53) beside *pāubbhavitae* (Vivāhap.; Nāyādh.) from *bhū*; *viharittae* (Bhag.; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Kappas. etc.); *sumarittae*, *sarittae* (Āyār. p. 135,17. 20); *tarittae* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6); *utarittae* (Nāyādh. 1339; Ovav. § 96; *pariccāittae* (Uvās. § 95); *gacchittae* (Ovav. § 79), *āgacchittae* (Thān. 155), *uvāgacchittae* (Kappas. ), beside *gamittae* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6; Bhag. ); *ciñhittae* (Vivāhap. 513; Kappas. ); beside *thāittae* (Āyār. 2,8,1ff.; Kappas. ); *nisūttae* from *sad* with *ni* (Vivāhap. 513); *anulimbittae* (Ovav. § 79); *pucchittae* (Bhag.; Nāyādh.); *pāsittae* (Nāyādh.); *kahāittae* (Āyār. p. 135,6); *dūjjittae* from *dūtaya-* (Kappas.; Thān. 365); *pariṭhāvitae* (Kappas. ); *abhisiñcāvittae* (Nirāyāv.); *pūraitae* (Āyār. 1,3,2,2); *āghavitae* from *ākhyāpaya-* (Nāyādh.); *dhāritae* (Āyār. 1,7,7,1; 2,5,2,5); *dhārettae* (Āyār. 2,5,2,3); *esittae* (Āyār. 2,2,3,14. 18); *āsāittae*, *sāittae* from *śi* (Vivāhap. 513); *padisuñēttae* (Āyār. 2,5,1,10), *dhuñittae* (Sūyag. 139); *bhañjittae* (Uvās.); *bhindittae* (Vivāhap. 1228); *viuvittae* from *kṛ* with *vi* (Bhag. ), beside *karittae*, *karēttae* (Ovav. § 79.85; Nāyādh.; Bhag.; Kappas.); *gūñhittae*, *ge°* (Bhag.; Nirāyāv.; Ovav. § 86); *jāgarittae* (Kappas.).

1. Bhag. 1,434; *pavāūtāe* is a false reading. — 2. Beiträge p. 61. — 3. DELBRÜCK, Altind. Verbum § 203.

§ 579. In A., according to Hc. 4,441, the inf. has the endings *-ana*, *-anaḥā*, *-anaḥi*, *-evā*. Kī. 5,55 teaches *-evi*, *-ēppi*, *-ēppīṇu*, *-anaṁ*, *-aṁ*, *-aṁ*, *-ēvāṁ*. Cf. § 570. 588. The infinitive in *-ana* are clearly infinitively used nouns in *-ana*, from which *-anaḥā*, according to the form is the genitive plural, and *-anaḥi* the loc. sing. plur. or the ins. plur. So: *ēcchana* = *eṣṭum* from *iṣ* (to wish; Hc. 4,353); *karana* = *karṭum* (Hc. 4,441,1); also with the suffix *-ka* in *akkhanañ* = *ākhyātum*, properly = *ākhyānakam* (Hc. 4,350,1); *bhuñjanaḥā* and *bhuñjanaḥi* (Hc. 4,441,1); *lahaṇam* (Kī. 5,55). — *evam* is found in *devam* = *dātum* (Hc. 4,441,1). It is clearly derived from the present stem *de-* = *daya-* (§ 474) with the ending *-vam*, which goes back to *-vana* = Vedic *-vane*, so that *devam* may correspond to Vedic *dāvāne*. Someday when more examples will be available we may become certain about this form. An inf. in *-tu* is *bhajju* (Hc. 4,395,5), which is derived from the present stem of *bhañj* in active meaning, as also elsewhere in A. (§ 550), in case *bhañju* = *bhañjiu* is not read with one of the Pūṇā manuscripts. The inf. stands in the sense of the absol. (Hc. 4,439),

as reversely many forms of the absol. are used in the sense of the inf. (§ 588). Kī. 5,55 has *lahaiṁ* [text *lahatūṁ*].

§ 580. Pkt. has a peculiar infinitive of the passive<sup>1</sup>: M. *disiṁ* from *disai* = *dr̥syate* ( R. 4,51; 8,30), *ghēppīṁ* from *ghēppai* = *\*gh̥r̥pyate* ( R. 7, 71), *āhammiṁ* from *hammaṁ* from *han* (§ 540; R. 12,45); JM. *dijjiṁ* from *dijjai* = *diyate* (Erz. 6,7). Besides there stands AMg. *marijjiṁ* from *mriyate* (Dasav. 624,40) beside the usual *marīṁ*, Ś. *maridūṁ* (§ 575). On A. *bhajji* see § 579.

1. S. GOLDSCHMIDT, ZDMG. 28,491 ff.

#### ABSOLUTE.

§ 581. The distinction, that Skt. makes in the use of the absolutiva in *-tvā*, and *-ya*, is not maintained in Pkt. The suffixes enter likewise into the verbs with and without prefixes. *-tvā* is, however, not used in M., and in Ś. Mg. Dh. it is limited to the two absolutives *kadua* from *kr̥* and *gadua* from *gam*, which according to Vr. 12,10; Kī. 5,74. 75; Mk. fol. 68 must always be used in Ś., with which the texts are in accord<sup>1</sup>. So Ś. *kadua* (Mṛcch. 72,6; 74,6. 9; 77,25; 78,9; 95,8; Śak. 20,6; 33,3; 54,2; 77,13; 140,6; Vikr. 15,8; 44,10; 45,20; 52,11. 21; 84,2 etc.); Ś. *gadua* (Mṛcch. 2,17; 51,4; 53,15; 74,24 etc.; Śak. 23,7; Vikr. 16,18; 30,3). Hc. 4,272 and Sr. fol. 61 permit in Ś. *karia* and *karidūna*, *gacchia* and *gacchidūna* from which also *karia* and *gacchia* are found in bad texts<sup>2</sup>, *karidūna*, which will belong to JŚ. (§ 21). It is doubtful whether *gacchia* and *karia* are not emended in composita: *āacchia* (Ratn. 308,30); *āgacchia* (Ven̄s. 35,21); *samāgacchia* (Mudrār. 44,5); *alamkaria* (Mṛcch. 150,13). However, we find also *āadua* (Cait. 128,13; Mallikām. 225,1); *āgadua* (Mallikām. 153,24; 177,21); *ṛiggadua* (Mallikām. 215,5; 226,10; 229,15. 20), all admittedly in later bad texts. The two forms are peculiar to Mg. too. So *kadua* (Mṛcch. 19,6; 81,13; 108,17; 115,2 etc.; Śak. 133,7; Mudrār. 193,8 etc.); Mg. *gadua* (Mṛcch. 40,10 [so to be read with GODABOLE]; 43,12; 118,22; 136,21; 164,10; Śak. 116,9 etc.), likewise in Dh. (Mṛcch. 36,22). At Mṛcch. 132,25 stands in Mg. *gacchia*, for which we should in any case read *gascia* with the v. l.; at 127,5 all the MSS. have Mg. *gaḍia*, which is to be equated as = *°gatya*. All the MSS. of Hc. too have cerebralisation in 4,272. 302, according to which *kaḍua*, *gaḍua* would be established. Since, however, Triv. and Sr. teach *kadua* and *gadua* it is a pure case of error of writing. The forms are traced back to *\*kdduvā*, *\*gdduvā* with a separation vowel and weakening of the final *ā* (§ 113. 139). On *kāūna*, *āacchiūna*, *āgantūna* and others see § 584.

1. FISCHER, KB. 6,140. — 2. FISCHER, l. c. — At Mālav. at 67,15 E rightly has *gadua*.

§ 582. The suffix *-tvā*, Pkt. *-ttā*, after nasals *-tā*, forms the most usual absol. in AMg.; in JŚ. too this form is frequent and in JM. not seldom<sup>1</sup>. Generally the ending enters into the present stem: all that has been remarked under the infinitive is valid in sporadic cases. So: AMg. *vandittā* (Hc. 2,146; Ovav. § 20; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Bhag. etc.); *vasittā* (Āyār. 1,4,4,2); *caittā* = *\*tyajitvā* (Āyār. 1,4,4,1; 1,6,2,1; Ovav. § 23; Uttar. 450. 517. 541); *avakkamittā* (Āyār. 2,1,1,2); *gantā* = Pāli *gantvā* (Ovav. § 153) beside *āgamēttā* (Āyār. 1,5,1,1; 1,7,2,3), *ayugacchittā* (Kappas.), *uvāgacchittā* (Vivāhap. 236<sup>2</sup>; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.), *niggacchittā*, *paṇiniggacchittā* (Nirayāv.); *vantā* = *vāntvā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,4; 1,6,5,5; 2,4,2,19; Sūyag. 321); *bhavittā* (Vivāhap. 844; Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās. etc.); *jīnittā* (Sūyag. 929); *uvanēttā* = *\*upanītvā* (Sūyag. 896); *pivittā* (Āyār. 2,1,3,1); *uḥhittā* (Nirayāv.), *abbhuḥhittā* (Kappas.);

*pāsittā* (Rāyap. 21; Sūyag. 734; Ovav. § 54, p. 59, 15; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Nirayāv.; Kappas.); *nijjhāittā* = \**nidhyātvā* (Āyār. 1,1,6,2); *muṃyittā* (Vivāhap. 508), *omūyittā* (Kappas.) from *muc*; *āpucchittā* (Uvās.), *anāpucchittā* (Kappas.) from *pracch*; *lumbittā*, *vilumbittā*<sup>3</sup> (Āyār. 1,2,1,3; 1,2,5,6; cf. Sūyag. 676. 716ff.); *aṅgulimpittā* (Jiv. 610); *mantā* = *matvā* (Āyār. 1,1,5,1; 1,3,1,3; Sūyag. 403. 493 [so to be read throughout]); *uitāsāittā* = \**uitāsāyitvā* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3); *vicchaddāittā*, *vigovāittā*, *jaṇāittā* (Ovav.); *āmanteṭṭā* (Sūyag. 578); *āphālittā* = \**āsphālayitvā* (Sūyag. 728); *paḡappāṭṭā* = \**prakalpayitvā* (Sūyag. 935); *ṭhavēṭṭā* = *sthāpayitvā* (Āyār. 2,7,1,5; p. 129, 16; Uvās.); *sikkhāveṭṭā*, *sehāveṭṭā* = \**sikṣāpayitvā*, \**saikṣā*<sup>o</sup>; *saddāveṭṭā* = *śabdāpayitvā* (Kappas.; Nirayāv.), *anupāḷittā*, *nivesittā* (Kappas.); *ahittā* = \**adhātvā* = *ādhitvā* (Sūyag. 463); *vidittā* (Āyār. 1,1,5,1; 1,2,6,2); *saṃhūñittā* from *stu* (Jiv. 612); *hantā* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3. 5,6; Sūyag. 358. 676. 716 ff.; Kappas.); *parihittā* (Sūyag. 239), *paripihēṭṭā* (Āyār. 2,2,3,27), *ḥittā* (Kappas.), *paḡḍipihittā* (Sūyag. 728; text <sup>o</sup>pe<sup>o</sup>) from *dhā* with *pari*, and *pari*, *prati* + *pi*; *jaḥittā* (Uttar. 753); *viḡḡajāittā* (Āyār. p. 125, 1; Uttar. 881) from *hā*; *hūñittā* (Vivāhap. 910) from *hu* (to offer); *pāṇittā* from *āp* with *pra* (Sūyag. 771; Vivāhap. 135. 235. 968. 969; Paṇṇav. 846; Nāyādh. 1225; Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās. etc.); *sunittā* (Uvās.), *paḡḡisunittā* (Kappas.; Nirayāv.); *avidhūñittā* (Sūyag. 859); *chēṭṭā*, *bhēṭṭā* (Āyār. 1,2,1,3; 1,2,5,6; Sūyag. 676. 716 ff.); *viuuvittā* (Bhag.; Kappas.) beside *karēṭṭā*, *karittā* (Āyār. 2,15,5; Ovav.; Kappas.; Nirayāv.); *jāñittā* (Āyār. 1,3,1,1. 3,1. 4,2; 1,6,5,2; Dasav. 630,40), *aparīyāñittā* (Ṭhān. 42), *viyāñittā* (Dasav. N. 653,14; Ovav.; Kappas.); from *jñā*; *kinittā* (Sūyag. 609) from *krī*; *abhigīḡḡhittā* (Āyār. 2,15,24), *ogīḡḡhittā* (Ovav.), *paḡḡḡhittā* (Nāyādh.) from *grah*. Examples from JM. are: *gantā* (Āv. 42,7); *cadittā* (Āv. 29,1); *karisittā* = *kerṣtvā* (Āv. 28,2); *laḡḡhittā* (Erz.); *vandittā* (Kk.; Erz.); *melittā* (Kk.); *uḡḡhēṭṭā* (Āv. 10,41); *ṇhāittā* (Āv. 38,2); *ussārittā*, *ullēṭṭā* = *ārārayitvā*, *ṭhavittā*, *bhuñḡḡāveṭṭā*, *mārēṭṭā*, *veḡḡdhēṭṭā* (Erz.); *paḡḡḡāḡhēṭṭā*, *pāēṭṭā* = *pāyayitvā*, *vāhittā* (Āv. 9,3; 30,9; 38,6); *vinnavittā* (Kk.); *nevācchēṭṭā* = \**nepathiyayitvā* (Āv. 26,27); *āhanittā* (Āv. 29,5); *paccaḡḡhāittā* = \**pratyākhyāyitvā* (Erz.); *sunēṭṭā* (Āv. 7,33; Erz.); *bhuñḡḡittā* (Erz.); *jāñittā* (Kk.); *giḡḡhittā* (Sagara 2,17; Kk.).—According to Hc. 4,271 in Ś. the forms in -*ittā* too would be permissible, as *bhōṭṭā* = *bhuktvā*, *hōṭṭā* = *bhūtvā*, *paḡḡhittā* = *paḡḡhitvā*, *rantā* = *ratvā*. But they are altogether strange to the common Ś<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand they are frequent in JŚ., to which the rule of Hc. may refer (§ 21). So: *cāttā* = *tyāktvā* (Pav. 385,64; Kattig. 403,374); *namāmasāittā* = *namasayitvā* (Pav. 386,6); *ālocāittā* = \**ālocayitvā* (Pav. 386, 11); *nirūñḡḡhittā* = *nirudhya* (Pav. 386, 70); *ṇihañittā* = *nihatya* (Kattig. 401, 339); *jāñittā* = *jñātvā* (Pav. 385, 68; Kattig. 401, 340. 342. 350); *viyāñittā* = *viyāñay* (Pav. 387, 21); *bandhittā* = *baddhvā* (Kattig. 402, 355). On AMg. *dissā*, *dissam*, *dissa* = *drṣtvā*, *paḡḡḡissā* = \**pradrṣtvā* see § 334.

1. The statement of JACOBI (Erz. § 61), that this absol. has rare use in JM., is wrong. Some of the forms in Erz. stand, of course, at the places, that are written in AMg., but yet there remain sufficiently others, as the above list shows, that can be multiplied easily.—2. The manuscripts indicate the absolute very frequently only through *ṛttā* behind the verbum finitum (WEBER, Bhag. 1,332). So here *uvāḡḡachanti ṛttā*, which is to be read as *uvāḡḡachittā*. The editor of Vivāhap. has misunderstood this and he gives the forms as *uvāḡḡachāntittā*, *nigacchāntittā*, *bandhāntittā*, *edāntittā* (236), *sāṃpehāntittā* (152), *pāsāntittā* (156), *āruḡḡhēṭṭā* (172), yet *viḡḡajāḡhāntittā* behind *viḡḡajāḡhāmi* (1231. 1242 ff.), *anupḡḡavisāntittā* behind *anupḡḡavisāmi* (1242 ff.) etc. So also *pāṇāntittā* (Sūyag. 771). Such forms are silently emended above.—3. The commentators see in these analogous forms in Āyār. and Sūyag. often nomina agentis in -*ṛ*. In some places one may be in doubt whether they are correct or not, when Phonetics does not present any difficulty.—4. FISCHER on Hc. 4,271.

§ 583. In addition to the absolutive in *-ttā* AMg. has an absol. in *-ttānam*, which presupposes one Vedic *\*-tvānam*<sup>1</sup>: *bhavittānam* (Nāyādh.; Bhag.), *pāubbhavittānam* (Uvās.); *vasittānam* (Kappas. § 227); *anupariyujittānam* = *\*anuparivaritvānam* (Ovav. § 136; Bhag.); *abhinivaṣittānam* (Sūyag. 593 ff.); *duruhittānam* (Ovav. § 79, II. III); *caittānam* = *\*tyajitvānam* (Ovav. § 169, Uttar. 12. 217. 294. 539. 576); *pāsittānam* from *paśya-* (Vivāhap. 942. 1322; Nirayāv. § 7; Nāyādh. § 22. 23. 24. 44. 46 ff.; Kappas. § 3. 5. 6. 31. 32. 47. 70. 74 ff. 87. p. 96; Nandīs. 169); *ciṣṣhittāna*, metrically for *°nam* (Dasav. 622,28); *āpucchittānam* (Kappas. S. § 48); *phusittānam* from *spṛs* (Ovav. § 131. 140; Bhag.); *sāmpajjittānam* (Bhag.), *wasāmpajjittānam* (Kappas. S. § 50; Ovav. § 30; VI; Bhag.; Uvās.); *jhūsittānam* (Tḥān. 56); *padivajjittānam* (Āyār. 2,1,11,11); *āyāmēttānam* (Sūyag. 681); *vidittānam* (Āyār. 1,7,8,2); *sāmpihittānam* = *\*sāmpidhitvānam* = *sāmpidhāya* (Samav. 81; text *°pa*°); *sānwidhunittānam* (Ovav. § 23); *karēttānam* (Dasav. 614,27); *ogihittānam* (Kappas. S. § 9; Uvās.), *pagihittānam*, *sāngihittānam* (Nāyādh.) *caittānam* in JM. (Kk. 272,11) stands clearly in a metrical quotation in AMg.

1. The form *pitvānam* referred to by the European grammarians (BENFEY, Vollst. Gr. § 914, VI, 3; WEBER, Bhag. 1,423; WHITNEY<sup>1</sup>, § 993c) rests, as already noted by WACKERNAGEL, Altind. Gr. p. xxiv, note 3, on a printing error in the annotation of the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini 7,1,48. The Kāśikā rightly has *pitvānam*. That *nam* is not an appended particle, as meant by WEBER l. c., Hāla<sup>1</sup> p. 66 f., today no more needs to be pressed forward. In the AMg. texts published by JACOBI, and partly in those published by LEUMANN too, therefore, the *nam* printed separately is to be combined with the preceding absol. That has rightly already been perceived by STEVENSON, Kalpa Sūtra p. 143).

§ 584. Instead of *-ttānam* is found according to the grammarians also *-tuānam* from *\*-tvānam* = *\*-tvānam* (§ 139) and with loss of the nasal *-tuāna*: *kāuānam* (Hc. 1,27); *haseuānam*, *hasiuānam*, *ghēttuānam* (Sr. fol. 58. 59); *kāuāna* (Hc. 1,27; Sr. fol. 59); *souāna*, *bhēttuāna* (Hc. 2,146); *haseuāna*, *hasiuāna*, *vōttuāna*, *mōttuāna*, *rottuāna*, *bhōttuāna*, *daṣṣhuāna* (Sr. fol. 58. 59); *ghēttuāna* (Hc. 4,210; Sr. fol. 59). Such forms have not yet been found in the texts. On the other hand, the suffix in the forms *-tūnam*, *-ūnam* and particularly in *-tūna*, *-ūna*, JŚ. *-dūna*, P. *-tūna* builds the most usual absol. in M. JM. JŚ. P., that is found in AMg. too, particularly in verses (§ 585. 586). According to Hc. 4,271. 272 *-dūna* would be existing in Ś. too: *bhodūna*, *hodūna*, *paḍhidūna*, *randūna*, *karidūna*, *gacchidūna*. In fact in Ś. and Mg. we find in many dramas the forms in *-tūna*, *-ūna* (seldom in *-dūna*, as would be expected for *-ūna*). So Ś. *āaccahiūna*, *peḷkhiūna*, *kāriūna* (Lalitav. 568,1.2. 5), *kāūna* (Vikr. 41,11; 84,8; Mālatim. 236,2 [°a]; ed. Madras *kādūna*), *āgantūna* (Mālatim. 363,7; text *°attū* ed. Madras. *°ndū*), *ghēttūna* (Karp. 7,6; Mallikām. 57,19; 159,9 [text *ghakkūna*]; 177,21; 191,16 [text *ghēkkūna*]; 219,13 [text *ghakkūna*]; 229,8 [text *ghēkkūna*]) and *ghēūna* (Mālatim. 149,4; v. 1 *ghēttūna*; ed. Madras *ghatūna*), *daṣṣhūna* (Cait. 38,7), *dāūna* (Jivān. 18,2) etc.; Mg. *paṇiṣiūna* (Lalitav. 566,7). In several Indian editions of dramas, as in Cait.; Mallikām.; Kāleyak.; Jivān., such forms are met with at every step. In verses probably they are correct, as in Mg. *ghēttūna* (Mṛcch. 22,8) and certainly in Ā. D. *bhēttūna* (Mṛcch. 99,17; 100,5), D. *hantūna* (Mṛcch. 105,22; so to be read). Elsewhere according to the testimony of the best texts and MSS. they are false in Ś. Mg., as also in Mālatim. 236,2 B rightly has *kaḍua*. Somedeva and Rājasekhara mix up the dialects with one another (§ 11. 22). JŚ. has the absol. in *-dūna*: *kādūna*, *naḍūna*, *jādūna*, *gamidūna*, *gahidūna*, *bhuṣṭjādūna*, for which the texts mostly falsely have *-ūna* instead of *-dūna* (§ 21). The statement of Hc. on Ś. refers to JŚ. here as well.



§ 585. The ending *-tūṇam*, *-ūṇam* is found pro ex in PG. *kātūṇam* = \**kartvānam* (6,10, 29) = AMg. JM. *kāūṇam* (Dasav. N. 645,25; Āv. 9,18; 27,18; 31,14,15; Erz. 72,4; 78,3) beside JM. *viuvvūṇam* (Āv. 31,13); PG. *nātūṇam* = \**jñātūṇam* (6,39) = AMg. JM. *nāūṇam* (Ovav. § 23; Erz. 85, 12); M. *uccariūṇam* (G. 260), *roṭtūṇam* (H. 869); *ghēttūṇam* (Vajjalagga 324,25); AMg. *uvaūṇjiūṇam*, *hoūṇam* (Vivāhap. 550. 1281); *namūṇam*, *pannaveūṇam* (Dasav. N. 643,33,35), *bandhiūṇam* (Sūyag. 274. 292); JM. *gantūṇam* (Erz. 69,24; 75,31; 76,10; 77,32; 78,9,11; Dvār. 506,16); *bhareūṇam* (Āv. 9,13), *hoūṇam* (Erz. 77,14), *ṇhaviūṇam*, *dāūṇam* (Erz. 69,30), *daṭṭhūṇam* (Āv. 9,11; 13,3; 25,17, 39; Erz. 79,6, 21; 82, 18), *paribhamiūṇam* (Erz. 74,34), *jampiūṇam*, *pa-jampīūṇam* = \**prajalpivānam* (Erz. 83,2; 79,15; 85,28), *viheūṇam* = \**vidhayivānam* = *vidhāya* (Kk. 267,16), *nisuṇiūṇam* (Erz. 77,18) beside *soūṇam* (Kk. 260,17), *chindiūṇam* (Āv. 37,40), *bhuṇjiūṇam* (Dvār. 500,36). The form in *-ūṇam*, which is considered as the older one, stands sometimes immediately beside that in *-tūṇa*, in prose before *ca*, as JM. *bhaṇiūṇa āpucchīūṇa ... gantūṇam ca* (Dvār. 496,18), *bhaṇjiūṇam ca ... giṇhiūṇa* (Dvār. 500,29), in verses on metrical grounds, as JM. *nimantiūṇam gantūṇa* (Erz. 80,23), *pe cchiūṇa kumaro hasiūṇam* (Erz. 82,8). In the sense of the inf. stands *maṭiūṇam* = \**mradivānam* (Āv. 12,8); the prose order at 11,2 for it has *maddiūm* = *marditum*.

§ 586. The most usual form of the absol. in M. JM. is that in *-ūṇa*. It is found in AMg. and JŚ. too, where it is spelt as *-dūṇa* (§ 584). The rules of the infinitive hold good for it. So M. *jeūṇa* (Hc. 4,241; G. 1197; R. 8,74) beside JM. *jiṇiūṇa* (Hc. 4,241; Erz. 22,16), *nijjiṇiūṇa* (Erz. 82,13); M. JM. *hoūṇa* (G. H.; Erz.; Dvār. 495,30), according to Hc. 4,240 also *houūṇa*; AMg. JM. *caiūṇa* = \**tyajivāna* (Uttar. 30.277.303.552; Erz.); *haseūṇa* (Hc. 3,157; Kī. 4,39) beside M. JM. *hasiūṇa* (Kī. 4,39; H. R.; Sarasvatīk. 135,12; Erz.), M. *vihasiūṇa* (G.); M. JM. AMg. *gantūṇa* (G. R.; Erz.; Āv. 19,3; Ovav. § 168. 169); M. AMg. JM. *daṭṭhūṇa* (Hc. 4,213; G. H. R.; Karp. 74,7; Āyār. 2,3,1,6; Āv. 24,11; Dvār. 498,28; Erz.; Kk.); AMg. *vajjiūṇa* (Paṇṇav. 104); M. JM. *pāūṇa* from *pā* (to drink; G.; Mudrār. 83,2; Dvār. 496,28); M. *voḍhūṇa* (R.); AMg. JM. *vandiūṇa* (Kappas. Th. 13,9; Sagara 2,8; 11,12; Kk.); AMg. *laddhūṇa* = \**labdhvāna* (Sūyag. 846. 848); JM. *āpucchīūṇa* (Erz.; Dvār. 496,18); M. JM. *moṭtūṇa* = \**muktvāna* (Hc. 4,212. 237; G. H. R.; Viddhaś. 11,8; Erz.; Kk.; Dvār. 497,18; 498, 38; Sagara 7,13; JM. *mariūṇa* (Sagara 11,7. 9); AMg. *viddhūṇa* = \**viddhvāna* (Sūyag. 928); M. *paḍivajjiūṇa* = \**pratipadyivāna* = *pratipadya* (H.); M. *uḍḍeūṇa* (G.); *avahatthiūṇa*, *pajjāliūṇa*, *āphāliūṇa* (H.), *uaūheūṇa* = *upagūhya*, *ṇameūṇa* = *niyāmya* (R.); JM. *sammāṇeūṇa* (Erz.); *dhakkeūṇa* (Dvār. 499, 8), *raṇjiūṇa* (Kī. 11); *bhesēūṇa* = \**bhesayivāna* (Kk.), *ṭhaviūṇa* (Sagara 1, 10; Erz.); *thāiūṇa* = \**sthāgayivāna* (Āv. 30,4); M. D. JM. *hantiūṇa* (Hc. 4,244; R.; Mṛcch. 105,22 [so to be read]; Erz.) beside M. *dhariūṇa* (Mṛcch. 41,16), JM. *haṇiūṇa* (Āv. 17,31); M. *roṭtūṇa* (Bh. 8,55; Hc. 4,212; R.), M. also *roūṇa* (H.), whilst JM. *roviūṇa* (Sagara 7,11) belongs to *ru* (§ 473); *vēttūṇa* (Bh. 8,55); M. *voṭtūṇa* to *vac* (Hc. 4,211; R.); JM. *piheūṇa* (Sagara 10,17); M. JM. AMg. *dāūṇa* (Bh. 4,23; G.; Kāvya prakāśa 343, 3; Dvār. 500,19; Erz. 78,1; Paṇhāv. 367); M. *dhūṇiūṇa* (R. 6,20); JM. *pāviūṇa* (Erz.); M. JM. *soūṇa* (Bh. 4,23; Hc. 3,157; 4,237; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Sagara 7,8; 11,12; Āv. 18,20; 31,23) beside *suṇiūṇa* (Hc. 3,157); JM. *cheṭtūṇa* (Erz.) and *chediūṇa* (Kk. II, 507,11); JM. *bhaṇjiūṇa* and *je* (Erz.); A. D. JM. *bhēttūṇa* (Mṛcch. 99,17; 100,5; Erz.), JM. also *bhindiūṇa* (Sagara 3,1.6.18); AMg. *bhōṭtūṇa* (Vr. 8,55; Hc. 4,212; Ovav. § 185); JM. also *uvabhuṇjiūṇa* (Erz.); VG. *kātūṇa* (101,9), JŚ. *kāddūṇa* (§ 21. 584),

M. JM. *kāūna* ( Bh. 4,23; 8,17; Hc. 2,146; 4,214; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Dvār. 499,39 etc.), falsely also in Ś. (§ 584), JM. also *viuvvūna* ( Dvār. 507,40; Erz.); M. JM. *gahiūna* ( G. 282; Vajjalagga 326,9; Erz.; Dvār. 503,1; Kī. 17; Kk. II, 505,29) beside JM. *gēñhiūna* (Āv. 43,7; Erz.); M. JM. AMg. *ghēttūna* ( Vr. 8,16; Hc. 2,146; 4,210; G. H. R.; Erz.; Kk.; Sagara 5,14; Nāyādh. 960; Pañhāv. 367), which is found in the verse in Mg. too (Mrcch. 22,8) and falsely in Ś. too (§ 584), AMg. *parighēttūna* (Pañhāv. 487) and M. *gheūna* ( Bh. 4,23; Sarasvatīk. 180,4 as v. l. to H. 130, but *ghēttūna* 347,9; Priyad. 33,15; falsely in Ś. § 584) belong to \**ghr̥p*; M. *nāūna*, JM. *nāūna* (Hc. 4,7; R. 11,21; Dvār. 496,16; Erz.; Kk.) beside M. JM. AMg. *jāniūna* (H.; Kk.; Āv. 8,23; Pañhāv. 394), JM. *viyāniūna* (Erz.); M. *ābandhiūna* (R. 12,60); AMg. *bandhiūna* (Sūyag. 285).—In P. the absol. ends, according to Hc., in *-tūna*; *samappetūna* = \**samarpayitvāna* (2,164), *gantūna*, *rantūna*, *hasitūna*, *paḍhitūna*, *kadhītūna* (4,312), *naṭṭhūna*, *nattūna*, *daṭṭhūna* from *naś* and *dr̥ś* (4,313), according to Vr. 10,13; Mk. fol. 87 in *-tūnam*: *dātūnam*, *kātūnam*, *ghēttūnam*, *hasitūnam*, *patitūnam*; Sr. fol. 64,65 permits both the forms: *hasitūnam*, *hasitūna*, *daṭṭhūna*, *datthūna*; Nāmisādhu on Rudraṭa, Kāvyaḷamkāra 2,12 p. 14,11 has *āgantūna*, Amaracandra in Kāvyaikalpalatāvṛtti p. 9 *gantūna*.

§ 587. Beside *-ttā* = *-tvā* is found in AMg. JŚ., very seldom in JM. too, also *-ccā*, beside *-ttānam* in AMg. also *-ccānam*, *-ccāṇa*. Since Vedic *-tyā* stands just metrically for *-tya*, which is added after compound roots ending in a short vowel and a nasal showing suffix, whilst *-ccā* always has *-ā* in prose, that is seldom shortened in verses, and enters also after every kind of root ending in a consonant, it is not correct to trace *-ccā* back directly to Vedic *-tyā*. There occurs the change of *-tvā* into *-\*tyā*, of *-\*tvānam* into *-\*tyānam*, that is found otherwise too in AMg. (§ 281, 299). So: AMg. *hōccā* = \**bhūtyā* = *bhūtvā* (Sūyag. 859); AMg. JŚ. *ṭhiccā* = \**sīhityā* (Sūyag. 565; Vivāhap. 739. 927; Kattig. 402,355); AMg. *suṭhiccā* (Sūyag. 938.941.950); AMg. *ciccā* (Sūyag. 117. 378; Uttar. 515; Kappas. § 112) and *ceccā* (Āyār. 1,6,2,2; 2,15,17; Ovav. § 23 from \**tiyakyā* (§ 280) = *tyaktvā*, *peccā* = *pītvā* (Āyār. 2,1,4,5), *apiccā* = *apītvā* (Sūyag. 994).—AMg. *peccā* (Āyār. 1,1,1,3), *piccā* (Sūyag. 28) is also = \**pretyā* = *pretya*.—AMg. *abhisamēccā* = \**abhisametyā* = *abhisametya* (Āyār. 1,1,3,2 [so to be read]; 1,7,6,2,7,1); *vaccā* (Sūyag. 565ff.), probably more correctly *vuccā* (Sūyag. 783) = \**vakyā* = *uktvā*; *daccā* from *dā* (Vivāhap. 227); *hiccā* from *hā* (to lose; Sūyag. 330. 345; Āyār. 1,4,4,1; 1,6,2,1. 4,1), also *heccā* (Āyār. 1,6,4,3) and metrical *hecca* (Sūyag. 144); *soccā* from *śru* (Hc. 2,15; Āyār. 1,1,1,4. 2,4; 1,5,3,1; 1,6,4,1; 1,7,2,3; 2,4,1,1; Sūyag. 154.181.298.322 etc.; Dasav. 631,18; Ovav.; Kappas.; Uvās.), these also in JŚ. (Pav. 386,6) and JM. (Kk.; where also *succā*), also *soccānam* in AMg. *soccānam idam* (§ 349; Āyār. 2,16,1) and *bhōccā* from *bhuj* (Hc. 2,15; Āyār. 2,1,4,5. 9,4,10,3; Sūyag. 194.202.203.226; Vivāhap. 227; Kappas.); *abhōccā* (Sūyag. 994), metrically also *abhōcca* (Āyār. 1,8,1,10); AMg. JŚ. *kiccā* from *kr̥* (Āyār. 2,3,1,14. 2,9; Sūyag. 26; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas.; Pav. 379,4; Kattig. 402,356 ff. 375 f.); AMg. *naccā*, *naccā* from *jñā* (Hc. 2,15; Āyār. 1,3,2,1. 3; 1,6,1,3. 4; 1,7,8,1. 25; 1,8,1,11. 14. 15; 2,1,2,5 ff.; Sūyag. 155.228.237; Dasav. 629,5; 631,35; 633,35). The ending *-ccāṇa* and *-ccāṇam* occurs in AMg. *hiccāṇam* (Sūyag. 86), *heccāṇam* (Sūyag. 433), *naccāṇam* (Sūyag. 43); metrically also *heccāṇa* (Sūyag. 551), *naccāṇa* (Sūyag. 188), *soccāṇa* (Dasav. 634,41; 637,16), *ciccāṇa* (Sūyag. 378. 408). In prose *ceccāṇa* (Āyār. 1,7,6,5) is hardly correct. The ed. Calc. has *ceccā*.—On AMg. *bujjhā* = *buddhvā* see § 299.

§ 588. The Vedic absol. in *-tvī* (DELBRÜCK, Altind. Verbum. § 221)

and *-tvīnam*, as *iṣṭvīnam*, *pitvīnam* (Pāṇini 7,1,48 and Kāśikā thereupon; cf. above § 583 note) have been retained in A. *-tvī* became *-ppi*, after nasals *-pi* (§ 300), which after long vowels, later after short vowels too became *-vi*: *-tvīnam*, corresponding to it, has become *-ppiṇu*, *-piṇu*, *-viṇu* (Hc. 4, 439, 440; Ki. 5,53). The endings are mostly added to the present stem. So: *jineppi* (Hc. 4,442,2) and *jeppi* (Hc. 4,440) from *ji*; *jhāvi* from *dhyai* (Hc. 4,331); *dēppiṇu* = \**detvīnam* from *daya-* (Hc. 4,440); *gampi* = \**gantvī* = Vedic *gatvī*, *gamēppi*, *gampiṇu*, *gamēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,442; Ki. 5,59); *pekkhevi* (Hc. 4,340,2), *pekkhivi* (Hc. 4,430,3; so to be read), *pekkheviṇu* (Hc. 4, 444,4); *dēkkhivi* (Hc. 4,354); *chaddeviṇu* from *chard* (Hc. 4,422,3); *mēllavi* (Hc. 4,353), *mēllēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,341,1) from *mēllai* (gives up; Hc. 4,91, 430,3); *melavi* from *mil* (Hc. 4,429,1); *cumbivi*, *vichodavi* (Hc. 4,439,3, 4); *bhanivi* (Hc. 4,383,1; so to be read); *piavi* from \**pihatvī* = Vedic *pitvī* (Hc. 4,401,3); *marēppi* (Ki. 5,60); *laggivi* (Hc. 4,339); *buddavi* (Hc. 4,415); *lāvi* = \**lāgayitvī* (Hc. 4,331, 376,2); *levi* (Hc. 4,395,1, 440), *lēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,370,3, 404), *leviṇu* (Hc. 4,441,2) from *lā*; *broppi*, *broppiṇu* from *brū* (Hc. 4,391; Ki. 5,58); *rundheviṇu* (Vkr. 67,20); *karēppi*, *kyppi* (Ki. 5,59), *karevi* (Hc. 4,340,2), *karēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,396,3); *ramevi*, *ramēppi*, *ramēppiṇu* from *ram* (Ki. 5,53); *luṇēppi* (Ki. 5,57); *vuṇēppi*, *vuṇēppiṇu* from *vraj* (§ 488; Hc. 4,392); *grṇhēppiṇu* (Hc. 4,394, 438,1), *gēṇhēppi*, *gēṇhēppiṇu* (Ki. 5,62). Forms in *-ūṇa*, as *soūṇa*, *hasiūṇa* (Piṅgala 1,61<sup>a</sup>, 62<sup>a</sup>) are not A., but M., as reversely the forms, as *laṅghevi*, *peccchavi*, *nisunevi*, *vajjevi*, *jālevi*, that are found in JM. (Erz. 78,21; 81,19, 24; 84,5), do not belong to this dialect, but to A. In A. these absolutives are used in the sense of the infinitive too: *saṁvarevi* (Hc. 4,422,6); *jeppi*, *caeppiṇu* = \**tyajitvīnam*, *leviṇu*, *pālevi* (Hc. 4,441,2); *lahevi*, *lahēppi*, *lahēppiṇu* (Ki. 5,55), as on the other hand, the inf. *bhajjū* stands in the sense of the absol. (§ 579). On the absolutely used inf. in *-tum*, *-tu* see § 576, 577.

§ 589. The absolutiva in *-ia* = *-ya* are very rare in M., since M. employs the ending *-ūṇa*. In G. R. no example is found. In H. a single example would be *saṁmīlia* (137); hence we should write *saṁmīliadāhīṇa-am* = *saṁmīlitadakṣiṇakam* and take it as an adverb, parallel to *sviraṁ* and *avianham*, standing beside it. *pāḍia* (880) should not, with WEBER, be taken as a "gerundium", but as a past passive participle with the scholiasts, likewise *anūṇa* (129) against WEBER and the scholiasts to be read, therefore, *anūṇiapio*. At Kāvya prakāśa 72,10 = H. 977, instead of *balāmoḍia*, with the best manuscripts we should read *balāmoḍi* (§ 238), as also Rājānakānanda has in his Kāvya prakāśanidarśana; the second best manuscript of Kāvya pr. reads *balāmodheṇa*. H. 879, where WEBER, earlier (H.<sup>1</sup> Anhang No. 44) read *pekkhia ṇa* with Kāvya pr. 68,5 and Sāhityad. 102,20, now correctly he has *pekkhūṇa*, as also the best manuscripts of Kāvya pr. have and stands at Sarasvatik. 48,21. In the verse of Dhanika in Daśarūpa 91,9 we should read *ṛijjhāṇehamuddham*, therefore, *ṛijjhā* = *nirādhyaṭa*. Of the examples collected by WEBER, H<sup>1</sup> p. 67, according to him *gahia* (Kāvya pr. 82,9) alone stands the test, for which we should read *lahia* according to the best manuscripts. Besides there comes *vinijjia* = *vinirjitya* (Karp. 8,6) and *vajjia* = *°varjya* (Bālar. 157,4), whilst at 10,10 *ōṭtharia*, which the editor translates with *avatīrya*, is = *avastrīa*, whilst *ōṭthariarāhu* stands for *rāhuōṭtharia*°, as elsewhere too (§ 603). Nothing can be said with regard to the dialect whence originate *bhamia*, *ramia* in Hc. 2,146 and *gēṇhia* at 4,210. Vr. 4,23; 8,16 does not mention for M. the ending *-ya*. Therefore, here too particularly Rājasekhara has again erred against the dialect.

§ 590. The absol. in *-ya* is rare in the old Āv. -texts in JM. too, on the other hand, it is frequent in later passages in Erz. But here too it

enters again the endings *-ūna* and *-ttā*, as in AMg. against *-ttā*, *-ttānaṃ*. In AMg. a number of absol. in *-ya*, which are formed, as in Skt., directly from the root, are current. Apart from in verses (§ 584) and excluding the absol. *kadua* and *gadua* (§ 581) *-ya* is the only prevalent ending in Ś.Mg.Dh. (Vr. 12,9; cf. § 581), in which it enters almost always into the crude from the present stem in *-i*. In AMg. JM. in verses the ending is often *-yā* (§ 73). In JŚ. too *-ya* is not seldom. Examples for the individual classes are: Ś. *ṇāia* = \**ṇayiya* = *nītvā* (Mṛcch. 155,4), but *ānia* (Mālatīm. 236,3; Pras. 41,2), *avaṇia* = *apaṇiya* (Venis. 66,21); Ś. *samassaia* = \**samāśrayiya* = *samāśritya* (Śak. 2,8); Ś. *daia* from *daya-* (Mṛcch. 51,12), and *deia* from *de-* (Mudrār. 203,7); Ś. Mg. *bhavia*, JŚ. *bhaviya* (§ 475); AMg. *vinikkassa* = *vinikkṣya* (Sūyag. 280); Ś. *odaria* = *avatīrya* (Vikr. 23,17), Mg. *odalāia* (Mṛcch. 122, 11); Mg. *anūsalāia* = *anusṛtya-* (Prab. 51,12), *osalāia* = *apasṛtya* (Mṛcch. 129, 8); Ś. *pariharia* (Mṛcch. 136,8), Mg. *palihālia* (Prab. 28,16; 51,12) = *parihṛtya*; JM. *sumariya* (Erz.), Ś. *sumaria* (Mṛcch. 8,15; Śak. 63,14); JM. *pēcchiya* (Sagara 4,2. 11; Erz.), *pikkhiya* (Kk.), Ś. *pēkkhia* (Mṛcch. 41,6. 10.22; 73,2; 78,25; Śak. 18,10; Vikr. 15,16), Mg. *pēskia* (Mṛcch. 96,23), AMg. *pehiyā*, *sāpehiyā*, *samupehiyā* (§ 323); AMg. *uwalabbha* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), *labhiya* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2; 2,4,1,2), but Ś. *lambhia* (§ 484. 525. 541; Cait. 125,10; 132,17; 134,9), AMg. *nikkamma* = *niṣkramya* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1), but Ś. *nikkamaia* (Priyad. 34,3); AMg. *viukkamma* = *vyutkrāmya* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2), but Ś. *adikkamaia* = *atīkrāmya* (Ratn. 295,9); AMg. *pakkhippa* = *prakṣṣya* (Sūyag. 280. 282); AMg. *pāsiya* (Āyār. 1,3,2,3); metricaly (§ 73) also AMg. JM. *pāsiyā* (Uttar. 361; Erz. 38,36), and AMg. *passa* (Uttar. 222. 239. 240), *anupassiyā* (Sūyag. 122), *sāmpassiya* (Dasav. 642,11); AMg. JM. *pariccāija* (Āyār. 1,3,3,3; Uttar. 561; Erz.), JM. also *pariccāiya* (Erz.), Ś. *pariccāia* (Mṛcch. 28,10; Ratn. 298,12) = *parityajya*<sup>1</sup>; AMg. *samārabha* (Samav. 81), JM. *ārabha* (Erz.), but Ś. *ārambhia* (Śak. 50,2); AMg. *abhikāṅkha* = *abhikāṅkya* (Āyār. 2,4,1,6 ff.); AMg. *abhirujja* = *abhiruhyā* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2), but Ā. D. Ś. *ahiruhia* (Mṛcch. 99,19; 103,15; Vikr. 15,5), Mg. *ahuluhia* (Mṛcch. 99,4; 121,11; 164,3); AMg. *pavissa* = *praviṣya* (Āyār. 1,8,4,9), but Ś. *pavisia* (Mṛcch. 18,10; 27,3; 93,2; Śak. 70,7; 115,6; 125,13; Vikr. 75,4), Mg. *paviṣia* (Mṛcch. 19,10; 29,24; 37,10; 112,11; 125,22; 131,18); JŚ. *āpiccha* (Pav. 386,1), JM. *āpucchiya* (Dvār. 495,31 between *cintiūna* and *paṇamiūnaṃ*), *anāpucchiya* (Āv. 11,23); Ś. *siñcia* (Mṛcch. 41,6); AMg. *nisamma* from *śam* (Āyār. 1,6,4,1; Kappas.); *vissamia* from *śram* (Mālatīm. 34,1); JM. *paḍivajjiya* = *pratīpadya* (Erz.); AMg. *paḍucca* from \**paḍiucca* from *paḍivaccāi* (§ 163. 202; Vivāhap. 29. 35. 99. 111. 127. 128. 136. 272 etc.; Thāp. 185. 186; Āyār. 1,5,5,5; Sūyag. 332. 776; Uttar. 1019. 1044. 1047. 1051 ff.; Nandīs. 395 ff.; Jiv. 33. 118 ff.; Anuog. 14. 15. 154 ff.; 235 ff.; Dasav. N. 644,17; 649,9 etc.), in verses also *paḍuccā* (Sūyag. 266; Dasav. N. 644,13); Ś. *paṭṭhāvia*, *thāvia* (Mṛcch. 24,2; 59,7); JM. *āroviya* (Erz.), *samāroviya* (Dvār. 503,33); Ś. *vajja* = *varjayitvā* (Śak. 52,11 [so to be read]; Mālatīm. 98,6; Ratn. 316,16; Nāgan. 24,4), also in Dh. (Mṛcch. 30,5); Ś. *coria*, *vāvōdia* (Mṛcch. 37, 14; 40, 22); Mg. *pavesia* (Mṛcch. 140, 14 [so to be read with GODABOLE]; 158, 22), *ohālia* = *apahārya* (Mṛcch. 96,24). In the sense of the inf. is used AMg. *anupāliyā* = *anupālya* (Uttar. 583).

1. Accordingly from *tyaj* the attested absol. are: JŚ. *caittā* (§ 582), AMg. *caittā* (§ 582), AMg. *caittānaṃ* (§ 583), AMg. JM. *caūna* (§ 586), AMg. *ciccā*, *ce'ccā*, *cicōṇa*, *ce'cōṇa*. (§ 587); A. *cae'pīnu* (§ 588), AMg. JM. °*cāja*, JM. °*caīya*, Ś. *caīa* (§ 590). Besides the absolutely used inf. AMg. *caittu*.

§ 591. Examples of the 2. conjugation are: AMg. *samē'cca* = *sametya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,15); JM. *thuṇiya* (Kk. II. 508,26) from *stu*; Ś. *ṇisasia* from *śvas*

with *nis* (Mṛcch. 41,22); AMg. *āhacca* = *āhatya* (Āyār. 1,1,4,6. 7,4; 1,7,2,4; 2,6,2,3), but Ś. *āhaṇia* (Ratn. ed. Calc. 1871 p. 46,10); JŚ. *ādāya* (Pav. 386,6), AMg. *samādāya* (Āyār. 1,2,6,3), *paḍisaṁdhāya* (Sūyag. 720), *paṇihāya* = *praṇidhāya* (Uvās. § 192); AMg. *jahāya* (Uttar. 635. 914), *viṇṇajahāya* from *hā* with *vi* and *pra* (Sūyag. 217. 628; Vivāhap. 146); falsely Ś. *nimmāya* (Lalitav. 554,13), for which \**nimmāra* would be correct; AMg. *dhunīya* (Sūyag. 111; Dasav. 637,21), *vihūṇiyā* (Āyār. 1,7,8,24; Sūyag. 54), *viḥunīya* (Sūyag. 113), *saṁvidhūṇīya* (Āyār. 1,7,6,5); Ś. *odhūṇia* (Adbhutat. 52,12; so to be read), *avadhūṇia* (Mālatīm. 351,6; Venis. 61,5 [so to be read]; 63,9); JM. *suṇīya* (Erz.; Kk.), Ś. *suṇia* (Mṛcch. 148,10; Śak. 62,11; 70,11; Vikr. 26,1; Ratn. 302,7; Priyad. 29,17), Mg. *suṇia* (Mṛcch. 37,10; 38,20). Dh. *paḍissudia* = *pratiśrūtya* (Mṛcch. 35,5) must in any case be spelt as *paḍisudia* (cf. v. l.); it is wanting in most of the MSS. in GODABOLE too. AMg. JŚ. *paḍpa* = *prāḍya* (Āyār. 1,2,3,6; Thāṇ. 188; Uttar. 1017. 1019; Paṇṇav. 523. 540. 541. 665. 667. 712. 781; Dasav. N. 649,5. 8. 11 [°ā]; 653,1; Pav. 384,49), but JŚ. also *pāvīya* (Kattig. 402,369), as Ś. *samāvīa* (Ratn. 323,2); Ś. *bhañjia* (Mṛcch. 40,22; 97,23; Śak. 31,13; Cait. 134,12); AMg. *chindīya* (Āyār. 2,1,2,7), *chindiyachindīyā*, *bhīndīyabhīndīyā* (Vivāhap. 1192); Ś. *paricchīndia* (Vikr. 47,1); AMg. *palicchīndīya* (§ 257); Ś. *bhīndia* (Vikr. 16,1) and *bhedīa* (Mṛcch. 97,24; cf. § 586), Mg. *bhīndia* (Mṛcch. 112,17); AMg. *bhuñjīya* (Āyār. 1,7,1,2; 2,4,1,2; Sūyag. 108), Ś. *bhuñjia* (Cait. 126,10; 129,10); AMg. *abhijuñjīya* (Sūyag. 293 [°ya]; Thāṇ. 111. 112. 194; Vivāhap. 178); JM. *niuñjīya* (Erz.); AMg. *parinnāya* (Āyār. 1,1,2,6 ff.; 1,2,6,2. 5; Sūyag. 214) [°nā°], and *parijāñiyā* (Sūyag. 380. 381), *jāñīya* (Dasav. 641,24), *viyāñiyā* (Dasav. 631,35; 637,5; 642,12); Ś. *jāñia* (Ratn. 314,25; Priyad. 15,15; Vṛṣabh. 46,7), *aāñia* (Śak. 50,13; Mudrār. 226,7 v. l.), Mg. *yāñia* (Mṛcch. 36,12); Ś. *bandhīa* (Mṛcch. 155,3; Prab. 14,10 [so to be read with P. M.]); Ratn. 317,11), *ubbāndhia* (Ratn. 315,28; Caṇḍak. 92,11; Nāgān. 34,15), Mg. *bandhīa* (Mṛcch. 163,16); JM. *geñhīya* (Dvār. 507,4), Ś. Ā. *geñhīa* (Mṛcch. 41,12; 59,8; 75,8; 105,2 [Ā.]; 107,10; Śak. 136,15; Vikr. 10,2; 52,5; 72,15; 84,20; Mālatīm. 72,7; Ratn. 303,20), Mg. *geñhīa* (Mṛcch. 12,14; 20,3. 10; 96,12. 18; 116,5; 126,16; 132,16; Śak. 116,2; Caṇḍak. 64,8), JŚ. JM. *gahīya* (Kattig. 403,373; Erz.), but in AMg. JM. mostly *gahāya* (Āyār. 1,8,3,5; 2,3,1,16. 17. 2. 3. 16; 2,10,22; Sūyag. 136. 491. 783. 1017; Vivāhap. 229. 825. 826; Uvās.; Nirayāv.; Āv. 17,10; 35,12; 37,31; 46,2; Erz.) = Skt. *grahāya* (BÖHTLINGK s. v.), a retroversion into Skt., since *gahāya* is an absol. from a denominative \**gahāāi*, \**gahāi* (§ 558) = \**grahāyati*; in compounds also AMg. *abhiñgijjha* = *abhinigrhya* (Āyār. 1,3,3,4), *parigijjha* = *parigrhya* (Āyār. 1,2,3,3. 5) and the double forms AMg. *avagijjhiya*, *niḡijjhiya* (Kappas.), *paḡijjhiya* (Āyār. 2,1,6,2; 2,3,1,15; 2,3,3,1-3; Ovav.).

§ 592. Corresponding to the absol. in *-ttāṇam*, *-ttāṇa* beside *-ttā* and *-ccāṇam*, *-ccāṇa* beside *-ccā* AMg. has an absol. in *-yāṇam*, *-yāṇa* too, beside that in *-ya*, metrically *-yāḥ*: *avīḷiyāṇa*, *paripīḷiyāṇa*, *parissāvīyāṇa* from *piḍ* and *sru* (Āyār. 2,1,8,1); *ussīñciyāṇam* from *sic* with *ud* (Āyār. 2,1,7,8); *saṁsīñciyāṇam* from *sic* with *saṁ* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5); *samupehīyāṇam* metrically for \**ppē* from *ikṣ* with *saṁutpra* as *samupehīyā* (§ 323. 590; Erz. 38,36 in a citation from Āvaśyakaniryukti 17,41)<sup>3</sup>; *lahiyāṇa* = *labdhvā* (Uttar. 627); *ārusiyāṇam* = *āruśya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,2); *takkīyāṇam* = *tarkayitvā* (Āyār. 1,7,2,4); *parivajjīyāṇa* = *parvarīya* (Āyār. 1,8,1,12. 18); *oattīyāṇam* = *apavartya* (Āyār. 2,1,7,8); *palicchīndīyāṇam* = *paricchīdyā* (Āyār. 1,3,2,1); *palibhīndīyāṇam* = *paribhīdyā* (Sūyag. 243); *abhijuñjīyāṇam* = *abhiyujya* (Āyār. 1,2,3,5); *akīyāṇam* = *akṛtvā* (Ovav. § 142).

3: There are insurmountable phonetic difficulties against the derivation of *-yāṇam* from

-*ttānam*. JACOBI, in his edition of the *Āyār*. throughout, separates *nam* here too wrongly, as is proved by the form in -*ṣāna*.—2. So to be read with B, which is pointed to by the explanation as *saṁsīcya* of the scholiasts. Cf. *saṁsīccamānā* 1,3,2,1.—3. JACOBI, *Erz.* p. 158.

§ 593. In AMg. a number of forms are found in -*āe*, that are used absolutely: *āṣāe* (*Āyār* 1,6,2,1 2; 2,1,3,6ff.; 2,1,9 2; *Vivāhap.* 136; *Nirayāv.* § 17. 19) = *ādāya*; *samāṣāe* (*Āyār*. 1,5,3,5); *nīsāe* (*Bhag.*; *Kappas.*), *nīsāe* (*Bhag.*) = *Pāli nissāya* = Skt. \**nīsrāya* from *śri* (cf. *gahāya* § 591); *saṁkḥāe* = *saṁkhyāya* beside *uṭṭhāya* (*Āyār*. 1,8,1,1); *saṁuṭṭhāe* (*Āyār*. 1,2,2,1. 6,1 ); *pehāe* from *ikṣ* with *pra* (§ 323 ); *aṇuṣehāe* (§ 323 ); *uvehāe* (*Āyār*. 1,3,3,1), *saṁpehāe* (§ 323)<sup>1</sup>. Since these forms are connected with the accusative, as in *egam apḥānam saṁpehāe* (*Āyār*. 1,4,3,2), *āuram logam āṣāe* (*Āyār*. 1,6,2,1), it cannot be doubted that they have a verbal meaning. In very many cases, however, they certainly are nominal forms, as in the frequent *uṭṭhāe*, *uṭṭhei*, *uṭṭhāe uṭṭhittā* (*Uvās.* § 193; *Nirayāv.* § 5; *Ovav.* § 58.60; *Vivāhap.* 161. 1246 ), *uṭṭhāe uṭṭhēnti* (*Ovav.* § 61 ). The scholiasts see in *uṭṭhāe* an ins. sing. of a fem. \**uṭṭhā*<sup>2</sup>, what and what only the form can be according to meaning and order of words<sup>3</sup>. Likewise e. g. in *anāṇāe puṭṭhāe* = *anāṇāyā* (in the sense of *anāṇānena*) *sprṣṭāh* (*Āyār*. 1,2,2,1), and in cases like *aṭṭam eṣam tu pehāe aparinnāe kandai* (*Āyār* 1,2,5,5), it can hardly be doubted that *aparinnāe* is = *aparijñāyā*, and not *aparijñāya*, as the scholiasts will<sup>4</sup>, whilst *pehāe*, standing beside it, undoubtedly stands in the sense of the absol., but according to the form is = *prekṣayā*. Consequently I believe that all these forms are originally in the instr. to the fem. in -*ā*, that would be used also as verbal forms. In support of this speak the cases like *annamannavitigimchāe paḍilehāe* too (*Āyār*. 1,3,3,1), where the compositum *annam*<sup>o</sup> points to the nominal nature of *vitigimchāe*, whilst a verbal meaning to *paḍilehāe*, that stands by it, can be deduced from examples like *niggaṅṭhā paḍilehāe buddhavuttiam ahiṭṭhagā* (*Dasav.* 626,23), although it is elsewhere certainly substantival (e. g. *Āyār*. 1,2,6,2; 1,5,1,1; 1,7,2,3), whilst sometimes (*Āyār*. 1,2,5,5; 1,5,6,2) one may be in doubt. In the literal sense “to cleanse”, “to wipe off” the absolute is *paḍilehittā* (*Āyār*. 2,2,1,2 ff.) or *paḍilehiyā* (*Āyār*. 1,7,8,7; 2,1,1,2 [*ya*]); but *paḍilehittā* also in the transferred sense “to discuss”, “to consider” (*Āyār*. 1,1,6,2; 1,7,8,20). *pehāe*, *saṁpehāe* are hardly to be explained otherwise. Forms like *āṣāe*, *nīsāe* may be built according to such a pattern. In no case can -*e* be equated as = -*ya*<sup>5</sup>. AMg. *aṇuvī* (*Āyār*. 1,1,3,7; 1,4,3,1; 1,6,5,3; 2,2,3,3; 2,4,1,3. 2,19; 2,7,1,2. 2,1. 8; p. 133,8.10; 134,5 ff.; *Sūyag.* 474. 531; *Dasav.* 629,15; 630,1; *Dasav. N.* 661,3 [*aṇuvī*]), with privative *a* *aṇuvī* (*Āyār*. p. 133,9. 10; 134,6 ff.) is explained as *anucintya*, *anuvicintya*, *vicārya* by the scholiasts. The frequent vv. ll. *aṇuvīyī*, *aṇuvīyī*, *aṇuvīti*, *aṇuvītiyā* show that in this case we have nothing to do with an absol. *aṇuvī* is an adverb = \**aṇuvīti* “deeply” “attentively” and belongs to Vedic *vīti*<sup>6</sup>.

1. JACOBI writes sometimes *saṁpehāe*, sometimes *saḥpehāe*, sometimes *sa pehāe*, even in the same paragraphs, as 1,4,3,2, where stands in line 10 *saṁpehāe*, in line 14 *sa pehāe*. The manuscripts are not consistent; cf. pro ex. 1,2,2,4. Throughout it is to be read *saṁpehāe*, in verses, where a short syllable is required, probably *saḥpehāe*.—2. WEBER, *Bhag.* *saṁpehāe*, in verses, where a short syllable is required, probably *saḥpehāe*.—3. HOERNLE on *Uvās.* Transl. note 286 likes to see in it the dat. sing. of a masc. *uṭṭha*.—4. The ed. Calc. reads *aparinnāya*, but the scholiasts, as JACOBI, *aparinnāe*.—5. E. MÜLLER, *Beiträge* p. 63 have.—6. Cf. FISCHER, *Ved. Stud.* 1,295 ff.; GELDNER, 2,156 ff. *vīti*, requires a new research.

§ 504. In A. -*ya* becomes -*i* (*Hc.* 4,439 ), that has originated from *Pkt.-ia*, through the dropping off of *a*: *daī* = *Ś. daīa* from *daya-* (*Piṅgala* 1,5<sup>a</sup> [cf. BOLLENSSEN, *Vikr.* p. 530]. 38. 39. 86<sup>a</sup>. 122), also contracted (§ 166) *de*

(Piṅgala 1,33); *parihari*, *pasari* (P. 1,120<sup>a</sup>. 143<sup>a</sup>); *gai* from *gā* ( to go; P. 2, 64); *bhai* = \**bhavi* = Ś. Mg. *bhavia* from *bhū* ( P. 2,243 ); *cali* ( P. 2,88 ); *vali* ( IS. 15,394; Prabandhac. 159,1 ); *koṣṣi* = °*kupya* ( P. 1,123<sup>a</sup> ) from the present stem; *māri* = °*mārya* = *mārayitvā* (Hc. 4,439,1); *samcāri*, *vicāri* ( P. 1,43. 107 ); *lai* from *lā* ( to take; P. 1,37. 86<sup>a</sup>. 107. 121 ); *kari* (Hc. 4, 357,4; P. 1,81. 82. 86); *jāni* from *jñā* ( P. 1,119). Beside *thavi* ( P. 1,102. 107 ) = Ś. *thavia* = °*sthāpya* is found *thappi* ( P. 1,123<sup>a</sup>,137<sup>a</sup> ), that may be considered as a case of double formation. The reduplication may be purely metrical too, as probably this is the case in *jinni* = \**jīniā* from *ji* ( § 473 ) and *sunni* = Ś. *sunia* from *śru* ( P. 2, 112. 242 ). Whether forms in *-ia* as well are regulated, as *kaddhia laia* ( P. 1,107. 121 ), *nisuṇia*, *suṇia* ( Sarasvatik. 140,1; 216,9 ) may be ascertained only by leading critical texts. *mutti* ( P. 1,116<sup>a</sup> ) presupposes one \**muktya*, hence a hybrid formation from *muktivā* and °*mucya*.

#### IV. ON WORD-FORMATION AND COMPOUND

§ 595. Besides the suffixes of Skt. Pkt. possesses a number of suffixes, particularly the taddhita suffixes, that are wanting in Skt. Others, that in Skt. are little employed, are frequently employed in Pkt. To it particularly belong the *l*-suffixes. The grammarians ( Vr. 4,25; C.2,20 and p.45; Hc. 2,159; Kī. 2,140; Mk.fol. 36 ) teach that *-āla*, *-ālu*, *-illa*, *-ulla* stand in the sense of *-mat* and *-vat*. So M. *sihāla* = *sikhāvat* ( G. ); AMg. *saddāla* = *śabdavat* ( Bh. 4,25; Hc. 2,159; Ovav. ); *dhaṇāla* = *dhanavat* ( Bh. 4,25 ); *jaḍāla* = *jaḍavat* ( C.; Hc. ), *jōṇhāla* = *jyotsnāvat* ( Hc. ), *phaḍāla* = \**phaḍāvat* ( C.; Hc. ), *rasāla* = *rasavat* ( Hc. ); *ṇiddāla* = \**nidrāvat* ( Kī. ); *saddhāla* = *śraddhāvat* ( C. ); *harisāla* = *harṣavat* ( Mk. ). — Without alteration of meaning *āla* + *ka* occurs in AMg. *mahālaṣya* = *mahat* ( Āyār. 2,1,4,5; Uvās.; Ovav.; Bhag. ), femin. *mahāliṣyā* ( Uvās.; Ovav. ); *emahālaya*, femin. *emahāliṣyā* ( § 149 ), femin. *kemahāliṣyā* ( § 149; also Jiv. 216. 220 ff. ); AMg. JM. *mahāmahālaṣya* ( Āyār. 2,3,2,11. 3,13; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Erz. ), femin. AMg. *mahāmahāliṣyā* ( Uvās.; Ovav.; Nirayāv. ). The form is an intensive formation. To see a double femininum in it ( LEUMANN, Aup. S. ), as already remarked by LEUMANN himself, is not possible, since the word is used as masc. and neuter. *-mīsālia* ( Hc. 2,170 ) is past passive participle of a denominative from \**mīsāla* = *mīsra*. — *ālu*, which Skt. too has ( WHITNEY<sup>1</sup> § 1192. 1227 ), occurs in *ṇiddālu* = *nidrālu* ( Bh.; Kī. ); *isālu* = *īryālu* ( Hc.; Mk. ); *ṇehālu* = *snehala* ( C.; Hc. ); *daālu* = *dayālu* ( Hc. ); with *kaḥ* *svārthe* in M. *lajjāluā* ( Hc.; H. ), *saṅkāluā* ( G. ), *saddhāluā* ( H. ). — Dialectically throughout frequent is *-illa*, that stands for *-ilā* ( § 194 ). So *viārilla* ( Bh. ), *sohilla* ( C.; Hc. ), *dhaṇāilla* ( Kī. ), *guṇilla* ( Mk. ), *chāilla*, *jamailla* ( Hc. ); *phaḍilla* ( C. ); M. *kidailla*, *kesarillī*, *tulilla*, *thalāilla*, *neurilla* ( G. ), *māṇailla*, *rāilla*, *lohilla*, *sohilla*, *harillī* ( H. ); M. AMg. *taṇailla* ( grassy; G.; Jiv. 355 ); AMg. *kaṇṭailla* ( Paṇbāv. 61; Dasav. N. 660,14 ), metri causa also *kaṇṭailla* ( Sūyag. 293 ), *tūṇailla* ( Aṇuog. 118; Paṇbāv. 465. 513. 522; Ovav.; Kappas. ), *niyaḍilla* = *nikṛtimat* ( Uttar. 990 ), *māilla* = *māyāvin* ( Sūyag. 233; Ṭhān. 582 ), *amāilla* ( Āyār. 1,8,4,16 ), also in the substantives *niyaḍillaṣyā*, *māillaṣyā* occurring with the suffix *-tā* ( Ṭhān. 338; Vivāhap. 687; Ovav.; cf. § 219 ), *arisilla* = *arsasa*, *kasilla* = *kāsanat*, *sāsilla* = *svāsīn* ( Vivāhap. 177 ), *gaṇṭhilla* = *granthila* ( Vivāhap. 1308 ), *bhāsilla* = *bhāṣīn* ( Uttar. 791 ), *bhāillaga* = *bhāgin* ( Ṭhān. 120 ); JM. *kalanikilla* = *kalanīkin* ( Kk. ), *sattihillaja* from *sārtha* ( Erz. ), *gōṭṭhillaja* = *gauṣṭhika* ( Āv. 26,37 ). Rājasekhara and later day writers use *-illa* not in M. only, as in *muttāhalilla*

(Karp. 2,5; 100,5), *thorathapilla*, *kandalilla* (Karp. 81,4; 88,3), particularly against the dialect in Ś. too, as *kodūhalla* (Bālar. 168,3); *lacchilla*, *kivāilla* (Kāleṃyak. 2,8; 9,7); *tattilla* (Mallikām. 77,12), as in M. (Hc. 2, 203; H.) and D. (Mrcch. 101,21). As in *tattilla* (Deśin. 5,3), *-illa* occurs also in other provincialisms like *kanāilla* (parrot; Pāiyal. 125; Deśin. 2,21) from *kaṇa*; *goilla* = *gomat* (Deśin. 2,98); M. Ś. *chāilla* (wise; cunning; Pāiyal. 101; Deśin. 3,24; H.; Karp. 1,2; 4,8 [Ś.]; 76,10 [Ś.]; Kāleṃyak. (3,7), which is probably rightly connected to *vchad* by WEBER<sup>1</sup>, and is to be completely separated from A. *chāilla* (beautiful; Hc. 4,412), since this, as the NIA. languages show<sup>2</sup>, stands for \**chavilla*, therefore, belongs to *chavi* (beauty; Pāiyal. 113) = Skt. *chavi*, *chavi*, whilst *chāilla* (lamp; similar; trifling; beautiful; Hc. 2,159; Deśin. 3,35) is to be derived from *chāyā*, as Triv. 2,1,30 teaches falsely from *chāilla*. *-illa* stands also in the sense of "there-existing" (*tatrabhove*; *bhave*; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,163; Mk. fol. 37); *gāmilla* (a villager; C.), *gāmilliā* (a village woman; Hc.), AMg. *gāme'llaga* (Vivāgas. 31); M. *gharillaa* (master of the house; H.); *gharilli* (mistress of the house; Deśin. 2,106), and in M. JM. and particularly in AMg. it does not change the meaning of the word, to which it is added (*svārthe*; Hc. 2,164). So M. *mūillaa* = *mūka* (H.); AMg. *bāhirilla* = *bāhira* (Jiv. 879; Vivāhap. 198. 1876 ff.; Thāṇ. 261 f.), M. *abāhirilla* (H.); AMg. *andhillaga* = *andha* (Paṇhāv. 79); *pallavilla* = *pallava* (Hc. 2,164). So above all are built adjectives, that express number, time or place, partly from adverbs. So AMg. *ādilla* = *ādi* (Vivāhap. 463. 858. 923. 1118. 1330; Jiv. 788. 1042; Paṇṇav. 642. 646), *ādillaga* (Vivāhap. 1547); AMg. *paḍhamilla* = *prathama* (Vivāhap. 108. 177), *paḍhamillaga* (Nāyādh. 624); AMg. *uvarilla* (Thāṇ. 341; Aṇuog. 427 ff.; Jiv. 240 ff. 710; Nāyādh. 867; Paṇṇav. 478; Samav. 24. 36. 144; Vivāhap. 102. 198. 224. 392. 437. 1240. 1331 ff. 1777; Ovav.), in the meaning "upper garment" M. *avarilla*, *varilla* (§ 123), *savvaūvarilla* (Jiv. 878f.), *savvupparilla* (Jiv. 879), AMg. *uttarilla* (Thāṇ. 264ff. 358; Jiv. 227 ff.; Nāyādh. 1452. 1518. 1521; Paṇṇav. 103 ff. 478; Rāyap. 68. 71; Vivāhap. 1331 ff.), *dāhinilla* and *dakkhinilla* = *dakṣiṇa* (§ 65), *puratthimilla*<sup>3</sup> from *purastāt* (Thāṇ. 264ff. 493; Jiv. 227ff. 345; Paṇṇav. 478; Rāyap. 67. 72 f.; Samav. 106. 108. 113 ff.; Vivāgas. 181; Vivāhap. 1331ff.), *paccatthimilla*<sup>4</sup> from \**pratyastam* (Thāṇ. 264ff.; Jiv. 227ff.; Paṇṇav. 478; Samav. 106. 113 ff.; Vivāgas. 181; Vivāhap. 1331 ff. 1869), *uttarapaccatthimilla* (Thāṇ. 268); AMg. JM. *majjhilla* = *mādhyā* (Thāṇ. 341; Jiv. 710; Vivāhap. 104. 922. 1240 f.; Av. 46,29; Erz.); AMg. *majjhimilla* = *mādhyama* (Aṇuog. 383); AMg. *he'tthilla* (§ 107); AMg. JM. *puvvilla* (Uttar. 764. 770; Av. 8,46); *purilla* (on Vr. 4,25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,163. 164; Mk. fol. 37; Deśin. 6,53) from *purā* and *purā*, *purilladeva* (asura; Deśin. 6,55; Triv. in BB. 13,12), *purillapahāṇā* (fang of a serpent; Deśin. 6,56), whereof the ultimate rannent probably is *praghāṇa*; AMg. *pacchilla* (Vivāhap. 1118. 1520), *pacchillaya* (Vivāhap. 1593f.). In AMg. *railliya* = *rajoyukta* (Vivāhap. 387)<sup>5</sup>, dialectical *thenilla* (taken; Deśin. 5,32; cf § 307) occur the past passive participle from the denominative of *rajas*, *stena*<sup>6</sup>. AMg. *ānilliya* = *ānita* (Vivāhap. 961) is explained from the fact that *āṇia* = *ānita* is used adjectively and presumably also substantively (Deśin. 1,74). As the examples show, the final vowel of the stem falls off before *-illa*, partly it is retained. — *-ulla* stands in the same meaning as *-illa*, but is much more seldom: *viārulla* = *vikāravat* (Bh. 4, 25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159); *māmsulla* = *māmsavat*, *dappulla* = *darpin* (Hc. 2, 159); *uohārulla* from *upahāra* (Kī. 2,140; text *uohārurupam*); *appulla* from *ātman* (Bh. 4,25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,163; Mk. fol. 36 [MS. *aṇullo*]); *piullaa* = *priya*, *muhulla* = *mukha*, *hatthullā* = *hastau* (Hc. 2,164); M. *chāilla* (H.) beside *chāilla*, *thaṇullaa* = *stana* (G.); AMg. *pāullām* = *pāduke*



( Sūyag. 253 ); AMg. JM. *kacchulla* = *kacchura* ( Vivāgas 177; Erz. ); *cūḍullaa* = *cūḍaka* ( Hc. 4,395,2. 430,2 ), *kudulī* = *kuṭī* ( Hc. 4,422,14. 429,3. 431,2 ); *vāulla* = *vācāla* ( Deśin. 7.56 ). — *-alla* occurs for *-ala* in M. *ēkkalla* = *eka* ( Hc. 2,165; H. ), JM. *ēkkallaja* ( Erz. ), also *ekalla* ( Hc. ); cf. Mālatīm. 348,1; A. also *ekata* ( Prabandī ac. 121,10 ); M. AMg. *mahalla* = *mahat* ( G.; Prabandhac. 113,3; Āyār. 2,4,3,11. 12 ), AMg. *mahallaja* ( Āyār. 2,4,2,10 ), femin. *mahalliyā* ( Āyār. 2,1,2,7 ), *sumahalla* ( Vivāhap. 246 ); AMg. *andhalla* = *andha* ( Paṇhāv. 523 ), beside *andhala* ( Hc. 2,173 ); M. *pāsalla*, *pāsallia* from *pāśva* ( G. ); *navalla* = *nava* ( Hc. 2,165 ); *mūalla* beside *mūala* = *mūka* ( Deśin. 6,137 ), from which M. *mūallīa* ( R. 5,41; so to be read ), is a denominative. Also M. *pisalla* = *piśāca* is perhaps explained more correctly from \**piśāalla* = *piśāca* + *allia* than from *piśācālaya* ( § 232 ). On *suhallī*, *suhēllī* see § 107. In Mg. *gāmelua* ( Mṛcch. 97,1 ) = *grāmya*, *grāmiṇa* occurs the suffix *-elua*, that is to say *-elu* + *ka*.

1. Under H. 720. Beside it is found also *chaulla*, mentioned below.—2. FISCHER on Hc. 4,412.—3. The texts often have false *puracchimilla*, as in the case of its basis *puratthima*, also *puracchima* —4. The texts often have *pavatthimilla* and *paccacchimilla*. The word perhaps does not belong to *paścāt*, from which originates *pacchilla*. Cf. § 149 and HOERNLE Uvās. s. v. *paccatthima*.—5. *maḷiyya* = *kaṭhinamalayukta*, that stands beside it will be correct, since it belongs to AMg. *maḷintī*, M. *maḷei* (§ 559).—6. Cf. e.g. Skt. *tundilīta* with *tundila* and AMg. *tundilla* ( Uttar. 229 ). That the reduplication of *l* is associated with accent makes the cases like *kuḍilla* = *kuṭila* ( Pāyāl. 155 ), *kuḍillaa*, *koḍilla* ( Deśin. 2,40 ), *tundilla* = *tundila*, *gaṇhilla* = *granthila* ( Uttar. 229; Vivāhap. 1308 ) certain.

§ 596. As a kṛt- suffix dialectically very frequent is *-ira* ( Vr. 4,24; Hc. 2,145; Ki. 2,138; Mk fol. 36 ), which expresses the notion of the root as a “characteristicum” a “duty” or “noble” doing<sup>1</sup>. So M. *aggḥāirī* ( femin. ) from *ghrā* with *ā* ( H. ), *andolira* ( G. ), femin. *andolirī* ( H. ), *alajjira* ( H. ), *avalambirī* ( femin. ), *ullavirī*, *ullāvīrī* ( femin. ; H. ); *ūsasira* from *śvas* with *ud* ( Hc. ); *gamira* ( Hc. ; Ki. ); M. *gholira* ( G. H. R. ), in later-day writers also in Ś. ( Mallikām. 109,9; 122,12 ), M. *parigholira* ( G. ); M. A. *jampira*, AMg. *ajampira* from *jalp* ( § 296 ); AMg. *jhusira*, *ajhusira* ( § 211 ); M. *ṇaccirī* ( femin. ) from *ṇaccā* = *ṇṛtyati* ( H. ); *namira* ( Hc. ); AMg. *parisakkira* from *śaṣk* with *ṣari* ( Nāyādh. ; cf. § 302 ), M. *peḥchira* from *ikṣ* with *pra*, femin. *peḥchirī* ( H. ; so to be read throughout ); M. A. *bhamira* from *bhram* ( Bh. ; Hc. ; Mk. G. H. R. ; Hc. 4,422,15 ); *rovira* ( Hc. ). M. *rovirī*, *ruvirī* from *ru* ( H. ); M. *lambira* ( G. ), *lasira* ( R. ); *lajjira* ( Hc. ), M. femin. *lajjirī* ( H. ); M. A., in Rājasekhara also in Ś. *vēllira*, *uvvēllira* ( § 107 ); M. JM. *vevira* from *vepate* ( Hc. ; G. H. R. ; Erz. ), in later day writers in Ś. too ( Mallikām. 119, 2; 123,15 ); *sahira* ( Mk ), M. femin. *sahirī* ( H. ); *hasira* ( Bh. ; Hc. ); M. femin. *hasirī* ( G. H. ); *apaḍicchira* ( stupid; Deśin. 1,43 ) from *iṣ* with *prati*. Seldom is *-ira* used as a taddhita- suffix too, as in M. *gavira*, femin. *gavirī* from *garva* ( H. ). On *-uka* for *-ika* see § 118. 162 [ *ūsuga* ]. 326 [ *jharua* ].

1. FISCHER on Hc. 2,145. Cf. WEBER, H<sup>1</sup>. p. 68.

§ 597. *-tva* = Pkt. *-tta* ( § 298 ) can be used in AMg. JM. only, in AMg. often in the dative *-itāe* ( § 361. 364 ); *piṇatta*, *pupphatta* = *puṣpatva* ( Hc. 2, 154 ); AMg. *mūlatta*, *kandatta*, *khandatta*, *tajatta*, *sālatta*, *pavālatva*, *paṭtatta*, *pupphatta*, *phalatta*, *biyatta* ( Sūyag. 806 ); *āṇugāmiyatta* ( Ovav. § 38, p. 49; Vivāhap. 162 ); *devatta* ( Uttar. 235; Bhag.; Uvās.; Ovav.; Kappas. ); *nerāyatta* = *nairayikatva* ( Vivāgas. 244; Uvās.; Ovav. ); *māṇusatta* ( Uttar. 234 f. ); *pumatta* = *pumstva* ( § 412 ); *rukkhatta* = \**rukṣatva* ( Sūyag. 812; cf. 811 ); *sāmitta*, *bhaṭṭitta*, *mahattaragatta* = *svāmītva*, *bhartṛtva*, *mahattarakatva* ( Paṇnav. 98. 100. 102. 112 ); JM. *ujjugatta*, *vaṅkatta* = *rjukatva*, *vakratva* ( Āv. 46,31. 32 ), \**maṇuyatta* = *manujatva*, *micchatta* = *mithyātva*, *siyatta* = *śitatva* ( Kk. ), *asojatta* = *aśaucatva* ( Erz. ). To *-tva* has further been added the suffix *-tā* in *māuttajā* = \**mṛdukatvatā* ( Hc. 2,172 ). Very

frequent, particularly is M.Ś. in Vedic *-tvana* = Pkt. *-ttaṇa*, A. also *-ppaṇa* (§ 298.300; Vr. 4,22; Hc. 2,154; Ki. 2,139; Mk. fol. 45). So M. *amara-ttana* (R.), *alasattana*, *asahattana*, *āulattana*, *garuattana*, *cirajvittana*, *ṇiṇattana* (H.); *ṇiddattana*, *tucchattana*, *dāruṇattana*, *dihattana* (G.); *piattana* (H.); *piṇattana* (Bb.; Hc.; G. R.); *mahurattana* (G. H.); from *ā*-stems: *mahilattana* (G. H.); *vesattana* = *\*vesyātvana* (H.); from *i*-, *ī*-stems: *asaṅgattana* (H.); *juaṅgattana* (G); *maṅgattana* = *\*mativana* (G.); *dūṅgattana* = *\*dūtivana* (H.); from *u*-stems: *taruttana* (G.); AMg. *takkarattana* = *\*taskaravana* (Paṇhāv. 147); *tirikkhattana* = *\*tiraksavana* (Uttar. 234); *āyariyattana* = *\*ācāryavana* beside *āyariyatta* (Uttar. 316); JM. *pādīherattana* = *\*prāṭihāryavana* (Āv. 13,25), *dhammattana* = *\*dharmaṭvana* (Kk. 259,12), *sāvayattana* = *\*srāvakaṭvana* (Dvār. 506,28), *turiyattana* = *\*ivaritavana* (Āv. 42,21; 43,3), *paravasattana* (Erz.); Ś. *apṇahiaattana* = *\*anyahrdyavana* (Viddhaś. 41,8,9; Nāgān. 33,6), *pañjāulahaattana* = *\*paryākula*° (Karnaś. 19,10), *sunṇahiaattana* = *\*sūnya*° (Mṛcch. 27,19; Priyad. 20,4; Nāgān. 21,6); *ahirāmatṭana* (Vikr. 21,1); *ṇisamsattana* = *\*ṇsamsavana* (Ratn. 327,18); *ṇiṇattana* = *\*ṇiṇavana* (Lalitav. 561.1); *dūdattana* = *\*dūtavana* (Jivān. 87,13); *bālattana* (Lalitav. 561,2 [vā°]; Uttarar. 121,4; Mudrār. 43,5); *bamhattana* (Ratn. 308,5), *bamhaṇattana* (Pras. 46,12); *sahāattana* = *\*sahāyavana* (Śak. 59,10; Jivān. 39,15; 78,2); *anujivittana* (Mahāv. 54,19); *ucidakārittana* (Bālar. 54,17), *gharaṇittana* (Anarghar. 315,10); *bhaavadittana* (Mālatim. 74,3); *medhāvittana* (Ratn. 303,32); *lajjāvittana* (Mahāv. 29,6 [PISCHEL °lui]); *sarasakāittana* (Karnaś. 31,1); *paḥuttana* = *\*prabhutvava* (Mālav. 14,3; 30,5); *bhūruttana* (Pras. 45,5); Mg. *aniccattana* = *\*anityavana* (Mṛcch. 177,10); *mahulattana*, *śulahittana* = *\*madhuravana*, *\*surabhitvava* (Prab. 60,12.13); *savvaṇṇattana* = *\*saravajñatvava* (Prab. 51,6; 52,6); *sughalinittana* = *\*sugrhiṇitvava* (Venīś. 35,1); *paṭtattana* = *\*paṭtratvava* (Hc. 4,370,1); *vaḍḍattana* and *vaddappana* = *\*vaḍḍratvava* (Hc. 4,366); *suhaḍḍattana* = *\*subhaḍḍatvava* (Kk. 260,44); *gahilattana* = *\*grahilatvava* (Piṅgala 1,2a).

§ 598. Without effecting alteration in the meaning of the word *-ka* enters into Pkt. more frequently than into Skt. (Hc. 2,164; Mk. fol. 37). In PG. P. CP., sometimes in Ś. Mg. too, it remains *-ka*, in AMg. JM. JŚ. it becomes *-ga*, *-ja*, in the other dialects *-a*. Numerous examples for all the dialects have been included in different paragraphs. Sometimes it is set in doubly, as *bahuaṇja* (Hc. 2,164), also behind other suffixes (§ 595), further it is added to adverbs, as *ihayaṇ* (Hc. 2,164) and to the infinitive, as *ālēddhuṇ* (§ 303.577), AMg. *aladdhuṇ* (§ 577). The vowel of the stem is sometimes lengthened dialectically (§ 70). Beside *-ka*, we find dialectically also *-kha*, *-ha* (§ 206) and *-ika*, AMg. *-i ja*, as in PG. *vadhanika* = *vardhanaka* (6,9); AMg. *macciya* = *\*martyika* = *martyaka* (Āyār. 1,2,5,4; 1,3,2,1; Sūyag. 351); AMg. *tumbaviṇiya* = *tumbaviṇaka* (Ovav.); Mg. *bhālika* = *\*bhārika* = *bhāravat* (Mṛcch. 97,19.20); M. *savvaṅgia* = *savvaṅgiṇa* (Hc. 2,152; R.). — *-kya* occurs in *pārahka* (Hc. 2,148), *-ikya* in *rāikka* = *rājakiya* (Hc. 2,148); *gonikka* (herd of cattle; Deśin. 2,97; Triv. 1,3,105)<sup>1</sup>; *caccikka* from *carā* (besmearing the body with fragrant paste; Hc. 2,174; Triv. 1,4,121), according to Deśin. 3,4 also adjective in the meaning “decorated”<sup>2</sup>; *mahisikka* (herd of buffaloes; Deśin. 6,124)<sup>3</sup>.

1. PISCHEL, BB. 3,243.—2. PISCHEL, BB. 13,12.—3. PISCHEL, GGA 1881, p. 1320f.

§ 599. Like *-ka*, in A. *-da* = Skt. *-ḍa* too is added, without change in the meaning of the word. Very often, *-a* = *-ka* enters behind it, in addition (Hc. 4,429.430). So: *kannaḍaa* = *karna* (Hc. 4,432); *davvaḍaa* = *dravya* (Śukas. 32,3); *dihaḍaa* = *divasa* (Hc. 4,333.387,2); *dāḍaa* = *dūta* (Hc. 4,419,1); *desada* (Hc. 4.418.6) *desadna* (Hc. 4.419.3) = *deśa*: *dosada* =

*doṣa* ( Hc. 4,379,1 ); *mānusaḍa* = *mānuṣa* ( Prabandhac. 112,8); *māriada* = *mārīta* ( Hc. 4,379,2 ); *mittaḍa* = *mitra* ( Hc. 4,422,1 ); *raṇṇaḍa* = *aranya* ( Hc. 4,368 ); *rūḍaḍa* = *rūpaka* ( Hc. 4,419,1 ); *hatthaḍa*, *hatthaḍa* = *hasta* ( Hc. 4,439,1, 445,3 ); *hiḍa* = \**hṛda* = *hrd* ( Ki. 5,15,17; Hc. 4,422,12), *hiḍaḍa* ( Hc. 4,350,2). In *maṇiḍa* = *maṇi* ( Hc. 4,414,2) probably *ka+ṭa* = \**maṇikaṭa* is to be assumed, that is pointed to by the hiatus, and not the suffix *-aḍa*. The femin. ends in *-ḍī* ( Hc. 4,431 ): *ṇiddaḍī* = *nīdrā* ( Hc. 4,418,1); *suavattaḍī* = *śrutavārtā* ( Hc. 4,432 ). The ending *-aḍī* is pointed to also by the femin. in Skt. *-i*, *-ī*: *goraḍī* = *gaurī* ( Hc. s. v. and s. v. *gori*); *buddhaḍī* = *buddhi* ( Hc. 4,424); *bhumhaḍī* = *bhūmi* (§ 210); *mabbhūṣaḍī* from *mā bhūṣiḥ* ( Hc. 4,422,22 ); *rattāḍī* = *rātri* ( Hc. 4,330,2 ); *vibhantaḍī* = *vibhrānti* ( Hc. 4,414,2); with *-ka*: *dhūlaḍī* = \**dhūlaṭikā* = *dhūli* ( Hc. 4,432). Here in relation to Skt. the infix *-aḍ-* makes its appearance, and not the suffix. *-da*, that is dialectical in A., and is combined also with other suffixes as *-ka*. So with *-ulla* (§ 595 ) in *bāhabalullaḍa* = *bāhābala* and *bāhabalullaḍa* ( Hc. 4,430,3), also in the last example *-ulla+ḍa+ka*.

§ 600. According to the grammarians, in Pkt., *-itta* too is used in the sense of the taddhita suffixes *-mat*, *-vat* ( Vr. 4,25 [so to be read for *-inta*]; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159; Ki. 2,140; Mk. fol. 36): *kavaṭitta*, *māṇaṭitta* from *kāvya*, *māna* ( C.; Hc. ); *roṣaṭitta* from *roṣa* ( Bh. 4,25 [so to be read]; Ki.); *pāṇaṭitta* ( Bh. 4,25 [so to be read] ) from *prāṇa*. With insertion of *kaḥ svārthe* ( Kālidāsa used this suffix in Ś. *-itta*, femin. *-ittā*: *paoharavithhāraṭitta* = *ṣoyodharavistārayukta* ( cf. Candrasekhara ); *ummāḍaṭitta* = *unmādin*, *unmāḍakārin* ( *ittakaśabdo matubarthaḥ*; Candras. ); *ucchāḥaṭitta* = *utsahaśālin* ( *matubartha utakaśabdoḥ*; Candras. ); *āśaṭittā* = *āyāsakāriṇī* ( Candras. ); *saṃtāvaṇivāṇaṭittā* = *saṃtāpanirvānakāriṇī* ( Candras. ); *bahumānasuhaṭitta* = *bahumānasukhayukta* ( cf. Candras. ); *piṇiveṇaṭitta* = *priyanivedaka* ( Candras. ); *saṃtāvaṇivāṇaṭitta* = *saṃtāpanirvāpaka* ( Candras. ) ( Śak. 11,3; 21,8; 35,7; 36,12; 51,12; 55,1; 79,14; 86,5; 140,14); *iśḍasampāḍaṭitta* = *iśṭasampāḍaṭittā* ( Raṅganaṭha; Vikr. 20,19 ); *juvādivesalajjāvaṭitta* = *juvādivesalajjayitṛka* ( Katayavema ( Mālav. 33,17 ); *ahilāṣapūraṭitta* = *ahilāṣapūrayitṛka* ( Kāt.; Mālav. 34,14), *asoavāśaṭitta* = *aśchavikāśayitṛka* ( Kāt. Mālav. 43,3). The suffix is to be derived with BÖHTLINGK<sup>1</sup> from *-yitra*, *-yitṛka*, and not with the Indians and BENFEY<sup>2</sup> from *-yitr*, *-yitṛka*. It forms, therefore, the derivatives from denominatives and causatives. One *vithhāraṭitta* is = \**vistārayitṛka* from *vistāraya*.

1. On Śak. 9,20 p. 161. Cf. BOLLENSEN on Vikr. 20,19, p. 244; FISCHER, De Kālidāśae Çak. rec. p. 33 f.—2. GGA. 1856 p. 1226. LASSEN, Inst. p. 134, note has already assumed that the explanation with the help of *hetuka* that rests on the false reading *-itua*, is wrong. Cf. Chandrasekhara on Śak. 36,12 ( p. 180 ) *utsāhahetaṭ itī saṃskārayajñānam*.

§ 601. According to § 397 *-mat* and *-vat* become *-manta*, *-vanta* from the strong stems *-mant*, *-vant* ( Vr. 4,25; C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159; Ki. 2,140; Mk. fol. 37). In the matter of the suffix Skt. and Pkt. do not agree closely. So AMg. *āyāramanta*. ( Dasav. 633,33), but Skt. *ācāravant*; AMg. *cittamanta*. ( Āyār. 2,1,5,2; p. 133,33; 136,3 ) = Skt. *cittavant*; AMg. *vaṇṇamanta*, *gandhamanta*, *rasamanta*, *phāsamanta* = *vaṇṇavant*, *gandhavant*, *rasavant*, *spāśavant*. ( Āyār. 2,4,1,4; Sūyag. 565; Jiv. 26; Paṇṇav. 379; Vivāhap. 144 ); AMg. *viḷḷamanta* = *vidyāvant*. ( Uttar. 620 ); *śilamanta*, *guṇamanta*, *vāimanta* = *śilavant*, *guṇavant*, *vāgvant*. ( Āyār. 2,1,9,1 ); *puṣṭhamanta* = *puṣṭhavant*, *bijamanta* = *bijavant*, *mūlamanta* = *mūlavant*, *sālamanta* = *sālavant*. ( Ovav ); A. *guṇamanta*. ( Piṅgala 1,132<sup>a</sup>; 2,118), *dhaṇamanta*. ( Piṅgala 2,45.118), *puṇamanta*. ( Piṅgala 2,94), metrically for *puṇṇamanta*. ( C.; Hc. ) = *puṇyavant*. As regards others, the

corresponding formations have not hitherto been found in the text, as AMg. *paññānamanta-* = \**prajñānamant-* (Āyār. 1,4,4,3; 1,6,4,1), *paññamanta-* = \**paññamant-*, *hariyamanta-* = \**haritamant-* (Ovav.). According to § 398 also the suffix *-maṇa* in *dhaṇamaṇa* (C. 2,20 p. 45; Hc. 2,159) = *dhaṇamant*, \**dhaṇaman* goes back to *-mant*. — *bhattiranta-* = *bhaktimanti-* (Hc. 2,159).

§ 602. In AMg. numerous adjectives are formed with the *kṛt* suffix *ima*<sup>1</sup>, partly from the present stem, which express, that something, connected with the root has happened, may or must happen. They often correspond to the German adjectives in *-bar*. So: *ganthima*, *vedhima*, *pūrima*, *saṃghāima* from *granth*, *veṣṭ*, *pūraya-*, *saṃghātaya-* (Āyār. 2,12,1; 2,15,20; Nāyādh. 269; Vivāhap. 823; Jiv. 348; Nandis. 507 etc.; cf. 304. 333); *ubbheima* = *udbhida* (Dasav. 625,13); *khāima*, *sāima* from *khād*, *svādaya-* (Sūyag. 596; Vivāhap. 184; Dasav. 639,14; Uvās.; Nāyādh.; Ovav.; Kappas.); *pāima* from *pācaya-* (Āyār. 2,4,2,7); *pūima*, *apūima*, *māṇima*, *amāṇima* from *pūjaya-*, *māṇaya-* (Dasav. 641,14. 15); *bahukhajjima* from *khādya-* from *khād* (Āyār. 2,4,2,15) *bahunivvaḷḷima* from *varṭaya-* with *niṣ* (Āyār. 2,4,2,14 [so to be read]); Dasav. 628,31); *lāima*, *bhajjima* (Āyār. 2,4,2,15; Dasav. 628,34); *vandima*, *avandima* (Dasav. 641,12); *vāhima* (Āyār. 2,4,2,9); *vusima* from *vaśaya-* (Sūyag. 511); *vehima* (Dasav. 628,30); *saṃtārima*, *saṃpūima* (Āyār. 2,3,1,13. 14). From the adverbs *purastāt* and \**pratyastam* are derived AMg. *puratthima* = \**purastima* (Bhag.; Kappas.; Nāyādh.; Uvās.; Ovav.), and *paccatthima* = \**pratyastima* (Bhag.; Uvās.). *puratthima* also in JM. *uttarapuratthima* (Āv. 14, 10). From it is again derived *puratthimilla*, *paccatthimilla* (§ 595). — In A., according to Hc. 4,443, there enters the suffix *-aṇaa* for expressing a characteristic peculiarity: *māraṇaa*, *boḷlaṇaa*, *vajjaṇaa*, *bhaṣaṇaa* = *māraṇaṣiḷa*, *bhāsaṇaṣiḷa*, *vādanaṣiḷa* [*vajja-* = *vādyā-*], *bhāsaṇaṣiḷa*<sup>2</sup>. They correspond to the adjectives in *-ana* in Skt. (WHITNEY § 1150) + *kaḥ svārthe*.

1. HOERNLE, JACOBI, LEUMANN and STEINTHAL posit wrongly the substantive in *-iman*. Many of these adjectives in the neuter are substantively used.—2. Cf. FISCHER on Hc. 4,443.

§ 603. In the matter of compounds Pkt. is distinguished from Skt. only to the extent that individual members do not follow one another in a strictly logical sequence (Mk. fol. 65)<sup>1</sup>. They enter particularly into M., where the metre is often the cause. So M. *dhavalakavavā* for *kaadhavalovavā* = *kṛtadhavalopavā* (G. 1); *kāsāraviralakumuā* = *viralakumudakāsārāḥ* (G. 271); *virahakaravattadūśaphālijjanatammi* = *duḥsahavirahakarapatrasphālyamāne* (H. 153); *daralambigōcchakāikacchusacchaham* = *daralambikapikacchugucchahasadrśam* (H. 533); *kañcuābharanāmettāo* = *kañcukamātrābharanāḥ* (H. 546); *muhālaghaṇaḥpaavijjantaam* = *mukharaghanaḥpiyamānapayasam* (R. 2,24); *saṃkḥohuvattarāntaraṇamaūham* = *saṃkḥobhodvṛttaratnaniryanmayūkham* (R. 5,40); *kaṇḍibbharadasadisam* = *nirbharikṛtadaśaḍisam* (R. 8,27)<sup>2</sup>; AMg. *pacchannapālāsa* = *pālāsapracchanna* (Āyār. 1,6,1,2); AMg. *lohāgaradhammānāpādhamaḍhamēntaghoṣam* = *dhamāyamānalohākaraḍhamadhamāyamānaghoṣam* (Uvās. § 108)<sup>3</sup>; AMg. *taḍivimalasarisa* = *vimalataḍitsaḍrśa* (Kappas. § 35); AMg. *udvāipāḍipunnasomavajane* = *pratipūrṇoḍupati-saumyavadanah* (Ovav. p. 29,13).

1. JACOBI on Kalpas. § 35, p. 104; BHĀNDĀRKAR, Transactions of the Second Session of the International Congress of Orientalists, London 1876 p. 313, note 6; S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 206, note 7. Cf. HOERNLE, Uvās., Translation, note 201. The scholars explain this with *prākṛte pūrvanipātānīyamah*, a rule that is wrongly assigned to Vr. by a scholion on H. 546, and which is employed by scholiasts, often without necessity, as can be proved by the collection of instances in S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 329 s. v. *pūrvanipātānīyama*. — 2. So rightly S. GOLDSCHMIDT, R. p. 251, note 3. — 3. Cf. Abhayadeva there up on p. 40.

## \*ADDENDUM AND CORRIGENDUM.

- § 10. The real publisher of KI. is KIELHORN, from whom originated the translation and to whom I am grateful for reference to the inscription. KIELHORN has laid me under hearty obligation not only by his painstaking reading of the latest press correctors, but also with a complete list of amendments in the Sanskrit renderings, in cases where I might have gone astray in the matter of reconstruction through Pkt.
- § 22. p. 21, line 5 ff. from the bottom. On the nature and style, as occurs in modern dramas, cf. GRIERSON, IA. XXIII, p. 110. So it has certainly been the case for many centuries.
- § 34, p. 39,6 read *ten'* for *ten\**.
- § 40, p. 47. M ṛ c c h a k a ṭ i k ā is mentioned as M ṛ c c h a k a ṭ a m by Mk.(fol.82) and B h ā g ī r a t h ī v a r d h a m ā n a, (fol.79,82) As communicated to me by KIELHORN, the first part of the name K ā ṭ a y a v e m a is written also as K ā ṭ a and K ā ṭ a m a and the second also as V e m a y a in the South Indian inscriptions. Accordingly K ā ṭ a v e m a perhaps may not be wrong.
- § 53, p. 55,44 read Ś. *bahappadi* for *bahappaī*.
- § 64, p. 64,3 read JŚ. *visarida* for *visarija*.

\* These corrections were in the original work itself. Through in advertance they could not be inserted in the translation, where other corrections have been so incorporated.

## ABBREVIATIONS AND LIST OF THE EDITIONS USED.

- A. = Apabhramśa.  
 Ā. = Āvanti ( § 26 ).  
 Acyutaś. = Acyutaśataka. Madras 1872.  
 Adbhutad. = Adbhutadarpaṇa ed. PARAB. Bombay 1896 = Kāvyaṃālā. 55.  
 AMg. = Ardhamāgadhī.  
 Amṛtodaya ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB. Bombay 1897 = Kāvyaṃālā. 59.  
 Anarghar. = Anargharāghava ed. DURĠĀPRASĀDA and PARAB. Bombay 1887 = Kāvyaṃālā. 5.  
 Antag. = Antagaḍadasāo. Calcutta saṃvat 1931.  
 Anuog. = Anuogadārasutta. Calcutta saṃvat 1936.  
 Anuttar. = Anuttarovavāīyasutta. Calcutta saṃvat 1931.  
 Arch. S. of W. I. = Archeological Survey of Western India.  
 Aup. S. = Aupapātika Sūtra. By ERNST LEUMANN. Leipzig 1883.  
 Av. = Āvaśyaka-Erzählungen ed. LEUMANN, Leipzig. 1897.  
 Āyār. = Āyāraṅgasutta ed. JACOBI. London 1812. The Calcutta edition of saṃvat 1936 too has been used.  
 Bālar. = Bālarāmāyana ed. GOVINDA DEVA ŚĀ'TRI, Benares 1869.  
 BB. = BEZZENBERGER'S Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen.  
 Bh. = Bhāmaha.  
 Bhag. = WEBER, Über ein Fragment der Bhagavati. Berlin 1866. 1867.  
 Bhatṛharinirveda ed. DURĠĀPRASĀD and PARAB. BOMBAY 1892 = Kāvyaṃālā. 29.  
 BKSGW. = Berichte der Kgl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.  
 B.-R. = BÖHTLINGK und ROTH, Sanskrit Wörterbuch.  
 BW. = BÖHTLINGK, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung.  
 C. = Caṇḍa.  
 Cait. = Caitanyacandrodaya ed. RA'JENDRALA'L MITTRA. Calcutta 1854.  
 Caṇḍak. = Caṇḍakaśikam ed. JAGANMOHANAŚARMAN. Calcutta Saṃvat 1924.  
 Cat. Cat. = Catalogus Catalogorum.  
 CP. = Cūlikāpaśācī.  
 D. = Dākṣiṇātyā.  
 Dasav. = Dasaveyāliyasutta ed. LEUMANN, ZDMG. 46,581 ff.  
 Dasav. N. = Dasaveyāliyanijutti see Dasav.  
 De gr. Pr. = De grammaticis Prācriticis. Vratislaviae 1874.  
 Deśin. = Hemaandra, Deśināmamālā ed. FISCHEL. Bombay 1880.  
 Dh. = Dhakki.  
 Dhanamajav. = Dhanamjayavijaya ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB, Bombay 1895 = Kāvyaṃālā. 54.  
 Dhūrtas. = Dhūrtasamāgama ed. CAPPELLER o. O. u. J.  
 Dhvanyāloka ed. DURĠĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1891 = Kāvyaṃālā. 25.  
 Dūtāṅgada ed. DURĠĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1891 = Kāvyaṃālā. 28.  
 Dvār. = Die Jaina Legende von dem Untergange Dvāravatī ... by H. JACOBI. ZDMG. 42,493 ff.

El. = Epigraphia Indica.

Erz. = Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭri by H. JACOBI, Leipzig, 1886.

G. = Gaṅḍavaho ed. Sh. P. PANDIT, Bombay 1887.

GGA. = Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.

GN. = Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.

Grr. = Grammarians.

H. = Hāla, The Sapaśatakam of—. Published by A. WEBER, Leipzig 1881. Cf. § 13. The edition of DURĠĀPRASĀDA and PARAB, Bombay 1889 = Kāvya-mālā, 2, too has been used.

Hāsy. = Hāsyārṇava ed. CAPPELLER o. O. u. J.

Hc. = Hemacandra.

IA. = Indian Antiquary.

IAtt. = Indische Alterthumskunde.

IF. = Indogermanische Forschungen.

Inst. = Institutiones linguae Pracritticae.

IS. = Indische Studien.

IStr. = Indische Streifen.

JA. = Journal Asiatique.

JASB. = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

JBoAS. = Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Jiv. = Jivābhigamasutta. Ahmedābād saṁvat 1939.

Jivān. = Jivānandana ed. DURĠĀPRASĀD and PARAB, Bombay 1891 = Kāvya-mālā, 27.

JM. = Jaina-Māhārāṣṭri.

JRAS. = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JŚ. = Jaina-Śaurasenī.

Kāleyak. = Kāleyakutūhalam. o. O. 1882.

Kalpal. = Pkl.

Kalpasūtra ed. JACOBI, LEIPZIG 1879; see Kappas.

Kaṁsav. = Kaṁsavadhā ed. DURĠĀPRASĀD and PARAB, Bombay 1888 = Kāvya-mālā, 6.

Kappas. = Kappasutta; see Kalpasūtra.

Karṇas. = Karṇasundarī ed. DURĠĀPRASĀD and PARAB, Bombay 1888 = Kāvya-mālā, 7.

Karp. = Karpūramañjarī ed. KONOW (cf. § 22, note 7). The edition of DURĠĀPRASĀD and PARABA, Bombay 1887 = Kāvya-mālā, 4 too has been used.

Kattig. = Kattigeṅṅānupekkhā (§ 21).

KB. = KUHN's. Beiträge.

KI. = Kakkuka Inscription (§ 10).

Ki. = Kramadīśvara.

Kk. = Kālakācāryakathānakam. By H. JACOBI ZDMG. 34, 247ff. Kk. II. III. By E. LEUMANN, ZDMG. 37, 493 ff.

KZ. = KUHN's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung.

Lalitav. = Lalitavigraharājanāṭika ed. KIELHORN, GN, 1893, p. 552 ff.

Laṭakam. = Laṭakamelaka ed. DURĠĀPRASĀD and PARAB, Bombay 1889 = Kāvya-mālā, 20.

M. = Māhārāṣṭri.

Mahāv. = Mahāvīracarita ed. TRITHEN. London 1848. Beside it has been used the edition of AIYAR, RANGACHARIAR and PARAB. Bombay 1892.

Mālatīm. = Mālatīmādhava ed. BHANDARKAR. Bombay 1876. Beside it have been used the editions of KAILASH CHANDRA DUTT, Calcutta 1866, of MANGESH RĀMAKRISHNA TELANG, Bombay 1892 and an edition in Telugu script, of which the title page is wanting in my copy.

Mālav. = Mālavikā ed. BOLLENSSEN. Leipzig. 1879. Besides the editions of TULLBERG, Bonnæ ad Rhenum 1840 and of SH. P. PANDIT, Socond edition, Bombay 1889 have been used.

Mallikām. = Mallikāmārutam ed. JIBANANDA VIDYASAGAR. Calcutta 1878.

Mg. = Māgadhī.

Mk. = Mārkaṇḍeya.

Mṛcch. = Mṛcchakaṭikā ed. STENZLER. Bonnæ 1847. The editions Calcutta 1829, of Rāmamayaśarmatarkaratna, Calcutta śakābdāḥ 1792, and particularly the valuable edition of NĀRĀYANA BĀLAKRISHNA GOPABOLE, Bombay 1884 too have been used.

Mudrār. = Mudrārākṣasa ed. KĀSHINĀTH TRIMBAK TELANG. Bombay 1884. Beside it the edition Calcutta 1831 and that of TARANĀTHA-TARKAVĀCASPATI, Calcutta saṁvat 1926 have been used.

Mukund. = Mukundānanda Bhāṇa ed. DURĠĀPRASĀD and PARAB. Bombay 1889 = Kāvyaṁālā. 16.

Nāgān. = Nāgānanda ed. GOVIND BAHIRAV BRAHME and SHIVARAM MAHADEO PARANJAPE. Poona 1893. Beside it the edition of JIBANANDA VIDYASAGARA, Calcutta 1873.

Nandīs. = Nandīsutta. Calcutta saṁvat 1936.

Nāyādh. = Nāyādhammakahā. Calcutta saṁvat 1933. In places where the quotations are given according to paragraphs and not according to page or without mention of details they refer to: Specimen der Nāyādhammakahā. Inaugural Dissertation ... of P. STEINTHAL. Leipzig 1881.

Nirayāv. = Nirayāvāliyāo. Benares saṁvat 1941. Citations according to paragraphs or without mention of details relate to Nirayāvālisuttam ... by S. WARREN. Amsterdam 1879.

OST. = Original Sanskrit Texts.

Ovav. = Ovavāiyasutta. Calcutta saṁvat 1936. The citation is according to the edition: Das Aupapātika Sūtra ... by ERNST LEUMANN. Leipzig 1883.

P. = Paisāci.

Pāiyal. = Pāiyalacchī ed. BÜHLER. Göttingen 1878.

Paṅhāv. = Paṅhāvāgaraṇāim. Calcutta saṁvat 1933.

Paṅṇav. = Paṅṇavaṇā. Benares saṁvat 1940.

Pārvatīp. = Pārvatīpariṇaya ed. MANGESH RĀMAKRISHNA TELANG. Bombay 1892. Beside it the edition of GLASER, Wien 1883.

Pav. = Pavayaṇasāra (§ 21).

PG. = Pallava Grant (§ 10).

Piṅgala = The Prākṛita-Piṅgala-Sūtras ... ed. ŚIVADATTA and PARAB. Bombay 1884 = Kāvyaṁālā. 41.

Pkl. = Prākṛtakalpalatikā. Cited according to the sketch in RISHIKESH



SASTRI, A Prakrita Grammar. Calcutta 1883, a book to which the references are to pages.

Pkt. = Prakrit.

Prab.=Prabodhacandrodaya ed. BROCKHAUS. Lipsiae 1935. 1845. Beside it the editions Pūnā 1851 (P.), those of VĀSUDEVAŚARMAṆ, Bombay 1898 (B.), and SARASVATĪ TIRUVEMKATĀCĀRYĀ, Madras 1884 (M.) in Telugu print have been used.

Pracaṇḍap.=Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava ... published by CARL CAPPELLER. Strassburg 1885. Beside it has been used the edition: The Bālabhārata ... ed. DURĠĀPRASĀDA and PARABA. Bombay 1887. = Kāvyaṃālā 4.

Pras.=Prasannarāghava ed. GOVINDADEVASA'STRĪ. Benares 1868.

Pratāp.=Pratāparudriya. Madras 1868. Telugu print.

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## I. GENERAL INDEX.

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